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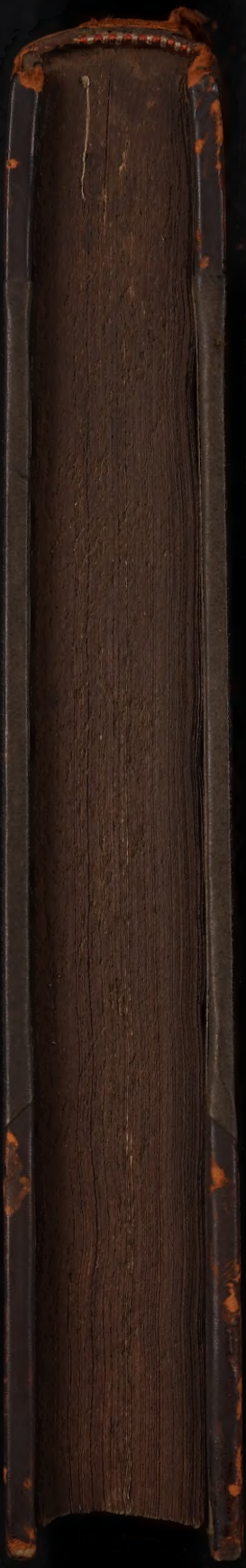
CAMERARIUS

1621



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41 CAMERARIUS (P.) The Living Librarie, or Meditations and Observations, Historical, Natural, Moral, Political and Poetical.....done into English by John Molle Esquire. £2. 15s. A. Islip, 162|

Sm. folio, new half calf, title cut close and mounted, the woodcut border lightly coloured, slight stains here and there, sound copy of the **First ed.** The work deals with many curious subjects, *e.g.*, Gipsies, ancient musical instruments, wolves in England, the Picts' wall, bathing customs, **America,** the beard and hair, Jesuits, lycanthropy, **cosmetics,** and other strange beliefs, customs, superstitions, laws, etc. **Tobacco,** p. 372, with long extract from Jer. Benzoni. Drinking, p. 373 sq. Sayle 2450. S.T.C. 4529. Deaf-mutes, lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 127.

Very Scarce

Title mounted
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THE LIVING LIBRARIE, OR, MEDITATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS HISTORICAL, NATVRAL, MORAL, POLITICAL, AND POETICAL.

Written in Latin by P. CAMERARIVS, Consellour to the Free-State of Noremberg:

And done into English by IOHN MOLLE Esquire.

HORACE.

Hee, of all others, fittest is to write,
That intermingleth Profit with Delight.

LONDON,
Printed by ADAM ISLIP.

1621

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, AND REVEREND FAther in God IOHN Lo. Biſhop of *Lincolne Elect, Lord* Keeper *of the great* Seale of ENGLAND.

MY LORD,

AMongſt the now frequent congratulations, for your Lordſhips happie aduancement to theſe holie and honourable dignities in the Church and Common-weale, be it alſo lawfull for one of the meaneſt of your Obſeruers, deſtitute of a fitter opportunitie, to giue ſome demonſtration, or (at leaſt) to make a ſigne of that ioy, thereupon conceiued,

Quod latet arcanis non enarrabile fibris. *Perſ.*

And good reaſon, ſince that, as great, ſo is the intereſt equall, which euery good ſubiect hath in his Maieſties prudent choice of one of the ſonnes of LEVI, to manage thoſe weighty affaires, and withall to be the KEEPER of that great *Depoſitum*, on which the good and goods of ſo many do depend. Nor can any be deemed more proper and fit to moderate in that *Supreme and independent Court* (formerly denominated from *Conſcience*) than one of that Tribe, conuerſant and dextrous in *Caſes* of that kind: by which meanes, if euer, that venerable, but diſiointed and crackt name of CONSCI-ENS may, after ſo long a diſlocation, recouer the

former vigour and integritie. The trueth of this did his Maiesties piercing iudgement *discerne*, none better (for he is an *Angell of God*,) and therefore, according to that ancient and fixed Aphorisme, Οτι τοῖς Προφήταις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κατορθοῦν ἐκ ἀδύνατον, to your other *Decora Ecclesiæ sacra* hath his Highnesse added this further, *Honorarij & Coronidis loco*, καὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἐν τοῖς χρίσιν.

Heliodor. Æthiop.

Now that these goodly Accessions of *Authoritie* and *Honour* (which in, and by your Lo. the Church enioyeth) may take the deeper root, the noble Precedents, which you haue propounded to your selfe, *tanquam vestigia Maiorum, qui recto itinere præcesserunt*, are of singular auaile. And amongst those of elder times (not to trauaile abroad, *& domi peregrinum agere*) the well grounded courage, and inuincible constancie of that learned and renoumed Prelate ROBERT GROSSETESTE is *instar omnium*. He was your Lo. predecessor in that See of *Lincolne*, into which you are now lanching, there to sit at the sterne. Him God raised vp in those daies of darkenesse to be a shining *witnesse* of his *Trueth*, and to make *head* against that *Man of sinne*, who makes himselfe the *Head* not of *Bishops* only, but also of *Kings* and *Emperours*. By which his opposition to the Papall vsurpation, then in the Zenith within this captiuated and exhausted kingdome, he got a name and title more truely glorious and lasting than either that of *Africanus*, *Britannicus*, or the like, euen in those daies to be stiled (as most iustly he deserued) ROMANORVM *malleus & contemptor*. But what needes this wading to the *Fathers beyond the flood*, when as the precious and blessed memorie of many our late reuerend and religious Bishops doth *fortiùs irritare*? Of whom (not by flatterie to offend those that now liue and flourish) let it suf-

Plin. Sec.

Floruit circa An. 1240.

Matt. Paris.

fice

fice but to mention *duo Paria nobiliſſima*, to wit, the laſt IOHN and RICHARD of CANTERBVRIE, with the laſt RICHARD and IOHN of LONDON: at which foure it is enough onely to point, for *Hi viri hi fuerunt*.

And now (my good Lord) to come neerer home, that is, vnto my ſelfe. Moſt true and wittie is that ſaying, ὅτι πόλλ' ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος. Hence am I induced, *Gratitudinis ergò*, thus to preſent your Lo. with another mans book, hauing nothing of any worth of mine owne. A *Parent* it had, in his time famous for his knowledge and induſtrie in good letters; *ſed iamdudũ abijt ille ad plures*. Being yet tender, expoſed to the wide world, & arriuing in this Iſland, it happened on a true *Philoxenus*, who intertained it, then forlorne, taught it our language, and new-ſuted it after this Engliſh garb. But of him alſo being too earely depriued, it hath no leſſe lamented his conſtrained abſence (and perhaps for the ſame cauſe) than *Rachel* did her maſſacred *Innocents*. For alas! this euer well-deſeruing Patriot hath now for many yeares beene miſsing and awanting vnto His; who in, and for his countrie as formerly he hath, ſo might he long haue done good ſeruice, ſaue that he hath done his *God* better abroad: for whoſe cauſe it is now with him as it is, albeit no otherwiſe than it hath beene with many glorious *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors* in the verie ſame place. For my ſelfe I can onely ſay, that this Gentleman leauing his deareſt countrie, committed this Orphane as a *fidei-commiſſum* vnto me; himſelfe alwaies intending to make it a free-denizen here, after a certain ſeaſon. Nine yeares therefore being now expired (the preſcribed time of a Bookes apprentiſhip) it is deſirous to aduenture abroad, in ſearch of this foſter-father, whom it no leſſe

Athen. Deip.

Mr. IOHN MOLLE.

Nonumque prematur in annum. Horat.

lesse lacketh and loueth than *Hercules* his lost *Hylas*. Whereupon, being obliged to performe the trust reposed in me (the time it selfe, and pretence of publicke interest exacting this *Manu-mission*) I yeelded thereunto; But in the first place haue addressed it, as a Petitioner *sub forma Pauperis* vnto your Lo. whom *God* and the *King* hath constituted a succourer and securer of those which are oppressed and helplesse. The substance of the petition is deliuered in two syllables Osi! that as your Lo. and Others, whom God hath placed in that eminence of authoritie, do *remember*, and sensibly feele *the Afflictions of Joseph*; so by your Lo. preuious zeale there could be some remedie and course found out, that He who hath so long been tried in that *Babylonish fornace* (and therefore not knowne whether to be reckoned *inter viuos*, or *mortuos*) may once ——*Reuocare gradum, patriasq; euadere ad oras*: Then shall this poore Petitioner, & All that are interessed in this religious sute, resound their double and treble *Iopæan*, with this word further,——*Hic labor, hoc opus est vestrum.* In the meane while humbly crauing pardon for this mine owne sinne of officious importunitie both amidst and against the publique affaires, wherewith your Lo. is on euerie side vrged; I will fold vp all with the deprecation of ingenious *Petrarch*. *Magno verborum fræno vti decet cum Superiore colloquentem; sed nullus est Amore superior: ille Te coget ad veniam, qui Me ad multiloquium.*

Petrar. epist. ad Duc. Venet.

Your Lo. in all humble and
dutifull obseruance,

RYC. BADDELEY.

TO THE READER,
TOVCHING THE OCCASION, Subiect, and vſe of theſe Hiſtoricall *Meditations*.

IT *pleaſed the Authour of theſe* Hiſtoricall Meditations *to entitle them* Th'employment of ſpare houres; *for that hauing either diſpatched, or otherwiſe laid aſide the ordinarie Affaires of the Common-weale, which by his place he did vndergoe; (much-what both irkſome and vnpleaſant, by reaſon of the difficultie and weight thereof, chiefely in that troubled State and Time) wherewith being wearied and tired, his vſuall manner was to retire and betake himſelfe vnto the reading of* Hiſtoricall *Authours, full of delightfull varietie, yet withall verie aduantageous and profitable. This kind of Studie, or rather Recreation, was ſo pleaſing vnto him, that conuerſing with ſuch Bookes, he imagined himſelfe as in the flouriſhing Spring-time of the yeare, ſeated in ſome curious Garden, ſet and beautified with all kind of fruitfull Trees, pleaſant Plants, and fragrant Flowers, with the fruits and odours whereof hee reuiued his wearied ſpirits, as with a proper Repaſt; pulling and culling thence ſundrie Obſeruations both delightfull, memorable, and profitable; which, like the induſtrious Bee, he vſed to aſport and make his owne, by committing them to his ſerious cogitations, and ſecond thoughts, as to an hiue. Withall, hee vſually compared ſuch things, which hee had either heard from others, or ſeene and obſerued himſelfe, with thoſe of ancient times; and againe Ancient with Moderne, to the ſingular content and ſatisfaction of his owne Genius and diſpoſition: which kind of Contemplation or conſideration of the nature of things,* M. Cicero *doth not vnfitly call,* The naturall food of mens Wits and Minds. Cic.

This knowledge of Hiſtorie *(by the Ancients called a kind of* Philoſophie,

phie, *deliuered by way of Example*) *was that ſtudie whereunto our Authour principally addicted and dedicated himſelfe in his retirements, whereby queſtionleſſe hee trauailed in a worke of ſingular auaile vnto all ſorts of men. For therein, like a cunning Artificer, hath hee matched and coupled together thoſe kind of* Similies, *which the Greekes call* Parallels; *and that with ſuch a mixture of choice varieties, that hee neuer ſends his Reader away cloyed, or ſurfetted, but rather ſo well pleaſed with the dreſſing and ordering of his ſeuerall Diſcourſes, as that ſtill his ſtomacke ſhall ſerue him eftſoones to feed vpon the ſame viands. For in it, as in a Magazine, are ſtored vp abundance of both* Precepts *and* Examples, *collected out of the beſt Monuments of Auncient and Moderne Writers, famous in all kind of good* * *Learning: by which wee are admoniſhed chiefly, for morall documents, as well what to imitate and purſue, as to ſhunne and auoid. In it beſides are recorded and expoſed to view many famous and remarkable* Hiſtories, *by which generous ſpirits may bee incited vnto, and promoued in the ſtudie and practiſe of* Pietie, Wiſedome, Iuſtice, Magnanimitie, Temperance, *and other faire Virtues. As on the contrarie, by being a ſpectator of the ougly deformitie of ſundrie vices (here alſo exemplified) they may bee deterred and affrighted from perpetrating the like, after that they ſhall ſee and conſider what fearefull puniſhments and calamities are moſt commonly their concomitants. Inſomuch that Any of what degree ſoeuer ſhall heere readily find laid vp to his hand not onely pertinent* Precepts, *but wholeſome* Examples *alſo accommodated and fitted for their ſeuerall vſes and affaires. Whence it is, that this Worke may not vnfitly bee titled,* A Liuing Librarie, *being in the eſtimation of learned and iudicious Ariſtarchs that true* Treasvrie of Times, *which of all others, in this kind, hath ſatisfied their curious palats with ſingular varietie throughout the whole.*

Not to make mention of many rare Inſcriptions, Epitaphs, *and ſundrie other peeces of* Antiquitie, *both* Romane *and others, faithfully related not onely from this Authors owne* Ephemeris, *and priuat Obſeruations in his Trauels; but extracted alſo out of the beſt Writers Antient and Neotorique, Ethnicke and Chriſtian, which haue deliuered and commended thoſe things to Poſteritie. So that whatſoeuer* Iuvenal *did either compriſe or intend in the Summarie of his* Satires, *is in this volume comprehended (with a large Auctuarie)* viz.

Iuvenal.

Quicquid agunt homines, Votum, Timor, Ira, Voluptas,
Gaudia, Diſcurſus noſtri farrago Libelli.

That is;

Mens actions all, Vowes, Anger, Feare, Delight,
Diſcourſe, and Joyes are heere found at firſt ſight.

*As Camerarius his Catalogue, before the booke, of Authours that haue writ in Theologie, Hiſtorie, Morall Philoſophie, Ethicks, Politicks, Oeconomicks, Poetrie, &c. doth manifeſt.

To the Reader.

Mr. John Molle.

The consideration whereof did long since iustly moove a right learned and religious Gentleman (whose solid and knowne worth hath been long approoued at home, but much more abroad, for which cause his memorie shall bee in benedictione sempiterna) *to vndertake the translation thereof, as before that it had been done into French out of Latine (in which language it was at the first curiously arayed) into our vulgar; whereby the benefit therof might accrue and be communicated to this Nation also.*

Accept therefore (ingenious Reader) this his trauell in good part, and make that vsefull profit to thy selfe, in the due perusing thereof, which shall best sort both for the accomplishment of thine owne good, and of his desires, who for thy sake did first attempt and finish this Taske. So may some happie hand heereafter goe on in the finishing of the Remainder of these Meditations, *and other peeces of the same Author, which are had in no small estimation, by their iust desert, amongst the learned of these times.*

THE AVTHORS VOTE,

Or, Dedication of this Booke.

THE COGITATIONS, INDEVOVRS, STVDIES, PAINES, AND THE LIKE, WHICH AT SPARE TIMES ARE COLLECTED AND BESTOWED IN THIS BOOKE, BE THEY ALL DEDICATED AND CONSECRATED CHIEFELY TO THE GOOD OF THE PVBLIKE; NEXT, OF PEACE, QVIET, AND VERITIE, AND OF GOOD ARTS AND PARTS, AS ALSO TO WITS STVDIOVS IN HISTORY. WHICH FIRST FRVITS OR OFFERINGS IF THEY PROOVE VSE-FVLL TO THE WEALE-PVBLIKE, AND ACCEPTABLE TO THE MEMBERS THEREOF, AS WHOLESOME REFECTION FOR THEIR MINDES; AND THAT BY THEM THEY SHALL NOT ONLY RECEIVE SOME SMALL DELIGHT (BY REASON OF THE VARIETIE OF THINGS, AND FOR THE SIMILITVDE OF HISTORIES COMPARED TOGETHER) BVT BESIDES FROM THENCE GLEANE SOME LITTLE PROFIT ALSO; THEN SHALL THE AVTHOVR THINKE TO HAVE AIMED WELL AT THE SCOPE OF HIS DESIRES: BVT IF OTHERWISE, LET ALL WHATSOEVER IS GATHERED HITHER AND CONTRIVED IN THIS VOLVME, RATHER PERISH, BEE SPVNGED OVT, AND CASHIERED, AS THOVGH THEY HAD BEEN NEVER DONE. IF THEREFORE THEY ATTAINE THE WISHED EFFECT, IT IS WELL: IF NOT, LET THEM BEE OMITTED AND COMMITTED TO FEED THE WORMES AND MOTHES.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

That the Prayers and complaints, which proceed from a pure and ſanctified heart, are acceptable to God.

WEE read in *Cicero* theſe words, *Let men that come neere to the gods be chaſt, let them be religious: They that doe otherwiſe ſhalbe puniſhed of God himſelfe.* Againe, *Let not the wicked preſume by preſents to pacifie the wrath of the gods.* Although the Pagans had no certaine knowledge of the Truth, yet they thought that God was more prouoked to vengeance by the prayers of the wicked, than inclined to ſuccour them. *Bias* of Priene one of the ſeauen wiſe-men of Greece, is a witneſſe hereof. For, ſayling in a Ship, where ſome fellowes were that had giuen themſelues ouer to lewdneſſe, and yet in a ſtorme that was riſen, were calling to their gods for helpe, he ſayd vnto them thus; *Hold your peace, for feare leaſt the gods ſhould know you bee here.* And *Plato* forbad all diſputation of any purpoſe or intent in God towards a wicked man that ſhould pray vnto him, and indeuour to appeaſe him by offrings: conſidering that an honeſt man taketh no delight in the gifts of a naughty perſon. And therefore an Ancient was wont to ſay, *That wee ſhould make the gods fauourable to vs in time of proſperitie, that ſo wee may the boldlier call vpon them in our affliction.* *Plinie* ſeemeth to haue regard heereunto, when he ſaith; *That all things are the better accepted, when they come from honeſt and pure hands.* It appeareth then, that the auncient Pagans held this for a ſure ground, That the gods tooke no pleaſure in ſuch ſacrifices as were offered by the impure hands of wicked men. And therefore they would haue the women that were appointed for the keeping of their Chappels and places of deuotion, to abſtaine for nine dayes and nine nights togither from all filthineſſe and pollution. *Cybeles* Prieſts were gelded with a ſharpe ſtone, to the end they might liue chaſtly. In Athens they drunke Hemlocke, to preuent the deſire of comming to their wiues: and their women that vowed a religious life, lay vpon certaine leaues fit and proper to alay their heat. For good cauſe then doth the Orator *Demoſthenes* ſay thus of the Arch-prieſts and ouer-ſeers of the Ceremonies; *I am of opinion* (ſaith he) *that the Prieſt which commeth to the handling of the holy things,*

In the 2 booke of his Lawes.

In *Plutarchs* Morals.

In his Lawes.

In his 18. booke, chap 3.

In his Oration againſt *Timocrates.*

and taketh care of that which belongeth to the seruice of the gods, should bee chaste and continent; not a certaine number of dayes onely, but that all his life-time hee abstaine from all dishonesty. The Magicians, the more easily to ensnare the simple, vnder the colour of continencie and of pietie, maintaine, that Angels and Spirits loue maides and boyes that are not corrupted, for the agreement and conformitie that is betweene them. For likenesse causeth loue: and Angels, haue no copulation, nor yet sex male or femall. And therefore *Galeot Martius* saith; *Let them that will appease the gods keepe themselues chaste*, as a certaine Poet saith,

In his first booke *de doctrina promiscua.*

In this deuotion
May our young sonnes liue and remaine,
Ech one of them free from the staine
Of all pollution.

Virgill seemeth to haue touched this point, speaking of *Venus*, where hee saith that

In the second booke of the *Aeneis.*

Shee hid herselfe againe within the darkesome night.

And hee addeth,

Then did the Heauens wrath appeare vnto my sight,
And the hie Deities combined against Troy.

For, so long as *Venus* (which signifieth carnall pleasure, and hindereth the sight of Angels and Spirits) was present with *Æneas* her sonne, hee could not see or discerne any thing. And so some Magicians (being curious to finde out by the helpe of a looking-glasse, or a glasse-viall full of water, a theefe that lies hidden) make choyce of young Maides or Boyes vnpolluted, to discerne therein those Images or sights which a person defiled cannot see. *Bodin* reporteth, that in his time there was at Tholouse a certaine Portugais, who shewed within a Boyes naile, things that were hidden. And he addeth, that God had expressely forbidden, that none should worship the Stone of Imagination. His opinion is, that this Stone of Imagination or Adoration (for so expoundeth hee the first verse of the 26 chapter of *Leuiticus*, where hee speaketh of the Idoll, the grauen Image, and the painted Stone) was smooth and cleere as a looking-glasse, wherein they saw certaine Images, or sights, of which they inquired after the things hidden. In our time Coniurers vse Christall, calling the diuination *Chrystallomantia*, or *Onychomantia*, in the which, after they haue rubbed one of the nayles of their fingers, or a piece of Chrystall, they vtter I know not what words, and they call a boy that is pure and no way corrupted, to see therein that which they require, as the same *Bodin* doth also make mention.

In the 3 booke of his *Dæmonomachia.* chap. 3.

But let vs leaue these Magicall fooleries, or rather furies, and returne to our meditation. If then the Pagans haue thought, that pure and holy prayers were of so great importance: what must Christians thinke that are indued with the knowledge of the true God, and who are assured by his word, that hee will bee called vpon purely and holily, and that such prayers are full of efficacie and power? This doth *Lactantius* teach vs: *If any* (saith hee) *come and present himselfe before God with a defiled conscience, let him call to minde the threatnings of him that seeth the secret corners of the heart, a perpetuall enemy to sinnes, a friend to righteousnesse and fidelitie, the which hee requireth and recommendeth. Can a wicked conscience, or a prayer ill grounded, stand before him? But these wretches haue no apprehension of their sinnes, nor feele they how execrable their Idol is, forasmuch as being couered with all sorts of mischiefes they presse forward to pray, and thinke they haue offered a holy Sacrifice, if they haue bee-sprinckled themselues with water outwardly; as if the riuers or the seas could wash the filthie concupiscences of the heart. How much better is it to cleanse the soule*

In his 5 booke of *Diuine Institut.* chap. 19.

bedurted

bedurted with wicked desires, and by the washing of Faith and Charitie to driue all vices away? Hee that shall doe that, though his body bee foule and durtie, is cleane enough. This washing instituted in old time, had a mysticall meaning: For the cleanenesse of the face, represented the pureneſse of a good conscience. Vpon which occasion *Chrysostome* sayth, *That to wash the face signifieth to haue the face of our heart cleane from all filthinesse of sinne, and foulenesse of iniquitie,* in a word, *to haue the conscience so pure, that wee may truely enioy and feele in our selues the contentment of a Heauenly ioy, and the comfort of the Holie Spirit.* The letter written by *Constantine* the Great to *Sapores* King of Persia, must not here bee forgotten; in the which being full of Holy admonitions, these words among others are read: *All that God requireth of men is a cleane heart, and a spirit purged from all filthinesse. This is the ballance wherein hee weigheth the actions of Pietie & of Vertue.* In this sense a great personage of our time taught his Schollers what prayers were acceptable to God. The Latin Distich he made thereof, may thus be translated:

God, a pure Spirit, craues a pure heart to call vpon his Name;
And what wee purely pray him for, he vowes to grant the same.

In the 45. Homily of the 4 holiday after Ashwensday.

Euseb. in the 4 booke of the life of *Constantin.* chap. 10.

D. Chytræus lib. de morte & vita æterna.

For as the vessells which are to be filled with hony or with wine, must first be scraped, rinsed, and made cleane from all other contrarie matter that was put into them before: so of necessity must our hearts and mindes bee purged from all the vaine desires of this world, and the stincking puddles of sin, before they can be made fit to receiue the wisedome, righteousnesse, and life of God. To this purpose the Church singeth; *Lord, deliuer vs from all our iniquities, that with pure thoughts wee may enter into the most Holy place.* *Gregorie Nazianzen* hath likewise made a good Distich to this purpose:

The lifting of pure hands on hie is ioyfull sacrifice,
And offring of chaste vowes to God is pleasing in his eyes.

To this the Emperour *Iustinian* had regard, in his Constitution where hee enioyneth (and that seuerely) godlinesse and chastitie to Friers and Nunnes. *If with pure hands,* sayth hee, *and cleane hearts they make requests to God for the publike State, questionlesse armes will prosper, and Cities will be well gouerned. When God shalbe appeased and pleased, all Countries shalbe peaceable, and full of deuotion. The earth shall bring vs foorth fruits, and the sea furnish that it hath in store, at the prayers of those men and women that shall make God fauourable to all the world.* Saint *Augustine* was of the same opinion, saying; *The prayer of the Iust is the key to open Paradise: It ascendeth, and the mercy of God doth descend. Though the Earth bee low, and the Heauen hie, yet God heareth the prayer of man, if so bee the words and sighs proceed from a pure conscience.*

Nouell. 9. *collat.* 3. tit. 16. chap. 5.

In his Serm. of *Leuit.* chap. 4.

To conclude, *Chrysostome* propoundeth a similitude worthie to bee noted, and added hereunto. *The face of the soule,* sayth hee, *is the Conscience: For, as a faire face delighteth those that behold it; so a cleane Conscience is a beautifull thing in the eyes of God.* Whereunto the same Father had regard, when hee reproued those that wronged the poore, saying; *You haue might and strength, but they haue weapons much stronger; they haue sighes, teares, and patience, wherewith they draw succour downe from Heauen. Such weapons pierce houses, pull vp the very foundations, ouerthow Cities, and ouerwhelme all the Nations of the earth; so carefull and so thoughtfull is God for those that suffer wrong.* And surely, the complaints of persons wronged, are mightie and strong weapons.

In his Serm. of couetousnesse.

CHAP. II.

The Common-wealth is gouerned and maintained by Letters and by Armes.

IVlius *Cæsar* is painted in the heroicall deuises of *Gabriel Simeon*, standing vpon the Globe of the world, holding in his left hand a Booke, and in his right, a Sword, with this motto, *Ex vtroque Cæsar*, that is, *Emperour by both*. Which picture sheweth, that *Cæsar* got the Empire, and held it, by Armes and by Letters. For it is not enough to conquer, but that which is conquered must also be kept. The Emperour *Iustinian* thought the same, who in the beginning of his Institutions of the Ciuile Law, sayth; *That the Imperiall Maiestie must not only bee beautified with militarie art, but also armed with Lawes, to the end the same may gouerne aright in times of warre and of peace: in such wise, that it may haue Victorie in battails against the enemies, and Iustice to represse by lawfull meanes the offences of those that disturbe the quiet of others.* Hereby wee see how carefull ancient Kings and Princes haue beene to prouide, That what they had gotten by wisedome and trauell, might bee wisely conserued and kept together. For this cause *Francis Guicciardin*, a wise Historiographer among our moderne writers, doth couertly taxe the Frenchmen of vnaduisednesse, who did easily enlarge their limits by Armes, but could not hold that they had gotten: hauing not the insight to see, That a Country wonne by those that cannot skill to vse domesticall discipline, is vnprofitable to them, yea most commonly is troublesome to keepe, and in the end brings them to ruin. Which the Emperour *Augustus* knew full well: For hauing read the historie of the exployts of great *Alexander* in the East, it is sayd hee wondred, That *Alexander* did onely bethinke him of adding conquests to conquests, but neuer of the meanes to keepe them well. *Pyrrhus* king of Albania was of that humour, sayth *Iustin* the Historian; For, whereseuer hee set his foot none might abide his force. But by how much hee was thought a valiant Conquerour, by so much hee afterwards prooued an vnhappy possessor, for hee tooke pleasure in nothing but in winning of Countries, and afterwards in loosing them againe. *Scipio* when he was Censor, being to make a publike prayer, according to the custome then vsed; in stead of saying, *ô yee gods, increase the Common-wealth*, was contented to pray, *That they would maintaine it; It is* (sayd hee) *great enough: Let it suffice it may bee kept in the state it is. Totilas* King of the Gothes, being made master of Rome, had the same consideration: for in an oration made to his armie, hee concludeth thus; *It is harder to keepe a conquest than to conquer: because in conquering of a Countrey, the cowardize of the possessor helpeth more then the valour of the inuador doth, who cannot keepe that which hee hath gotten, without his owne vertue.*

In his historie of the warres of Italy. *lib.* 1.

Lib. 25.

Leonard Aretin, in the 3. booke of the warre of Italy against the Gothes.

Now, with that deuise of *Cæsar* propounded in the beginning of this Chapter, agreeth the verse of *Homer* that was common in the mouth of *Alexander* the great, and which king *Francis* the first (as they say) was so well pleased with, as hee caused it to bee written in many of his bookes, the verse is this according to *Homers* meaning, who in the person of *Agamemnon* requireth, That a king bee

In counsell Wise, and Valiant in the fight.

Plut. in his *Apophthegmes*.

So *Agesilaus* that great king of Sparta, being one day asked which of these two vertues hee thought the more excellent, Valour, or Iustice; answered sententiously, *that Valour without Iustice is destitute of her right vse*. In like manner there is an ancient and ordinarie custome among the Turkes, that when their Sultan or

Emperor

Emperor goeth into his Chappell to performe his deuotions, the Talisman or Sexten meeteth him, and with a loud voyce willeth him to remember that *the Empire purchased with Iustice, and Military force, cannot bee kept nor defended but by the same weapons.* *P. Iouius lib. 2 Elog.*

Hereby we may see to our shame and great disgrace (as the Lord of Busbeck sayth) that this enemie of Christendome is so vigilant, and seuere in maintayning of discipline, so wise and circumspect to hold what hee hath gotten, and to raigne and rule in such a contriuing order, as hee cannot endure to be remooued from the places where hee hath once set his foot: cannot endure that the corne beaten downe by his haile should euer rise vp againe: being hard to say, whether he be more firme and stout to keepe that which he holdeth, or prompt and industrious to get it. The good Emperour *Maximilian*, the first of that name, would oftentimes say, That there is farre lesse labour to vanquish and subdue a people, then to retaine them in obedience. *Nicias* meant the same, when hee held, That he did foolishly, that inuaded those whom hee could not containe in their dutie after hee had ouercome them. To this may bee applied the thirteenth Embleme of *Adrian Iunius*, where hee painteth two *Mercuries*, the one yong and frollick, the other old and graue: adding for exposition, That the Ancients pretended by that Table to signifie, that the King or Magistrat ought to ioyne Prudence with Force, the one being vnprofitable without the other, as his verses placed vnderneth those Images, doe witnesse, being borrowed out of *Isocrates*, to this effect, *That force is of force, ioyned with wisedome; but without wisedome it doth a man hurt.* In his discourse of the meanes to make warre vpon the Turke. *Thucidid. lib. 6.* In his admonitions to *Demonicus*.

Mercurie *is yong and bold,*
Ioyn'd with Mercurie *the old:*
So doth Valor liuelie reigne,
When to Wisdome it doth leane,
But (apart) it fayleth cleane.

And therefore doth *Francis Patricius* say wisely, That the Commonwealth is increased by the same meanes that it is acquired: for there is none other way of increasing, but by adding of that which doth increase. Now, when an estate is acquired and increased, there remaineth the keeping thereof, by contayning the mindes of the subiects in their dutie, in such sort as they may abide vnder the yoke either willingly, or against their wills. The one is done by force; the other by Loue. If the Prince doe hereunto ioyne some grauitie, which may beget in the hearts of the Subiects a kinde of feare accompanied with reuerence and admiration, there is nothing that can keepe them faster tied vnto him, than such a chaine. Respect is the terrifying, and (as it were) the enchanting of humane mindes. For the conclusion, we will not forget a very ancient inscription which *Petrus Victorius*, a noble and learned personage affirmeth was brought out of Spaine by *Augustine Neruche* in his returne from his voyage: which inscription expressed in English, conteyneth the substance of these words: In the 6. *Dialogue* of the History. In his Annotations vpon *M. Varro* touching the tillage of the fields.

TO VICTORIOVS PALLAS.

Cato *did here discomfit the residue of the enemies troopes: and left there a Chappell built with a maruailous workemanship, and a* Pallas *of brasse.*
Therefore let all obey, and know that the Empire of the Senat and people of Rome is garded and gouerned by the Prouidence of the gods, and by the Valiancie of the souldiers.

CHAP. III.

Wee must abstaine from calumnies and outragious words: aboue all from iniurying the dead and the absent.

WEE haue a common saying in our mouthes, and it were to bee wished wee would practise it in our deeds, *That it is not lawfull to speake ought but good of the absent, and of the dead.* The Ancients were carefull hereof; and one of the precepts of their Wise-men is, *That wee ought not to wrong the deceased.* Another, *That wee should at no hand mocke the dead.* Whereunto agreeth the deuise or writing of *Platoes* seale, *It is easier to stirre him that resteth, than to stay him that is stirred.* For wee must not wrestle with the shadow of the dead, nor is it fit to wrong them in words; an iniurie piercing deeper, than doth the acknowledgement of the good receiued: or (as *Cornelius Tacitus* wisely saith) *wee incline more to reuenge an iniurie, than to requite a good turne: because the requitall commeth hardly from vs, but wee hold the reuenge a great gaine.* For this cause is the law of *Solon* much esteemed, forbidding to curse the dead. For it is a dutie of pietie to account them sacred that are gon out of the world: it being also reasonable not to touch those that cease to bee, to measure and make finite ciuile enmities, and not to suffer that they grow to bee infinite: or (as *Carisius* sayth) *wee must not be angrie like an enemie.* And certainely, those ancient Law-makers did wisely, to turne men away from so many detractions and slanderous reportings: for they were not ignorant, that the absent are more grieuously offended with iniurious speeches than with outragious deeds: and that many can beare more patiently the losse of wealth, than an insolent word. It seemeth a thing permitted to enemies, to defend themselues in deedes, because of the necessitie: but in stinging words a man seemeth to see too much either of hatred or malice. *Plato* would shew that with the finger (as one may say) when hee setteth such ill-mouth'd fellowes in the ranke of the furious: *There are sundrie sorts of mad-men* (saith he) *some lie sicke in their beds: others, by a depraued nature, or a cruell minde, or through bad nourishment fall into frenzie; and all these for a light offence keepe a clamoring, and euen teare themselues with opprobrious words, wherewith they lay about them of euerie side.* Which in a well gouerned State should in no wise bee suffered. *Herodotus* also obserued the same, saying; *that Detraction is a grieuous thing, consisting of two that doe iniurie, and of one to whom the iniurie is done. For, the Detractor doth wrong, in accusing one that is not present to answere: Hee that heareth him, is iniurious also, because hee beleeueth before hee knoweth the truth: and the absent hath iniurie done to him, in that hee is accused to bee naught by the one, and accounted so by the other.* And hereunto agreeth a law of *Platoes* in these words; *Let none doe iniurie to any: But who so hath a matter against any man, let him conferre with his aduersarie and with those that are priuie to the cause, and let them heare one another, abstayning vtterly from ill speeches.* Therefore *Charles* of *Bourbon* had often in his mouth the Apophthegme of a Gascoyne Gentleman, who being demanded of King *Charles* the 7. what reward might winne him to breake his faith with him, whereof he had made triall in so many important affaires: *I could not bee drawne thereunto, Sir,* (answered hee) *though I might haue your Kingdome giuen mee, or the Empire of the Earth, or all the treasures of the world: but I might be mooued to doe it by an outrage that might be offred me, and for some iniurie that should touch mine honour.*

Touching the dead, this is a good precept of *Chilo* the Lacedemonian; *Speake not ill of a dead man, but thinke him happie.* Those ancient wisemen thought that a man of honour could not staine himselfe more, than by wronging those that could

Plut. in his life.

Lib. 11. *de Legib.*

Lib. 7.

Lib. 11. *de Legib.*

Arn. Ferron. lib. 7. *hist. Franciæ.*

could not answere him; being as shamefull a thing to striue with the dead, as to wrestle with a shadow, or with a ghost. *Pausanias* King of Sparta had the same consideration: for hauing defeated and slaine in a set battell *Mardonius* the king of Persias Lieutenant, hee was counselled by *Lampon* one of the chiefe men of the Isle of Ægina, to hang vp the enemies bodie, giuing it the like entertainment that *Mardonius* had giuen to King *Leonidas*. But *Pausanias* answered him, *I greatly esteeme thy zeale and fore-sight; but thy iudgement is farre wide from equitie. For if I should follow thy counsell, and vse crueltie towards a dead man, I might discredit my selfe, and the Countrey thou magnifiest so much. Thou thinkest in so doing I should doe well, whereas indeed I should commit an act more befitting Barbarians than Grecians, who cannot allow of such disorderlie parts in the most sauage people of the world.* That which *Suidas* reporteth of the Image of *Nico* the Wrestler who was borne at Thasus, is worthie of memorie. It happened that after his death, some enuious wretch giuing the bridle to the hatred hee had borne *Nico* while hee was aliue, tooke a cudgill in his hand, and therewith beat this Wrestlers Image, as it were to spight the memory of him: Hereupon the Image, to reuenge *Nico* (if one may so say) falleth downe from the place where it had beene set, vpon him that strucke at it, and crusheth him dead in the place. Let vs further heare that which *Plinie* in his preface vpon the first booke of his *Naturall Historie* reporteth of *Cato* the Censor, in the Commentarie hee wrote of Military discipline: *I am sure* (saith hee) *that many who know not what true honour meaneth, will bee readie to snarle at my writings, if they come abroad: but I let their words runne by, like raine water.* *Plancus* likewise made a wittie and pleasant answere in the like case; for being told that *Asinius Pollio* had written certaine inuectiue Orations against him which should not bee published till after *Plancus* his death, to the end they might not bee answered by him; *There is none* (saith he) *but ghosts and goblins that fight with the dead:* with which ghird, he gaue those Orations such a blow, that (in the opinion of the learned) none were accounted afterward more impudent and shameless than such kinde of fellowes: thus saith *Plinie*. Therefore is *Sylla* worthily blamed, who not being content to haue done the worst hee could to his enemies while they liued, commanded their bones to bee taken out of their graues, and to bee throwne into the Riuer, as hee did to the bodie of *Marius*. For which cause, when he lay on his death-bed hee ordained by Will, that his bodie should be burnt to ashes, fearing least his carcasse should bee handled after the same sort by his enemies.

Herodot. lib. 9.

Pausan. lib. 6. of his Comment, saith the same. *Euseb. lib. 5. Preparat.* saith that this was the Image of a Wrestler named *Diomedes.*

Plutarch in the life of *Sylla.*

It appeareth that the memorie of the deceased was precious in times past, in that the Romans were anciently accustomed to honour the death of the most noble and excellent among them by mourning a whole yeare, or some longer terme. And indeed it is a worke of commendation, testifying good will towards those that are deceassed. And the holy Scriptures make mention of this custome. Whereunto we may adde the law of the Athenians, which was, That all such as had died valiantly in the warres for their Countries defence, were registred by name in their Annalls, that there might bee often mention made of them, and of their valiant exploits, by magnifying them in the assemblies of the people, and by celebrating sollemne feasts and sports in remembrance of them; where the yong men had diuers exercises of their bodies, surnamed *Sepulchral*, wherein they put themselues forward to winne glory by armes, to set light by death for the Common-wealths sake, that was so thankefull for the benefits shee receiued of her Citizens. In these exercises, the Polemarck (the chiefe of those youths) propounded certaine verses and songs in praise

prayse of those that were dead, and of their valour, that the yong men might sing them before all the people. For conclusion, I will heere remember the memorable deed of King *Lewis* the XI. described by *Robert Gaguin*, which sheweth, that this Prince had a desire that the name of those that were dead should remaine whole and sound, without seeking for reuenge, whatsoeuer their life had beene. The father of this *Lewis* had entertained the faire *Agnes*, who desired to be buried in the church of the castle of Loches. For this cause she, hauing endowed it with an yearely rent, made her Toombe to bee set vp in the middest of the Queere: A while after *Lewis* comming thither, asked who it was that lay in that Toombe: A Priest answered him, that it was the faire *Agnes*, saying thus withall, *Sir, forasmuch as this Toombe is a let and hinderance vnto vs, if so it please you, wee would gladly remooue it into some Chappell. That which you require* (answered the King) *is not reasonable; for although this woman while shee liued was an heauie friend of mine, yet will I not violate her Sepulchre nor the lawes of buriall. Besides, I will not beleeue that you layd her bodie in so eminent a place without a rich recompence: Performe therefore to your benefactresse now shee is dead, that which you promise her while shee liued: and take heed you remooue her not from hence to any other place. And to the end you may rest so much the more bound to pray for her, I giue you more sixe thousand Francs.* And therewithall hee caused the same to bee told out vnto them, ordayning that it should bee put foorth for a perpetuall yearely benefit for that Church. The same Author recounteth (after *Iohn Chartier* an ancient Historiographer) that when *Charles* the VII. the father of *Lewis* the XI. had besieged Harflew to driue the English from thence, hee went and lodged in the Abbay of Gemet, whither the faire *Agnes* came of purpose to aduertise the King of some treason that was complotted against him. And hee addeth, that the common speech was in his time, that *Charles* kept her, and had a daughter by her, which died a few daies after: albeit *Charles* vtterly denied that shee was his daughter. *Agnes* died in that Abbay of Gemet, hauing left and giuen away by will the summe of threescore thousand crownes. Her bowels were buried there, but the body was imbalmed and interred at Loches. She was a woman of a pleasing conuersation, but full of pompe, taking a glorie to bee proudly attended. The which (because it asked a round summe of money to maintaine it) made the world thinke that *Charles* furnished the expense, to enioy the Lady. And that which strengthened this opinion, was that her friends were seene of a sudden greatly graced and exceedingly prouided for. The Lord of Hallion maketh mention of this *Agnes* in the life of *Charles* the VII. And *Pontus Heuter* a Hollander in the History of the Dukes of Burgundie, writeth; that *Agnes* being exceedingly beloued of *Charles*, was (by common report) sent out of the world by the deuises of the Dolphin sonne and successor to *Charles*, called *Lewis* the XI.

In the hist. of France, *lib.* 11. *cap.* 12.

600. l. sterling.

In the 4. chap. of the same booke.

In the 23. booke.

CHAP IV.

Of the notable bountie of Princes towards learned men.

Cic. in his first of *Tuscul.*

THE Ancients haue said very well, *That Honour nourisheth Arts.* And Histories doe shew that the excellent men of former ages, gaue themselues with great earnestnesse to the studie of the Liberall Sciences; and that which is more, cherished, and rightly rewarded those that professed and taught the same. Therefore wee need not maruell if in their times, Arts and Sciences did flourish

floriſh ſo much, that yet in our dayes we gather the fruits thereof in diuers and ſundrie ſorts. For like as a ſweet and temperat ayre maketh the trees fruitfull: ſo Arts and good Wits are encouraged to put themſelues forwards by kinde entertainment, honour, and thankefulneſſe; as contrariwiſe, through the enuie, ſparingneſſe, and cruell repulſe of great perſons, they wax faint, and grow cold and drowſie. What man is there that doth not ſettle himſelfe to paines-taking with the more alacritie and promptneſſe, if hee expect, or receiue the recompence thereof?

Braue Wits doe wake and rowze themſelues for meede,

So ſayth *Claudian* the Poet. Now I cannot but wonder at the bountie of King *Lewis* the XI. who liuing within the memory of our Fathers, was wont to giue euery month to his Phyſition ten thouſand crownes for his wages: ſo as in the ſpace of fiue months, this Phyſition receiued the ſumme of foure and fiftie thouſand crownes, as *Philip de Commines* writeth. Beſides, hee gaue the Biſhopprick of Amiens to a Neuew of his, and prouided his kinſmen and friends of offices and benefices. But one may aske heere, If this manner of giuing may be termed Bountie, which proceedeth not of a franke and liberall will, but from a heart enforced through feare? For the ſame Author writeth, that the King was much afrayd of this Phyſition, and that hee would oftentimes complaine to his Minions of his rough dealing with him. And (indeed) hee had made the king beleeue, That if hee were ſent away from the Court, the king ſhould not liue long after. Wee read alſo of king *Charles* the IX. that hee was a very liberall Prince to all, and particularly to *Albert de Gondi* a money-changers ſonne, to whom hee did ſo many gracious turnes, that beſides the dignities whereunto hee was aduanced, in the ſpace of fiue yeares hee receiued ſix hundred thouſand crownes in ſheere coyne, out of the kings treaſurie. But I know not whither I ſhould attribute the name of liberaltie to ſuch an exceſſiue donation, ſeeing the authour of this report yeeldeth no witneſſe of any honorable ſeruice done by this *Albert*, ſaue that the king learned of him to ſweare by Gods name. The Bountie of ancient princes farre ſurmounteth the liberalitie of thoſe that liue in theſe ages. Among others, *Alexander* the great was very bountifull to learned men. For Hiſtorians write, that hauing defraied *Ariſtotle* in all his neceſſarie charges, writing of the nature of Beaſts, for recompence of his paines, beſides hee gaue him a preſent of eight hundred Talents, which aſcend to the value of foure hundred and foureſcore thouſand crownes. The ſame *Alexander* ſent by his Ambaſſadors, to *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, fiftie talents, which make thirtie thouſand crownes: but the Philoſopher hauing refuſed them, becauſe hee had no need of ſo much money, *Alexander* ſayd to thoſe that were ſent from him; *What, hath* Xenocrates *no friends to whom hee may doe ſome good?* Furthermore, we read that *Theombrotus* a Phyſition receiued threeſcore thouſand crownes for hauing tended and recouered king *Antiochus* of a certaine ſickneſſe: That the cunning Painter *Apelles* receiued eight-ſcore thouſand crownes for a Tablet, wherein hee had drawne great *Alexander*. Wee read in *Seruius*, that *Virgill* the Poet vpon a time read before the Emperour *Auguſtus*, the ſecond, fourth, and ſixth bookes of his *Æneis*; but chiefely the ſixth, for *Octauias* ſake the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*, and mother to *Marcellus*, who was adopted by his vncle, and died of ſickneſſe in the eighteenth yeare of his age: *Virgill* then rehearſing in the preſence of *Octauia* certaine verſes towards the end of that ſixth booke, where he deſcribeth the mourning for *Marcellus* death; the mother hearing theſe words, *Heu miſerande puer! ſi qua fata aſpera rumpas, Tu* Marcellus *eris, &c.*

In the 2. *Panegyr.* of the prayſes of *Stilicon.*

In the life of that king, *An.* 1483.

In a briefe treatiſe, intituled a *Synopſis* of the life of *Charles* 9.

Plu. in his life, and in the treatiſe of the fortune of *Alexander.*

In his Comment. vpon *Virgill.*

eris,&c. fell into a swouning, and being with much adoe come to her selfe againe, forbad *Virgill* to read any further, and caused tenne Sesterces to be giuen him for euerie verse hee had pronounced, being in number one and twentie: which amount to more than fiue thousand crownes. Belike *Octauia* followed the example of the Candiots, who presented *Homer* with a thousand pieces of siluer, in acknowledgement of his trauell in the Ilias and Odyssea, ordayning that the same gratuitie of theirs should bee grauen in a pillar erected in open view. Now, as it is a memorable thing, that the Poet *Cherilus* for so many verses as hee made, receiued so many staters of gold: so is the largesse of *Lysander* magnified, who gaue to the Poet *Antilochus* for a few verses, a hatfull of siluer. And the Emperour *Seuerus* caused to bee told out to *Oppian* (who hath written a booke of fishes) for euerie Greeke verse hee made, a crowne: a liberalitie so much admired afterwards, that yet at this day those verses of *Oppian* are surnamed, *Golden*. We read also, that *Manilius Cornutus* a wealthie personage, and gouernor of Aquitaine, being troubled with the shamefull falling of the hayre, and at last cured thereof, rewarded his Physition with the summe of foure thousand crownes.

Let vs leaue to speake of ancient examples, and produce some moderne. In the time of our fathers, a Physition of Florence named *Thadeus*, got such credit by his art, that when he went to minister out of the citie, hee got for euery day fiftie crownes, and being sent for by Pope *Honorius* the IV. had of him a hundred crownes by the day: so that returning from Rome he brought home with him tenne thousand crownes. *Petrus Apouensis* a Physition of Padua, neuer went out of Bolonia where hee dwelt, to see any patient, but hee receiued the same summe of fiftie crownes a day. One Pope of his time being falne sicke, could not haue him before hee was faigne to allow him foure hundred duccats a day. *Erasistratus* an ancient Physition had the like good fortune by his sufficiencie and trauell. For when as *Antiochus* who was extremely in loue with his mother in law *Stratonice*, languished and fell away euerie houre, and *Erasistratus* hauing discouered his sickenesse by feeling his pulse, had told *Seleucus*, that his sonne was but a dead man: *How so? quoth* Selucus: *Because* (answered the Physition) *hee pineth away for loue of my wife. What? (replieth* Selucus) *am I so little regarded of thee, that thou thinkest much, to grant my sonne what hee desireth? But* (quoth the Physition) *would you bee content to satisfie anothers passion in that manner and yeeld him your wife? I wish with all my heart* (answered *Seleucus*) *that the gods would turne my sonnes affection towards my deere* Stratonice. *Then said* Erasistratus *vnto him, you are his father, and you may bee his Physition. So* Seleucus *gaue his wife to* Antiochus, *and threescore thousand crownes to* Erasistratus. To make an end, I will heere adde the memorable inscription that was found in a marble-stone pulled out of the ground about a tower neere to *Traians* fort, by the report of *Marlianus* in his Topographie of ancient Rome, containing these words, *Potentissima dos in Principe, Liberalitas & Clementia*, that is, *Bountie and Clemencie is the surest dowrie of a Prince.*

Plut. in his Liues and Moralls.

CHAP. V.

Of the protecting of Husband-men, and of Militarie discipline.

MAny Lawes and Ordinances we haue, which doe shew what great care Princes and Magistrates had in old time, that Husbandmen and Labourers might bee no lesse assured in time of warre, than in the time of

of peace. They knew how much it stood the common-wealth vpon, that victuals should be prouided, preserued, & conueniently distributed to the comfort of all people. For like as a child that is newborne, cannot liue and attaine to the growth of age without the nurses milke; so likewise a peopled citie can neither mantain it selfe, nor continue any long time, if it haue not the reuenues of the ground, and that in some abundance. *Cicero* was not ignorant hereof, who said, *That of all other things whereof any fruit ariseth, there is none better, more plentifull, more delightsome, more worthie of an honourable man, than Husbandrie.* And *Marcus Cato* reporteth, That when the Ancients would speake in commendation of a man, they vsed to call him a good Husband-man, and a good tiller of the ground. For which cause, the Censors layd a fine vpon their heads, that were ill husbands and let their lands lie fallow. And *Scipio Nasica*, being otherwise a great man, making sute for the *Ædileship*, was reiected of the people, for that hee, seeing a yong man that was his competitor to haue many hard knurs or knobs in his hands with working in the fields, had floutingly asked him, Whither hee had vsed to goe on his hands? The like consideration had the Romans, who tooke order at the common charge for the digging of certaine great channels in all the countries of Egypt, hauing issue from diuers places to the riuer of Nilus, by meanes whereof there was conueied by water an incredible quantitie of corne to *Alexandria*; and from thence by sea to the parts about Rome: with an expresse Edict condemning any man to death that should breake the bankes of earth that serued for rampiers to those channels of Nilus. The Frizelanders, Hollanders, and Zelanders haue the same Ordinances at this day for their bankes which serue for defences to all the country. For by such cunning worke wherein they haue laboured, and which with care they maintaine, and that continually, and with great cost, the violence of the sea when it floweth and rageth, is checked and restrained.

But because this Chapter is not appointed to register the prayses of a countrey life and labor, let vs come to that we haue purposed to say concerinng the safetie of Husbandmen. Wee read of a good law (among other) made by the Emperour *Frederick* the x i. inserted * in the treatise of Fees, which is found also in * *Iustinians* Code in these termes: *Let Husband-men, and such as labour in the fields, and that dwell in their Villages and till the ground, bee in assurance euerie where: so as no man bee so bold as to assault, lay hold on, or take any such prisoners; nor yet their cattle, nor working tooles, nor any other thing whatsoeuer that belongeth to Husbandrie. If any bee so rash as to offer it, and to violate our Ordinance: Wee amerce him to restore foure-fold that which hee shall so haue taken away; wee pronounce him infamous according to the Law, and will that hee bee punished in his body as the extremitie of the case requireth.* Other nations haue beene no lesse carefull to keepe their Husband-men in assurance and prosperitie. The great *Cyrus* going to warre, made Proclamation that his souldiors should spare the countrie people, & that the Conquerours should let them liue peaceably in their houses. The like did the mightie king *Xerxes* when hee inuaded the Grecians: *Wee will make warre* (saith hee to *Artabanus*) *vpon those that beare armes, and not vpon shepheards that attend their flockes.* And *Arrianus* affirmeth, That it was forbidden among the Indians, to take labouring men prisoners, or to make waste in time of warre: *Others* (saith he) *make warre, and kill one another: but the husbandmen plie their worke quietly, cutting their wood, reaping their haruest, and gathering their fruites.* *Strabo* saith the like in his *Geographie*. *The husbandmen* (saith he) *being verie honest people, and of a great number, haue the second place among the Indians. Because they are exempted from going*

In his first booke of Offices.
In the preface of his booke of tillage.

Teronym. Magius lib. 1. Miscellan. cap. 16.

* *Tit. de Statutis & consuetud. contra libert. Ecclesiæ.*
* *Tit. quæ res pignor. oblig. poss.*

See *Xenophon* and *Herodotus.*

In his booke of the affaires of the Indians.

Lib. 15.

going to warre, and haue leaue to doe their worke in all safetie, they dwell not in the cities, nor manage any busines of importance, neither exercise any publike charge. By which meanes, in one and the same time and place, some warred and were at handy strokes with the enemie, others held the plough by the taile, or digged in the earth without feare of any thing, being maintained in their peaceable trauell and industrie euen by those that bare armes. In old time Egypt was diuided into three estates, which were the Sacrificers and Priests; the Artezans and Handie-workers, vnder whom were comprehended the Husbandmen; and the Souldiers and men of warre. I haue learned of men that saw it, that in the long warre which was in our time betweene the Emperour *Charles* the v. and King *Francis* the I. at what time both their armies made warre continually in Piedmont many moneths together, the husbandmen enioyed this ancient safegard and assurance: which discipline and good order if it had not beene taken, whereby the high wayes and passages were stopt with barricadoes and turne-pikes for the behoofe of the countrey people, the souldiers and men of warre must haue been forced (being destitute of victuals) to haue disbanded and dispersed themselues.

Diodorus Siculus, and *Isocrates* write so.

In the History of our time.

Belisarius, the most excellent chieftaine that the Emperour *Iustinian* had, was of the same opinion. For *Leonard Aretine* writeth of him, after *Suidas*, That hee tooke such care for the countrey men, that when his troupes marched or camped, hee neuer suffered that any violence should be offered to the person of the meanest paysant that was: wherein he vsed such rigor, that the souldiers durst not touch any fruit that hung at the branches of the trees, nor offer to fell any. By which seuere discipline hee gained this point, that there was not a market in any citie whatsoeuer, better furnished with victuals, nor better cheape, than his campe was; to the which there was brought all manner of prouisions without any danger. The like did *Totilas* king of the Gothes, in the warre of Italie, against the same *Belisarius*. For (as *Procopius* witnesseth) he did no manner of hurt to the husbandmen wheresoeuer they dwelt, but willed them to till the ground, as before they had done through all Italie, and to pay their taxes as was accustomed, and to satisfie their land-lords according to their couenants. It were a needlesse thing to speake of that which is done in the most part of our warres now adayes. What Rutter or Lansknet is there, who (as armes are borne in these times) hath not an ill name, and is worthy of punishment according to the imperiall lawes? For, of so many millions of men that runne to the warre, there is scarce one that maketh a conscience to spare his friends, but all is counted enemie, and well gotten that is met with. In this behalfe the Swissers are thought to obserue the discipline of warre better than our Lansknets. It is no maruell then, if our warres for the most part proue so vnhappie as they doe: contrarie wise, that our enemies warres, who maintaine some militarie order and discipline, haue such happie successe. In a word, as *Nicephorus Gregoras* saith, *That armie, in whose vantgard Insolencie and Violence doe march, doth commonly draw after it in the taile, her discomfiture and ruine.* Before euer the enemie present himselfe, these boot-haling fellowes ouerthrow themselues with feare, and are their owne greatest enemies, the diuine vengeance allotting vnto them the issue which their offences deserue. And it is not likely, that they, who carrie no other baggage in their Knapsackes and wallets, but the teares and curses of the poore whom they outrage so many wayes, should prosper in their affaires. To be short, the Poets *Hesiodus* and *Homer*, haue made more reckoning of the instruments of tillage, than of the weapons of warre. For the plough, the share, and the cultor doe promise life and prosperitie to men; but pikes, swords, and gunnes demonstrat nothing but death and wretchednesse.

In the beginning of the 3 Booke of the warre against the Gothes.

Procop. lib. 3. of the warre of the Gothes.

In his History.

chedneſſe. The kings of Benomotapa in Ethiopia, beyond the Cape *De bona Speranza*, which is bounded with the South Ocean (mightie princes before ſuch time as the Portugals diſcouered the countrey) had reſpect to the ſame thing, bearing for badges of their maieſtie royall (ſaith *Ieronimus Oſorius*) a little ſpade with a ſhaft of yuorie, and two ſhort jauelins. By the ſpade they encourage their ſubiects to husband the ground, for feare leſt by idleneſſe they ſhould let it grow fallow, and through famine become theeues and robbers. One of the jauelins ſignifieth, That they meane to do iuſtice to their ſubiects within their kingdom: and the other ſheweth, That they reſolue to repell their enemies with arms, that ſhould offer to inuade the ſame.

In the 4 booke of the hiſtorie of Portugall, *fol.* 19.

The Turkes, who till this time haue carefully maintained the order and diſcipline of warre, (the humane prudence, which hath been their furtherance and bulwarke againſt the Chriſtians, amongſt whom all policie is welneere periſhed, as may be ſeene by that learned Treatiſe written by *Hubert Folietta*, of the enlarging and increaſing of the empire of the Turkes, *Lactantius* placing this diſorder of warfaring men among the ſignes that ſhould precede and ſhew themſelues a little before the latter day) theſe Turkes ſay, when their armie, which is commonly very great, marcheth in their countries, they vſe firſt of all to take order, that it doe no hurt or annoyance to gardens and fields that are ſowne; After that, they puniſh ſeuerely the ſouldiers, which either by careleſneſſe, or of arrogancie make neuer ſo little waſte. Heereof wee haue a memorable example in the diſcourſe of *Bartholomew Georgeuitz*, who (as an eye-witneſſe) writeth theſe words: *Their diſcipline in warre is ſo ſeuere, as if any ſouldior doe but offer to ſteale, hee is puniſhed without all remiſsion. For there are among them certaine ordinarie guards, to looke that the ſouldiers giue no occaſion of miſcontentment to little boyes of eight or ten yeares old, that they meet vpon the wayes, bringing bread, egs, fruit, hauer, & ſuch other prouiſions to ſell. Theſe guards and their Captaines are charged likewiſe to ſee that no ſouldier goe into any garden or orchyard by which the troups are to paſſe; and they themſelues dare not (for their liues) take any of the fruit without leaue of the owner. When I was* (ſaith he) *in the Turkiſh armie that marched againſt the Perſians, I ſaw a horſeman and his ſeruant had both their heads cut off, and after that, the horſes head was ſtricken off too, becauſe the maſter and the ſeruant had ſuffered the horſe goe vnbrideled into a husbandmans field.* The like doth *Melchior Seidlitz* report, a braue gentleman, and a good Warriour: ſaying, That while he was in durance vnder the Turke, from whence by the mediation of the French Embaſſadour hee was deliuered with his fellow priſoners, he ſaw in the Turkiſh armie (which extended it ſelfe far ouer the countrey, taking vp a great many villages) ſo goodly an order, ſo great temperance, ſo much ſafetie, that in thoſe villages the ſouldiers did not once touch the fruits, nor the hennes, nor any poultrie, nor any of the victuals or mooueables that belonged to the countrey people. Vpon occaſion whereof, this gentleman giueth a graue and conuenient cenſure againſt the diſſolution, rapine, and indiſcreet diſcretion of our ſouldiors, who call themſelues Catholikes and Chriſtians. Heere may one inſert, and that fitly (not to wrong the German nation, which yeeldeth to none in valour and experience of warlike affaires; but to lay open ſo much the more the barbarous and outragious inſolencie of the Turkes) that which *Iohn Auentine*, a wiſe Hiſtorian, hath left in writing: *Thoſe of Rhodes* (ſaith he) *wrote one day to the Emperour* Frederick *the third, and to the princes Electors, That the Turke being counſelled by his Captaines and other his aſſiſtants, not to take warre in hand againſt the Chriſtians, namely againſt the Germans: he made them this anſwere, That the weapons of the Chriſtians did no whit terrifie him, much leſſe thoſe of the Germans, and that for foure reaſons; the firſt, That*

In the Epitome of diuine Inſtitut. *cap.* 8.

Of the diſcipline of the Turkes.

In his voyage to Turkie.

In his diſcourſe of the affaires of the Turke.

they were not in vnitie among themselues, but that it was as hard a matter to vnite them, as to bring the fiue fingers of the hand into one. The second, that they could not away with trauell, and that the Germans (of all others) were nought else but bellies, bottels of wine, whooremasters, and their Captaines made more account of great feathers, than of good armes. The third, that all their affaires were handled but at aduenture, in a giddie sort, without counsell, and without order. And the last, that they cared neither for Lawes, nor Iustice; that they gaue no rewards to them that deserued well, that they let offendors goe vnpunished, and shewed themselues sharpe and cruell to those that were worthie of fauour and pardon: Contrariwise, that they handled the leaud and irregular graciously, whom they ought to destroy without all remission. These and such like reasons (as enemies most commonly shew themselues leaud detractors, sharpe censurers, and accusers of others imperfections, rather than of their owne) are bitterly obiected against the Christians in the military oration of *Assan Bassa*, the sonne of *Barbarussa*, described by *Hubert Folietta*; In the 3 booke of the 8 league wherein this *Bassa* doth counsell and persuade his souldiers to giue battell to the fleet of the confederat Christians, which was compounded of an armie furnished by the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the Venetians. But in this battell the Turkes were wholly defeated, and then it was apparant, that the power of those furious ones is not inuincible; and that it is not their force, but our faint-heartednesse that maketh them so terrible to the Christians, who in stead of turning their weapons against the common enemie, abuse them wickedly to entertaine ciuile warres among themselues, and weakning themselues by continuall losses, are the cause that these conspiring aduersaries against the Christian name do reenforce themselues, and grow greater euery day.

In the 6 dialogue of the historie. That we may not digresse further from our purpose, *Franciscus Patricius* discouereth in two lines the efficacie of militarie Discipline, when hee saith, That all the force of armes consisteth either in discipline, or in the number, or valour of the souldiers. In his *Hypnerotomachia*. *Poliphilus* setteth forth all this vnder Hieroglyphicall letters, in representing a man sitting pensiue, and compassed on euery side with gunnes, hauing a serpent in his hand, and a spread-Eagle pearching vpon an anchor of a ship, adding these words; *Militarie prudence or discipline is the vndissoluable bond of all domination.* *Hub. Folietta* in his *Elogies*. *Simon de Vignosa*, Generall of the Sea-armie of Genes, was not ignorant of this conceit: For after that hee had made himselfe master of Sio, and had forbidden with sound of trumpet that no souldier should once enter into the vineyards and other possessions of the citizens; his onely sonne, thinking himselfe sufficiently priuiledged and exempted from the danger of such a proclamation by the loue his father bare him, went rashly and insolently into a certaine vineyard, from whence as hee came forth he was spied, loaden with bunches of grapes. The father made him to bee laid hold of, and carried all along the citie with the grapes tyed about his necke; and that being done, hee caused him to be whipt with rods in the market places and meetings of streets, at noone time, in the view of all the citie. An example of a seuere and inuincible courage, and such as surmounted all fatherly affection; and which teacheth Generals and Commaunders to vnderstand throughly what it is to commaund, to maintaine good order among such as beare Armes, thereby to make themselues well obeyed. For the conclusion, we must not forget the militarie letter which the Emperour *Aurelian* wrote to his Lieutenant, as *Flauius Vopiscus* hath it registred, the effect whereof is this; *If thou wilt be a Commaunder of troupes, and also if thou loue thy life, keepe the souldiers hands in the rest. Let none steale away the young of another mans cattell, nor touch a husbandmans sheepe, nor carrie away a bunch of grapes, nor tread downe the corne, nor take by force, oyle, salt, nor wood, but be content with his victuals.*

Let

Let him take his boot from the enemie, not from the teares of the subiects and friends. Let his Armes be bright, his curase fit, his hose and shooes such as will last. Let his new cassocke come in place of the old, when it is so worne that he can vse it no more. Let his pay bee in his belt, not spent in a vitling-house. Let him not be without braslet and ring. Let him rub his horse, and let his horse bee in good liking: hauing taken any great beast, let him not sell it. Let him fauour his mule for baggage. Let one souldier helpe another like a seruant. Let the Surgeons cure the hurt and wounded without asking reward. Let not the souldiers giue any thing to Fortune-tellers. Let them carrie themselues honestly in their lodgings. Let mutiniers and quarrellers bee punished.

CHAP. VI.

Certaine good obseruations concerning Liege fees.

THe Ciuilians doe treat at large of Liege fees: but with diuers opinions. They agree in this point, that the Fees are surnamed Liege, which doe more oblige and bind the vassall, than other Fees doe. The most common opinion is, That three things are requisite herein: First, that the vassall sweare fidelitie, without reseruation of fidelitie to any other; Secondly, that in the letters of Inuestiture it be expressely said, that the Fee is Liege; Thirdly, that the vassall doe subiect to the power of his lord, first his person, and next all his goods not feodall. But as I purpose not here to make any long discourse of these matters: so I thinke of the other side, that to make it the better vnderstood what Liege fee is, it will bee good to set downe that which *Iouianus Pontanus*, a graue Authour, and worthie of credit, hath written hereof in tearmes that shew the oath of a Liege-man. Making mention of the Earle of Nola, who came to make this oath at Naples, to king *Ferdinand*, hee declareth the whole matter with the circumstances, as followeth. The King is set in the middest of a great hall, his chaire standing in a place raised high: the great lords of the kingdome, and the chiefe men of his court placed about him: then round about stand many gentlemen according to their degrees. At the kings feet on the right side is a Secretarie of State kneeling; on the left side a Bishop holding the booke of the Gospels open, and stayed against the Kings breast. In the midst betweene these two is hee also kneeling that doeth the homage, laying both his hands vpon the open booke. The Secretarie pronounceth the wordes, which the vassall repeateth after him. The Earle then being on his knees before the King, and hauing both his hands at large vpon the booke, the Secretarie begins to say the words following, which the Earle saith againe after him: *I* Vrsus *of the* Vrsins, *Earle of Nola and Atripalda, lord of Ascoli, of Laura, and of Fiorin, of their lands, territories, citizens, and inhabitants; promise to you king* Ferdinand, *and to your children and successors in the kingdome of Naples, for my children and suceessors in these cities, townes, villages, landes and territories to me belonging, that I and mine shall bee faithfull to you, that in all places wee shall obey the commaundements of you and of yours; that we and all they that dwell in these places, shall constantly and faithfully alwayes doe that which shall bee enioyned vs by you and yours. If I vnderstand, if I finde out, if I know that any deuise and complot, that any lie in wait or practise any thing either against you or yours, I will reueale and declare them particularly, as well to you, as to them: Finally, that I shall discharge my dutie, and my subiects also, doing within and without the places of our abidings, in time of peace and of war, towards and against all, that which shall bee commaunded mee, and which a good and faithfull subiect is bound to doe and obserue to his king according to equitie, law, and nature; and here-*

In his 2 booke of the deeds of K. *Ferdinand*, sonne to *Alphonsus*.

hereupon I call to witnesse God all good and almightie: which also I confirme by solemne and expresse oath vpon the holy Euangelists, knowingly, and with my free will. That said, he taketh his hands from the booke. Then the King taking the Earles thumbs, and coupling them together, and putting them betweene his owne, layeth them vpon the foure Euangelists. The Earle speaking the second time after the Secretarie, saith, *I affirme and auow my selfe, and standing here, I hold and declare, that I am Liege-man with my children and successors, of* Ferdinand *my King and Lord, and of his children and successors.* Saying this thrice, at euery time he kisseth the kings thumbes, and the king kisseth his mouth, and hauing entertained him, dismiseth him graciously. This is the manner of doing homage to the kings of Naples, and their Liege-men thus behaue themselues: who are called Liege, because the kings hauing bound their thumbes, doe make them subiect by such ceremonie to be faithfull and obedient to them.

Corn. Tacitus 12. lib. Annal.

The ancient kings vsed in times past this ceremonie of interfolding their hands, and their thumbs, when they made any streight alliance togither. Whereof we haue an example in *Cornelius Tacitus*; *Kings are wont* (sayth he) *when they make allaiance, to ioyne their right hands, and to tie their thumbes fast together: afterwards, when the blood is gathered into their fingers ends, they prick them lightly, and suck the blood one of another. Such an alliance is held inuiolable, as hauing beene made sacred by the blood which is so drawne from them all.*

In the Dialogue entituled *Toxaris*, or of friendship.

It appeareth also by that which *Lucian* reporteth, that the Scythians had the same custome: for, speaking of their greatest Oath, and most authentick promise that passeth betweene them, he maketh one of that countrey to say this following; *Hauing prickt our fingers, and made some of our blood runne into a cup, wee wet in it the point of our poyniards, and then both sides drinking of that blood, there is nothing whatsoeuer that may separat vs after that time.*

Atheneus 2. lib. Dipnosophist. cap. 2.

Solinus in his collection of Histories seemeth to haue touched this, when he writeth of the Scythians, *That they confirme their leagues by drinking one anothers blood: following therein not their custome alone but also the custome of the Medes.* Some thing like vnto that is attributed by *Possidonius* to the Germans: *It is reported of them* (saith he) *that after they haue kindly embraced one another in their feasts, they open one of the veines in the fore-head, and receiue the blood that floweth from thence, into a goblet, of which they drinke, thinking they haue attained to the top of true friendship, if togither they haue tasted of one anothers blood.* The like ceremonie vsed *Radamistus* the sonne of *Pharasmanes* king of Iberia otherwise called Georgiana, to cozen his vncle *Mithridates* king of Armenia: For when he could not attach him by force, nor intrap him by strange wiles, he feigned that he was desirous of an accord, and vpon the giuing of his Faith drew his vncle to a parley. As they were vpon the point (according to the custome of the countrey) of tying their thumbes, to the end they might draw blood out of them, and giue each other to tast of it; he that had the charge to doe it, feigning as if the cords had falne out of his hands to the ground, therewith suddenly tyed the feet of *Mithridates*, who was in that sort layd hold of, togither with his wife and children. And because *Radamistus* had promised neither to cut their throats, nor yet to imprison them, he commanded that they should be stifeled betweene two featherbeds: making account by this sophistrie to couer the crime of his vnfaithfulnesse, sayth *Baptista Fulgosa*, and after him *Andrew d' Euora* in his memorable examples of treason. They that haue trauelled, report; That in the Isle of Palmes, when those of the countrey will receiue into their friendship any strangers that arriue there, they draw, in their presence, with the helpe of a razor or of a stone-knife, some blood out of their tongue, hand, arme, or other part of the bodie,

In the 9. booke of his Examples.

not

not thinking that true friendship when a man refuseth to giue his life for his friend. Satan, when he will make a league with the Magicians, doth most commonly practise this course, compelling them to write with their owne blood the treatie of agreement and mutuall obligation that passeth betweene them, as *Bodin* saith. In his *Dæmonomachie.*

Vpon the speech of Liege-fees I remember the braue conceipt of *Peter* Earle of Sauoy, who to doe his Liege-homage to the Emperour *Otho* the IV. came before him in a two-fold attire: For hee had all the one halfe of his bodie on the right side from the toppe downeward set out with cloth of gold: and the other halfe on the left side couered with shining armor. The Emperor asking him what such a diuers furniture meant? *Sir* (answereth the Earle) *the attire of the right side is to honour your Imperiall Maiestie: this of the left side sheweth mee readie to fight vntill the last gasse against those that wish you ill, and speake ill of you.* The Chancellor of the Empire requiring the same Earle to shew his Letters feodall of certaine places woon by him in warre a little before: *Marrie heere they bee* (quoth the Earle) *therewithall drawing his sword, and shewing it naked vnto him.* And this it was that *Cynus* a famous Lawier might ayme at, alleaged by *Paris* of Puteo who sayth, That a certaine gentleman shewed his sword for feodall Letters, to the Lord of the Fee. *De redint. Feod. chap. 76.*

CHAP VII.

Treason is liked, but the Traytor loathed. Item, *A man purchaseth an immortall name by Vertue, not by Vice.*

ALL they that vnder hope of gaine, preferment, desire of reuenge, or such like wicked meanes, betray their countrey, and thinke to aduance themselues thereby, are much deceiued. For *Plutarch* sayth very well; *That the loue of Treason is a common affection which a man beareth to the wicked, so long as hee hath need of them; doing therein, like they that are to vse the gall and poyson of some venimous beasts who are very glad when they finde it, and take thereof to serue their turne: but hauing once had what they would, they hate for euer after the malicious nature of these beasts.* For men doe then begin to leaue the liking of treason, when they haue gotten that which they expected, or when they can draw no more from it. Of which among other, wee haue the examples of *Antigonus*, of *Philip*, and of the Emperour *Augustus.* This Emperour being once at a feast, where *Rhymitalces* king of Thrace (who had left the partie of *Antonius*) was also present, *Rhymitalces* beginneth to set forth his great seruices towards *Augustus*, exprobating vnto him that hee had beene a companion with him in that warre. *Augustus* making as if hee tooke no heed to the insolencie of this braggart, beginneth to speake to another, offring the cup, saying, *I loue Treason, but I care not for Traytors.* The Emperour *Seuerus* was of the same mind, but that he ioyned crueltie with it. For *Herodian* writeth of him, that by the interdealing of his sonnes, hee prouoked many captaines of *Pescennius Niger* his competitor in the Empire, to disclose vnto him their masters secrets: and afterwards, when he had serued his turne of them, and setled his affaires, hee made all these traytors bee put to death, and their children too. Moreouer, we must not forget the letter which the Emperour *Aurelian* wrote to *Mallius Chilo* concerning the Traytor *Heraclemon. I haue* (saith hee) *suffred him to bee slaine, by whose trauell I haue made my selfe master of the citie of Thyana. For my part, I could not loue the Traytor, but haue willingly* In the life of *Romulus*, Sect. 10. *Plutarch.* in the same place, and in his Apophtheg. *Lib.* 3. *Flauius Vopiscus* in the life of *Aurelian.*

suffred that my souldiers should dispatch him. For he that hath had no pittie of his countrey, could not keepe Faith with mee. In like manner, the Emperour *Maximinus* at the first thanked *Macedonius*, who had killed *Tycus* his concurrent in the Empire: but afterwards he looked askance vpon him like a Traytor, and at last made him be put to death. Nor is it fit wee should forget that which *Brennus* king of the Gaules did, who hauing forraged Asia, and besieged the citie of Ephesus, wayted there the day assigned for the battell. In the meane while, a maiden of the citie named *Demonica*, being falne in loue with *Brennus*, promised to deliuer him Ephesus, if the Gaules for a recompence would giue her their golden chaines and bracelets. *Brennus* hauing entertained her and obteined his purpose, made her bee carried into a place, where hee commanded all his people to cast into the lappe of this couetous maide, all the golden iewels they wore about them. They obeying their Generall and *Demonica* being oppressed with the weight of so much gold which they threw vpon her, ended her life vnder it. We read the like storie in *Titus Liuius*, of the daughter of *Sp. Tarpeius* a Roman, after she had betrayed the citie to the Sabins. The like reward did *Rhomilda* wife to a Prince named *Sigulphus*, receiue for her disloyaltie. For her husband hauing beene slaine by a certaine king of the Henetians, and shee being besieged by the same enemie, yet neuertheless shee fell so farre in loue with him, that she promised (so as he would marrie her) to deliuer into his hands the citie of Friol: which so soone as the Henetians had possession of, they burnt it; and carried thence the children, the young folke, and the women all prisoners into Austria, after they had put all the men to death. But *Rhomilda*, was handled as she deserued: for, hauing enioyed the king onely one night, hee caused her soone after to be married to a woodden stock, that is, to be set aliue vpon a sharpe stake; a punishment worthie for her that had betrayed the memorie of her husband, her children, and subiects. She had two daughters, *Appa* and *Gela*, who were as chaste, as the mother was contrarie: for, to saue their honour, they put vnder their arme-pits raw flesh, which they bound and tied there, so as the same comming to putrifie, yeelded such a stinking sauour, that the Barbarians could not endure the smell, nor come any thing neere the maidens. A Gothish captaine, named *Iulian*, hauing betrayed his countrey and his nation to the Sarazins, was for the same grieuously punished. Hee not able to endure the wrong that was done him by *Roderik* the last king of the Goths, who had taken away a daughter of his, and rauished her, vsed the matter so, as in a foughten battell the armie of the Goths was cut in pieces by the Sarazins, and *Roderick* slaine in the field. The Goths that remained, tooke *Iulian*, and hauing charged him with his disloyall dealing, put him to death: Of which there is yet to be seene an old inscription neere to Visen in Portugall (as witnesseth *Rodrigo de Toledo*) making mention of this ouerthrow of the Goths. The substance whereof is this; *Heere lieth* Roderick *the last king of the Goths. Cursed bee the wicked furie of* Iulian, *because it was too resolute; and his malice, because it was vnreconcileable. His furie forced him beyond reason, his indignation made him swell, his wrath carried him headlong. He forgat his Oath, remembred not his Religion, made no account of God, was cruell towards himselfe, a murtherer of his Lord, an enemie to his owne house, a plague to his countrey, an offence to all. His memorie shalbe bitter in euerie mouth, and his name infamous for euer.*

Herodian, and *Iulius Capitolinus* in his life.

I. Auentine in his 3. booke of the *Annals* of *Bauieres.*

Sance. in the 2 booke of the historie of Spaine chap. 37.

In the 4 booke of the affaires of Spaine. chap. 19.

But not to stand alwaies vpon ancient stories, Let vs bring in that which *Albert Krantz* writeth to haue come to passe in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the IV. *The Annalls* (sayth he) *make mention of a memorable aduenture. The Emperour made warre*

In his historie of Saxony, *lib. 9. cap. 37.*

warre against Philip *Duke of Austrich. Each making himselfe readie, the Armies approach with intent to fight. But the Emperour, seeing that his enemies forces were farre greater than his, bethought himselfe of a course to ouercome him by cunning whom hee could not vanquish by Armes. He caused three of the Dukes captaines to bee secretly sent for to come to him, and hauing promised them a great summe of money, hee agreeth with them, that they should strike some feare into their master, and so persuade him to retire in all haste. They being returned to the Duke, giue out, that hauing beene abroad to discouer, they had taken a view of the Emperours Armie particularly, and found, that it was three times greater than the Dukes: that all would bee lost, if the Duke did not retire quickly, and that hee had no long time to deliberat. Since that (*saith the Duke) *you assure mee there is no way to escape, but by a sudden retreate, let vs prouide for our selues, wayting for some better commoditie to further our affaires. It is no shame for vs to leaue the place to a stronger than wee are. So then, euerie man hauing made readie his bagge and bagage,* Philip *fled away by night, no man pursuing him, and returned home. The Traytors steppe aside to the Emperour to receiue the reward of their leaudnesse. The Emperour had made prouision of golden Duccats all counterfeit, the best of which was not worth six pence a piece. He caused great bagges of the same to be giuen vnto them, wherewith they went merrily home to their houses: afterwards drawing out their pieces to employ them, they find there was not one of them good. They returne to the Emperour, to whom they complaine of the Treasurer, and the Master of his mint. The Emperour looking vpon them with a frowning countenance, saith vnto them;* Knaues as ye are, get ye to the gallowes, there to receiue the due reward of your treason, or get you away speedily from before my presence: your disloyaltie deserued this paiment. False worke, false wages. An euill end befall you. *They wholly confounded, withdrew themselues suddenly, and were neuer seene after.* Historians write, that *Philip* the father of *Alexander* the great, made good vse of these kind of men; and yet for all that, hee hated them to the death, as appeared by him one day: For, when as certaine traitors who had sold vnto him the citie of Olynthus, complained to him, That the Macedonians neuer ceased to twit them with it, calling them traitors to their countrey; *Philip* answered them, *These Macedonians of whom you speake, are but a sort of grosse-headed clownes, for they must call things by their names; and they cannot for their liues say one thing, and thinke another.*

The historie of Bohemia *cap.* 11.

Let vs here insert a memorable story written by *Æneas Syluius.* The Bohemians (saith he) hauing gotten the victorie, and slaine *Vratislas*, they set his countrey on fire. And afterwards, finding a sonne of his very tender and yong, they put him into the hands of the prince *Grezomislas*, called *Neclas*, who hauing compassion of the child his cousin, committed him to the keeping of the Earle *Duringus* (whose possessions lay along by the famous riuer of Egra) which Earle had aforetimes been much fauoured of *Vratislas.* This Earle blinded with ambition, and thinking to insinuate himselfe into the grace and good liking of *Neclas*, espied vpon a day the child hauing made a little hole vpon the yce of that riuer, to take fish there; whom he takes, and with one blow with a Cymiter cuts off his head, and presently going to Prague, presents it to *Neclas* all bloody, saying, *I haue this day made your throne sure vnto you; for either this childe or you must haue died: sleepe henceforth quietly, your competitor to the crowne is made away.* The prince reteining his grauitie and iust indignation at so cruell a spectacle, said thus vnto him; *Treason cannot be mitigated by any good turnes. I committed this child to thee, to keepe him, not to kill him. Could neither my commandement, nor the remembrance of thy friend* Vratislas, *nor the compassion which thou shouldest haue had of this poore child turne away thy thoughts from this so mischieuous a deed? What, was thy pretence to procure me rest? good reason*

reason then I should reward thee for thy paines. Of three punishments chuse which thou wilt: either kill thy selfe with a poyniard, or hang thy selfe with a halter, or cast thy selfe from the rocke of Visgrade. *Duringus* forced to accept of this decree, hung himselfe in a halter tied to an elder tree not farre off, which alwayes after so long as it stood, was called *Duringus* his elder tree. When *Viriatus* was slaine by his souldiers (he that fourteene yeares together had kept Spaine armed against the Romans, insomuch that hee was accounted the deliuerer of Spaine) they that had traiterously done him to death asked a reward for it of *Cæpio* the Consull; who made them this answere, *That the Romanes did neuer allow that the souldiers should kill their Generall.*

Here it shall not be amisse to report how king *Philip* the 11. proceeded with those, who were the cause that hee made himselfe master of Portugall, scarce without any resistance, as *Texer* setteth it downe. *Don Antonio*, the right and naturall king of Portugall, being excluded and banished out of the kingdom, those men preferred a petition to king *Philip*, wherein they made knowne the seruices they had done him, to the end hee might the easilier possesse himselfe of the crown, and besought him to performe that which had bene promised vnto them by the duke of *Ossuna*, and *Christopher de Mora* his Agents: exhibiting all vnder one the remembrances and instructions, making faith of the promises of the said Agents. The king made answere by *Apostile*, That the petitioners should deliuer their petition, and the remembrances of the Agents to a certaine companie of Commissioners or Iudges appointed for such causes, which companie is called in Portugall, *The Table of Conscience*. They obeying, there followed a Decree of this tenor: Forasmuch as king *Philip* is right heire to the kingdome of Portugall, it was not lawfull for the petitioners to sell it for readie money, or vpon promises; Contrariwise, they haue deserued capitall punishment, for that they haue deferred, without expectancie of any promise to be made vnto them, to deliuer vp the kingdome to king *Philip*. And if the kingdome did appertaine to *Don Antonio*, they could not sell it to king *Philip*. Therefore king *Philip* is no way liable by the promises which his Agents or Embassadors haue made to the petitioners: But out of his gentlenesse and benignitie doth free the said petitioners from the punishment of death, which they haue deserued by reason of this fact. See here a worthie reward, such as traitors doe oftentimes receiue.

Lib. entit. Arbor Gentilitia Hen. Franc. & Nauarræ Regis.

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But *Ladislas Kerezin* a Hungarian, did not escape so good cheape for his treason: For he hauing traiterously yeelded vp Hiula, a strong place, to the Turks, when hee looked to receiue many great presents for his good seruice, certaine witnesses were produced against him by the commandement of *Selim* himselfe, who deposed, That the said *Ladislas* had cruelly handled certaine Musulmans that had beene prisoners with him. Whereupon hee was deliuered to some friends of theirs, to doe with him as they should thinke good. They shut this traitour starke naked into a tun or hogshead set full of long sharp nayles within-side, and rolled it from the top of a certain high mountaine full of steepie downfals, to the very bottom, where being run through euery part of the bodie with those nayles, he ended his wretched life.

In the histories of the Turkes.

Wee may also adde heere that which is said to haue befallen in Hungarie in our time. *Sultan Solyman* being possessed of Buda which the inhabitants had abandoned, *Thomas Nadast* defended the castle valiantly, endured some assaults of the Turkes, and had without doubt held the place, if his owne souldiers had not betrayed him: for they determining to yeeld, (for all that he could doe by opposing himselfe against them) laid hold of him, and chained him, and then offered

offred him with the castle to *Solyman*, vpon condition that they might retire to some other place, their liues and goods saued. The Sultan at the first accepting their offer, but vnderstanding afterwards of their cruell carriage to *Nadast*, kept not promise with them, but caused them all to be cut in pieces. There is likewise another memorable storie of a certaine Traytor, whose seruice the same *Solyman* employed in the conquest of the Isle of the Rhodes. He had promised this Traytor, to giue vnto him for wife, one of his daughters, with a very great dowrie. He, after his seruice done, demanding that which was promised him, the Turke made his daughter be brought in most magnificall pompe, and assigned him the marriage of her according to his desert. The Traytor could not keepe his countenance, he was so transported with ioy: but this ioy lasted not long, for the Turke speaking to him; *Thou seest* (quoth he) *that I am a man of my word. But forasmuch as thou art a Christian, and my daughter, thy wife that shalbe, is a Mahumetane by birth and profession, you cannot so liue in quietnesse; and I am loath to haue a sonne in law, that is not a Musulman both within and without. And therefore it is not enough that in word thou abiure Christianitie, as many of thy Sect are wont to doe, who turne coate for fashion-sake, and in hope of gaine: but thou must foorthwith doffe thy skinne which is baptised and vncircumcised.* Hauing so sayd, he commanded some that stood by to flea aliue the pretended sonne in law, and that afterwards they should lay him vpon a bed of fault: ordayning, that if any Mahumetan skinne came ouer him againe, in place of the Christian, then, and not before, his promised Spouse should be brought vnto him to be married. This wretched Traytor thus shamefully flouted, receiued a reward worthie his perfidie and treason: for he died in most horrible torments. The like reward did a Iew that was a Physition receiue of *Selim* father to this *Solyman*. For *Selim*, by threatnings, promises, and presents, had won him to poyson his father *Baiazet*: but soone after he caused the Physitions head to be strucken off, saying; That vpon the first occasion, and in hope to receiue mony, this Iew would not stick to do the like to him.

Iohn Ant. Menarius in the 2 booke of his hist. of the Turks, chap. 22

It appeareth then that Traitors and Fugitiues are hated and detested not onely of those whom they hurt, but of those likewise that draw seruice out of them: yea, that most commonly they are double Traitors, Traitors with two edges, as vnfaithfull to him whom they come to, as to him from whom they goe away: as appeareth in *Amyntas* the Macedonian of whom *Curtius* maketh mention. If *Alexander* king of Albania had remembred this, he had made a better end, without trusting to banished men as he did: For hauing beene called into Italy by those of Tarentum, after he had possessed himselfe of many places, he receiued for Archers of his gard about two hundred Lucanians banished out of their countrey. These, taking sure word of their citizens, that they should be established againe in their countrey, promised to deliuer *Alexander* dead or aliue. And as he passed the riuer of Acheron at a foord, and was come almost to the other side, one of these Lucanians shot his bodie thorow, he falling downe from his horse, the riuer carried the bodie to the enemies garrison, who cut it in a thousand pieces. Contrariwise, the Emperour *Constantius* was a warie prince: and albeit he made no profession of the Christian religion, yet he shewed himselfe verie gracious and kind to the Christians, cruelly persecuted by his associat *Galerius*. For he would alwaies prefer to great dignities those whom he knew to be indued with true and singular pietie. And that he might the better discrie them (as *Eusebius* writeth) vpon a day he called before him all those of his court, that called themselues Christians, and propounded to them two conditions, to chuse, which of them they liked; he one, to

In the 4 booke of the hist. of *Alexander* the great.

In the first booke of the life of *Constantin*. chap. 11.

to continue in their offices, so as they would sacrifice to the gods: or to get farre away from him, if they would not doe it. As some of them, to continue in his seruice, had promised to sacrifice, and othersome held firme: he sharpely rebuked those as Traytors to their God; and greatly commended these because of their sincere and constant affection. And then he dismissed the Apostatas, saying; That they could not be faithfull to him, being faithlesse to God: but he committed the affaires of his Empire to those that had shewed themselues constant. *Lib.* 2. The like storie to this we read in the collections of *Theodorus*. *Theodorick* the Affrican had in his court a Deacon or Orthodoxall minister whom he loued and respected. This Deacon thinking to doe a great pleasure to *Theodorick* left the profession of pure doctrine touching the eternall Deitie of the Sonne of God consubstantiall with the Father, and protested that he did cleaue to the Heresie of the Arrians with which *Theodorick* was infected. *Theodorick* hearing of this Apostasie, commanded that this person whom he had so much loued, should be layd in prison, and without any long circumstance of processe made his head be stricken off, saying; *That hee which had not kept his faith with God, could neuer be faithfull to a mortall man.* In like manner doe they deceiue themselues, that desire (so much doth ambition prick them) to immortalize their name by some notorious fact. For we read, that a certaine man named *Herostratus*, neuer knowne before, fired the Temple of *Diana* at Ephesus, esteemed one of the miracles of the world, and onely for this cause, that being not able to purchase Fame by Vertue, he might obtaine it by the helpe of some notable villanie. But it fell out otherwise; for, to abolish the memorie of him, it was forbidden by an expresse Edict, that from thence forward none should put his name in the Annals or Histories: for which cause, this name which is left him, is not found but very seldome. *Sabellic.* in the 3 booke of the 2 Decad. The Venetians haue followed the custome of those of Ephesus: For they hauing discouered the conspiracie of *Tepolo*, forbad expressely that no man should cause the Armes of any of the Conspirators to be painted, or represented any way. In which opinion they perseuered when their Duke *Marin Falier* was put to death, for hauing conspired against the State. The pictures of their Dukes, from the first to him that now liueth, are represented and drawne according to the order of their times, in the great Hall of the generall Counsell: but to the end that the picture of *Falier*, a pernicious prince, might not be seene among those of the other magnificall Dukes, they made an emptie chayre to be drawn and couered ouer with a black vaile; wisely thinking, that they who haue carried themselues disloially towards the commonwealth, cannot be more seuerely punished than if their name be couered with perpetuall silence and secret hatred. For the offences remaine not vnpunished, which, without any brute are loathed and detested of all. And there is no punishment more grieuous than the publike hatred, especially when it is iust. Yea, many are of opinion, that it were better the name of an honest man should vtterly be buried in the darkenesse of obliuion, than be defamed and ill spoken of by posteritie.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Small things sometimes worke great effects. Item, *God doth sometimes punish offences by Rats and Mise, and such other contemptible creatures.*

THE Poet *Virgill* saith, *That sometimes furie doth furnish weapons to the vnweaponed*: which sentence hath beene verified both in our time, and in time past, when necessitie required it, and the enemies assaults were sharpe and sudden. For it is very wel knowne, That the thing which men durst not come neere without perill, and which they haue not but seldome touched, neither could be stirred without great danger, but was carefully kept for particular profit, or other vses, hath serued for weapons both defensiue and offensiue, and (in a word) for succour neuer thought on before that time, against a sudden inuasion. *Lib. 1. Aeneid.*

Iouian Pontanus reporteth a memorable storie of such a like thing: For he writeth, that *Alphonsus* being resolued to take a citie named Vicaro, his souldiers hauing woon at the first approach the counterscarph, and the ditch, came with their ladders to scale the wals: whereat the citizens being much dismayed, ran thither neuertheless, some armed, some without armor, and with stones kept those that were formost from entring. But when the assailants pursued their point, and could not be beaten from the wall, some of the assailed ran to the castle, from whence they brought many Hiues full of Bees which had beene layd in there by the countrey people some dayes before, to saue them from the souldiers; which Hiues they cast ouer vpon the souldiers heads that assailed the walls. The Bees prouoked with the noyse, and with the breaking of their houses, began to flie at the faces of *Alphonsus* his people, and creeping in vnder their armor, set their stings very shrewdly in diuers places of their bodies. By which deuise the assailed endured the assault, and kept their citie, till they were ouercome by new meanes, their walls being ouerthrowne by sapping and other inuentions, and so were forced at last to yeeld themselues. *Ierome Osorius* reherseth a storie almost like, of the captaine *Barrigua*, a Portugais, who hauing made a road vpon the coast of Barbarie, to the ports of a citie in the territorie of Xiatima, named Tanti, belonging to the king of Fez; the inhabitants that saw they were in great danger, brought a great many swarms of Bees (of which that countrey hath store) and set them vpon the walls, and put fire to them: so that the Portugais burnt with the fire, and notably stung by the Bees, were forced to retire. The like vnhoped-for helpe saued very happily, not many yeares since, a fortresse of Hungarie belonging to the Bishop of Agria, and bordering vpon the Turkes, who went about to surprise it, and were come to the place when they within looked least for them. It had then but a small garrison, and the Gouernor was gon to prouide some munition, and to fetch money for the souldiers; who seeing themselues so suddenly taken, and so hotly assaulted, and withall so ill armed, knew not how to doe to beat backe the enemy being alreadie entred within the ditch: when suddenly some of them remembred the Hiues of Bees, which the peasants had brought thither as into a safe place; some of those they take and cast ouer vpon the assailants, who were so annoyed with them, that they were faine with great shame, and no lesse anger, to make their retreat home. In the 7 booke of the deeds of king *Alphonsus*.

This is a certain thing (saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*) *That in vrgent necessitie, there is nothing of so small importance, which, at one time or other may not serue very much to disappoint the designes that are most important, and free from danger or feare.* Such a like stratagem In the 8 booke of Portugall, *sect.* 19.

In the 32 booke of his historie.

stratagem inuented by the renoumed *Hanniball*, saued sometimes *Prusias* king of Bithinia, against *Eumenes*, and got him the victorie, as *Iustin* and other Historians write. For he caused all sorts of serpents to be put into certaine earthen vessels, which vessels, when the fight was at hotest, he cast into the enemies ships. At first, they made a mocke at it, saying, *That they that could not get the victory with the sword, sought to get it with bottles.* But when the ships grew full of serpents, the present danger constrained them to let *Prusias* remaine master of the sea. The like befell the Emperour *Seuerus* in the warre that he made against the Atrenians (as *Herodian* reporteth) who being besieged by the Imperiall armie, and hauing valiantly defended themselues with arrowes and stones, threw amongst them certaine earthen ports full of insects, and venimous little beasts, which flying in their faces, and creeping by little and little vp to the other parts of the assailants that were vnarmed, hurt and stung them grieuously. Likewise *Pompey* the great, after he had ouerthrowne *Mithridates* the king of Pontus, purposing to passe into Hircania so far as the Caspian sea, being within three dayes iourney of it, was letted from going any further by the multitude of serpents, of which that countrey was full. In like manner, *Sapores* king of Persia, hauing besieged the citie of Nisibis (called of some Antioch of Mygdonia) was driuen thence by an armie of Hornets, Horse-flies, and Gnats; a succour vnexpected, and attributed to the prayers of *Iames*, the faithfull pastor of the church of Nisibis: For the Lord God would make knowne how mightie he is to defend his children, in the middest of whom he dwelleth, not employing the lightnings, nor the fire of heauen, but little beasts onely: as in Egypt he let flie against *Pharao* and his seruants, Flies, Frogges, and other such vermin, (not Beares and Lyons) that by such vile instruments he might cudgill and tame the proudest tyrannie of the world.

In the 3 booke.

Plutarch in his life.

Theodoret in the 2 booke of the hist. Eccles. chap. 30.

In the yeare of our Lord 830. *Popiel* the second succeeding his father in the kingdom of Polonia, followed rioting & dissolution as his predecessors had don before him, and careless of matters of state, gaue himselfe the bridle to dancing, and all kind of dissolutnesse, leauing the gouernment of the kingdome to his wife, whom he loued ragingly. Wherefore the lords and knights of the kingdome despised him, accounting him a man of no worth, and surnaming him the *Polonian Sardanapalus*. This vnhappy prince, fearing least the Polonians would set vp one of his kinsmen in his place, was aduised by his wife to feigne himselfe sicke, which he did; and thereupon sent for all his vncles, princes of Pomerania, being twentie in number, to come and see him, whom he (being layd in his bed) instantly praied, that if hee chanced to die, they would make choice of one of his sons to be king: which they willingly promised, so as the lords of the kingdome would condiscend thereto. In this meane while the Queene was making readie for them a terrible collation: for, hauing sent for wine that was poysoned, she inticed them all, one by one, to drinke to the health of the king. As soone as they had done, they tooke their leaue: but they were scarce gone out of the kings chamber, before they were attached with grieuous paines and corrosions of the poyson, so that within a short time they all died. Vpon this the Queene being very iocund, sayd, That the gods had iustly punished those dead persons, because they had conspired the death of the king their souereigne lord: and prosecuting that her accusation, she made their bodies to be taken out of their graues, and to be cast into the Lake of Goplo. But God the iust auenger of such horrible murthers, caused (by a miraculous transformation) an innumerable number of Rats and Mise to rush out of these bodies,

which

which gathering togither in crowdes, went and assaulted on euerie side the king as he was feasting in his palace in great iollitie and magnificence with his wife and children. Diuers laboured to beat and driue them away with weapons and with flames, but all in vaine. The king, sore perplexed with this strange and extraordinarie danger, fled with his wife and children into a fortresse that is yet to be seene in that Lake of Goplo ouer against a citie called Crusphitz; whither he was pursued by a greater number of Rats and Mise, so that the land and the water were couered with them, and they cried and hissed most feare-fully. The boat-men seeing the present death, and fearing that these beasts would haue eaten them and their boate in the middest of this Lake, hauing set the king where he would be, made hast to the shoare to saue themselues. *Popiel* with speed recouers his fortresse compassed round about with water, and re-tires himselfe with his wife and his children into a tower, whither these exe-cutioners of God pursued him, entring in at the windowes, and there deuowe-red them all aliue, and let nothing of them remaine. By this meanes all the race of the Polonian princes was extinguished, in a moment: whereupon came great quarrels among the lords of the kingdome touching a successor, which at last were appeased euen miraculously, by the election of *Pyast* a Husband-man, dwelling at Crusphitz, who being a man of excellent endowments, of great vertue, courage, and integritie, gaue such a setling to the state, that his suc-cessors haue beene dukes of Lithuania and kings of Polonia euen till *Lewis* the king of Hungarie, who died in our time.

Many haue set forth the storie of the Rats that reuenged the crueltie of *Hatto* 2. towards the poore: Of which number is *William Iffengrin*, who reporteth it in the Chronologie that he hath gathered out of diuers Authors, as followeth. In the yeare 968. *Hatto* 2. Duke of Franconia, surnamed *Bonosus*, Abbot of Ful-den, hauing purchased a testimonie of pietie and vertue, was chosen Archbishop of Mentz. In his time a grieuous dearth raigning, and the poore people being readie to starue for want of food, he caused great companies of them to be ga-thered and put into barnes, as if there they were to receiue some corne and other reliefe; but he made the barnes to be set on fire, whereby the poore folke were burnt and consumed, saying withall, That they were the Rats which did eat vp the food of the land. But the vengeance of God came soon after vpon this Archbishop, so that he was destroyed with a marueilous strange punish ment: for it is said, That an armie of Rats gathered together, no man can tell from whence, came and set vpon him so furiously, that into what place soeuer he retired, they would come and fall vpon him. And when he thought to saue himselfe in some high chamber, they would climbe vp the wall and get in at the windowes; or, if all accesse were debard them, they would creep in at the smallest creuises and chinks, and by infinit numbers would gnaw and teare him, and assay to deuoure him quicke. The swarmes of them were so great, that the more men laboured to driue them away, the lesse they forbare, but seemed more furious and wood. The wretched Prelate seeing he could find no place by land safe for him, resol-ued to seeke some refuge in the water, and got into a boat to conuey himselfe into a tower built in the middest of the Rhine, neere a little citie called Bingen, which tower serued before time for a Beacon to all the countrey; thinking that the Rats could not come into this tower through the floods of so strong a riuer: but there is no place that can hinder the diuine power from the execution of his decrees. For, the Rats threw themselues by infinite heapes into the Rhine, and swom to the foot of the tower, and clambering vp the walles, enter therein, and

fall vpon the Archbishop, gnawing, and biting, and throtling, and tearing, and tugging him most miserably. This tower is yet to be seene standing in the middest of the Rhine, neere to Bingen, and is called Rats-tower. *Isengrin* addeth one circumstance very memorable and worthie to bee marked, That while the Archbishop was yet aliue, and in full vigour and health, the Rats by their gnawing rased out his name written and painted vpon many of the wals. The same Author also reporteth of a Bishop of Strasbourgh, called *Wilderolf*, or *Wilderad*, who after he had thrust the Nunnes out of Saint *Stephens* Abbey, and burnt their Church, was assaulted and deuoured of Rats. *George le Feure* writeth a like storie of a certaine souldier whom the Rats did eat, partly within the coffin whereinto hee was shut at the first, and partly after they had hanged him at a gibbet.

Lib. 2. of the hist. of Sax.

By these preceding histories we may gather, That although Rattes and Mise be creatures very contemptible, and loathed of all men (as also *Plutarch* obserueth, That the wise men of Persia slew all that euer they could get of such vermin, because they hated them extreamely, and accounted them abominable before God, as did also the Arabians and Ethiopians) yet God doth vse them for instruments to punish the sinnes that reigne in the world. Hereof wee haue an example in the holy Historie touching the Philistims, who hauing taken the Arke of the couenant, and handled it vnreuerently, were punished of God, who sent them Mise wherewith their countrey was spoyled. In the yeare 1591, the knight of *Aumale* offering to surprize by night the citie of Saint Denis, and being slain stead in the place, his bodie was laid in a certaine chappell within a Beere, attending some fit time to make his obsequies. But the next day the Beere was found full of Rats, so that they had much adoe to driue them out, especially that which was the greatest of all, who had sunke himselfe (as it were) into the wound. The like example of Gods vengeance appeared not long since here with vs in Germanie, where certaine souldiers that did harme to none, hauing beene traiterously slaine, one of the murderers within a while after being pursued by his owne conscience, became mad, and imagining that the Sergeants snatched at him to take him, began to strike himselfe with great blowes with his fist, and at last gaue himselfe a great many stabs with his knife into his brest. They that had him in keeping, ran to him, and found a Rat sticking to the principall wound, sucking the blood, and keeping it from comming foorth. They beat him off, but they could not for their liues saue the fellow, but he died presently. Now though it be a thing well knowne, that Rats, Mise, and Batts may liue a long time without drinke, so that such creatures doe of a naturall appetite seeme very greedie after blood, not only because it serues them for bruüage, but also nourisheth them by reason of the sweet tast: yet for all that, the swarming of these vermine which neuer flie away at such a time, but stand to it, and sticke fast (as it were) to the wounds, is an action beyond nature, and an accident meerely strange and prodigeous. We will adde this moreouer, That Rats and Mise haue a certaine wonderfull fore-sight: For it is obserued, that they leaue the houses and buildings that are like to fall, three moneths before the ruine therof, and goe to places of more safetie.

In his Treatise of Enuie and Hatred.

1. *Sam. cap.* 5. *&* 6.

In the 4. Volume of the Memorials of the league.

In his *Apophthegms.*

It was well said by the old prouerb, That there is not so little an Ant, or Flie, but it hath some choller: And againe, That wee must not hold Grashoppers by the wings, nor Mise by the taile. To which purpose *Plutarch* writeth, That *Brasidas* a Spartane captaine putting his hand into a basket of figges, had his finger bitten by a Mouse that lay hid in the basket, whereat hee cried out, saying; *O gods! there is not the smallest, nor the poorest beast that liueth, but will reuenge it selfe, if it*

be

be stir'd. An ancient Comedie-player, named *Publius*, said to the like purpose, in my opinion: *The least haire hath his shadow.* To bee short, the least thing in the world can doe something: and the smallest sometimes ouerthrow the greatest. Wee read in the fragments of *Terentius Varro*, of which *Plinie* maketh mention, That Conies vnder-mined and ruined a citie of Spaine, and Moales another citie of Thessalia: that Frogs forced the inhabitants of a citie of the Gaules to leaue their place, and to get themselues elsewhere: that Grashoppers did the like to the citisens of a citie in Africa; and Mise to the dwellers in the Isle of Cyaca, one of the Cyclades; and that the inhabitants of Amyclæ, a citie of Italie, were destroyed by Serpents.

In the 8 booke chap. 29.

CHAP. IX.

Ill Counsell prooues worst to him that giueth it.

GEllius in his *Atticke Nights* telleth a storie of the falshood of the Hetruscean Soothsayers, by reason wherof the children in Rome sang throughout the citie a common song, the foot whereof was this; *Leaud counsell ruines him that giueth it.* At this it seemeth the Poet *Ausonius* glaunceth, who in his *Trochaicks* ioyneth with the prouerbe in *Terence* (which saith, *Tute hoc intristi, quod tibi exedendum est*, and may bee expressed thus; *What thou hast brewed, that thy selfe must drinke.*) another prouerb giuing a glosse to that, and saith; *Vetus verbum iubet, compedes quas ipse fecit, ipsus vt gestet faber:* that is, *The old law biddeth, that the Smith should bee tied by the feet with the yrons that himselfe hath wrought.* This that wee haue alleaged of leaud counsell, is taken out of *Hesiodus* his Poeme, entituled *The works, and dayes:* and thereof we haue many proofs in examples both ancient and moderne. Touching the moderne, I will not take in hand to bring them in, because the alleaging of them would be odious and offensiue. That which *Philip de Commines* reporteth of the Cardinall *Balue* is worth the remembring. This man was he that executed the cruell counsels of king *Lewis* the XI. He inuented horrible prisons that are yet to be seene in Paris, namely, certaine cages, partly of yron, partly of wood, couered with plates of yron, hauing eight feet in breadth, and fiue feet in height. Hee caused also yron fetters to be made, very heauie, to chaine prisoners by the thighes, at which there hung an yron buckle for the feet, and at the end a bowle that weighed certaine kintals. This good Prelat was himselfe imprisoned in the first of these cages that was made, and there had leasure to learne to sing; for hee continued in it full fourteene yeares. The king himselfe had not much more roomth to remaine in; for, so great a master as he was, yet (as if himselfe had bin fettered by the necke, hands, and feet) he liued in greater feare than the prisoners did, that he before had kept in cruell captiuitie. He shut himselfe vp within a castle, compassed about with so many guards (saith *Philip de Commines* an eye-witnesse) that it was impossible to locke vp a prisoner more straightly than he had coffered vp himselfe. To such histories wee may adde that which *Froissart*, and the Lord of *Hallian* writ in the life of *Charles* the VI. of the poysoned apple, prepared for the kings sonne, to whom it was giuen in play, but eaten by his sonne that had poysoned it. *Peter Portius Vincentin*, a Captaine following the partie of the Emperor *Charles*, offring to surprise by treason ouer the Frenchmen, a strong place in Piedmont called Barges, lost in the attempt more than fortie of his best souldiers, and was himselfe so sore hurt, that he died in the place, being surprised by those whom he thought to surprise and destroy.

Arn. Ferron in the 9 booke of his historie of France.

Wrong and Violence at last the wicked man doe ouertake,
And his life commonly they waste, where they their first abode did make.

Hugh Faleand setteth downe this storie in many leaues, in his discourse of the calamities of Sicilia.

Among the stories that are memorable to this purpose, I thinke there cannot be found a more notable one for many yeares past, than that of *Maion* Admirall of Sicilia, in the time of king *William*, about the yeare 1164. This man being the sonne of a Regrater of oyle, ascended to such credit, that hauing obtained the state of Admiraltie, he managed all the affaires of that kingdome; putting to death the great lords, rauishing and deflouring Ladies and Gentlewomen, and preferring to dignities whom he would. At the last he went about to make himselfe king, keeping a great coyle, and leauing not one stone vnremoued to bring his purpose to passe. But when he thought himselfe at the top of the wheele, and there meant to fasten a peg, suddenly it turned about; for he was killed by a lord of the kingdom, named *Mathew Bonell*, to whom he had promised his daughter in marriage.

Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 5.

To this storie the Readers may adde the memorable example of *Eutropius*, Chamberlaine to the Emperour *Arcadius*, whom *Chrysostome* doth sharply taxe in his oration of riches and pouertie. In times past, the authors of lewd inuentions, the counsellers of wickednesse and crueltie, haue made an ill end. *Perillus* the Athenian, hauing cast a brazen Bull for *Phalaris* the tyrant of Sicilia, with such cunning, that the offenders which were put within it, feeling the heat of the fire that was made vnderneath, seemed to roare like a Bull, not to crie with mans voice; when he came to demand the recompence of his paines, was himselfe first of all cast into the Bull, that hee might shew the proofe of his owne inuention; the which *Ouid* expresseth in certaine verses thus,

The Tyrant Phalaris *within a Bull of brasse*
Inclosd Perillus, *who inuented had the same:*
The Authour with his owne deuise first punisht was,
And onely then, of Iust, the Tyrant had the name.

Lib. 9. cap. 9.

We haue this point illustrated with the memorable example of the Tyrant *Maxentius*, of whom *Eusebius* writeth, *That hauing digged a pit, hee fell thereinto himselfe: that his violence fell in vpon him, and that his wickednesse smoothered him.* *Ælius Lampridius* speaking of the ambushes that were laid for *Alexander* (after surnamed *Seuerus*) by *Heliogabalus*, saith these words; *The wicked neuer prosper in their purposes against the innocent; For it could neuer be brought to passe, that any man would vndertake to kill* Alexander: *Contrariwise, the shafts which* Heliogabalus *made readie against others, were found to bee whetted against himselfe, and himselfe was caught in the snares which he laid for good men.* Hereof we haue another example in *Titus Liuius*, and *Valerius Maximus*, of the women poysoners in Rome, who hauing compounded certaine poisons, which many lighting vpon, died of, as if it had bene of a common Pestilence, none being able to tell from whence this euill proceeded; at last the truth of the matter was discouered by a woman-seruant, who told, That the women of Rome had compounded this poison: whereupon they are called and examined, and maintaine the same to be wholesome medicines. They are commanded to taste them, which they doe presently; and all that did so, died. Thereupon the rest are sought out and imprisoned, of which an hundred and seuentie were condemned to die.

In the 8 booke of the 1 Dec. In the 2 booke and 26 chap. of Memorable doings and sayings.

Lib. 39.

Iustin the Historian maketh mention of such a like storie. *Gryphus* king of Egypt had scarce recouered his fathers kingdome, and was but newly gotten out from dangers abroad, before he saw himselfe readie to be ensnared at home by his owne mother: This woman hauing betraied her husband *Demetrius* into the hands of his enemies, and caused one of her sonnes to bee killed, that shee her selfe might reigne; seeing that *Gryphus* remaining

remaining conquerour abated her greatnesse, as one day hee came home from hunting, she presented him with a poysoned cup: He being forewarned of the ambush, counterfeiting the manerly sonne, prayeth his mother to begin: which she refusing, he presseth her vnto it: and at last plainly telleth her what he heard of the poison, reproouing her sharply, and swearing that to cleare her selfe of such an accusation, there was no way for her but to swallow downe the drinke. The miserable Queene ouerwhelmed with her offence, drunk the poison, wherof she presently died, thinking therewith to haue poisoned her sonne. *Laodice*, sister and wife to *Mithridates* that famous king, past the same pikes. For, going about to couer her adulteries with murder, she prepared poison for her brother and husband, who hauing vnderstood of the plot by a chamber-maid, did iustice vpon his wife. We reade in the same Historian, the like fortune befalling *Prusias* king of Bithynia, who determining to kill his sonne *Nicomedes*, the yong prince being aduertised of the enterprise by those that were appointed to execute it, seised vpon the kingdome, and did that to his owne father, which the father had resolued to execute vpon him. Therefore was it well said by *Arnold Ferron*; *That wise men haue for good cause held, that God poureth vpon the inuenters of euil, the euill which they haue determined to doe to others; to the end, that in this resolution of iust punishment, each one of them may receiue to his owne confusion, the harme he deuised against another.* And so haue many been kild with their owne weapons: as we read *Marius* was, one of the thirtie tyrants vnder the gouernment of *Gallienus*. For he hauing been chosen Emperor by the souldiers the first day, the next commaunded like the Emperor; but the third day he was slaine by a souldier, who striking him, said, *This is with the sword which thy selfe hast made*; for this *Marius* had beene before a Cutler. One may heere insert, among the Histories of our time, that which *R. Gaguin* reporteth happened in the yeare 1478. In this time, saith he, there was cast in the citie of Tours a very great piece of Artillerie, called a Bombard, which was carried to Paris, where it kept a terrible coile: For being mounted, and placed by the Canoniers without Saint *Anthonies* Port, as they were loading it with a great yron ball weighing fiue kintals, and with so much powder as the ball weighed, the fire tooke the powder in the piece, which beginning to vomit out the furious ball, the chiefe founder of the piece and foureteene other men that stood neere him, were so rent and scattered abroad, that scarce could there be found any little pieces of their bodies. The bullet after all grazing a great way off, killed a poore fowler as he was laying his nets for birds. Six other men being only stricken with the wind of the piece, and with the stink of the powder, fell extremely sicke. The Reader may remember many such like examples.

Lib 34. towards the end.

Lib. 8. of his Hist. of France.

In his 10 book *cap.* 29 of his historie.

CHAP X.

Of Grace, Naturall and Affected. Item, *That the Beautie of the face is a fraile and fading thing.*

I Haue many times wondred with my selfe at the great incontinencie of some Italians, who counterfeit certaine furious passions towards the thing they loue, and which they esteeme of, and magnifie the praises thereof as of a diuine thing, and such as could not be sufficiently extolled. Their life and death is inclosed there (by their speech) and they make good the saying of an Ancient; *That the soule of the Louer is in the thing loued.* As *Plautus* also thus describeth this rage of Loue;

In *Cistellar.*

I am not where I am; my mind is there (God wot)
Still present, where I find my body (sure) is not.

And *Plato* saith, *That the soule of the louer dieth in her owne bodie, and liueth in another:* albeit some attribute this saying to *Cato*, because hee had it often in his mouth. But that which I most wonder at is; That many Ladies of Italie (I speake not here of the Curtezans) to seeme fairer than the rest, take a pride to paint themselues, and of set purpose besmeare, and plainely marre all the beautie that they haue of nature. Saint *Ierome* said christianly; *The women that paint their faces with vermilion and other painting, offend the eyes of Christians. Such faces (foule with making faire) are like the Idols of Egypt, which being old, appeare new. These women weare false perewigs, and in their old wrinkles repolish their passed youth. Let the Christian woman that forceth nature to appeare liuely, & hath care of her flesh to please her desires, blush for shame.* Epist. 8.

And in another Epistle; *What good* (saith he) *doth Vermilion and Ceruse to a Christian face?* And in the Epistle to *Læta*; *Take heed*, saith he, *of making holes in thy daughters eares; and daube not her face that is consecrate to Christ, with vermilion, and painting; presse not her necke with carkenets of gold, nor ropes of pearle, and lade not her head with precious stones.* Epist. 98.

Saint *Augustine* was of the same mind, saying; *What a folly is it to change the naturall beautie, and to seeke after painting? the crimes of adulterie are in a manner more tollerable: for there chastitie is corrupted, and heere nature is forced.* In one of his sermons of the words of the Lord.

Saint *Ambrose* also saith; *Woman thou defacest the features of God, if thou couer thy face with painting.* In his worke of the Creation. The ancient Pagans vsed to mocke women that were painted, as one may see in *Plautus*, who in a certaine place saith;

That woman smelleth sweet that smels of nought.
But these old Hagges that grease themselues with oyles,
Old Carkasses, new Trimmers of old things,
Tooth-lesse, that hide the bodies faults with painting,
If once their sweat meet with their new complexion,
They smell like sundrie sorts of greasie pottage
Made in a Hotch-potch mingled all together. In *Mostell.*

Hereby it is plaine, that although in times past paynting was vsed among women, yet some there were that would euer censure and reprooue such fooliish dotage. To this purpose an ancient writer taxed the curiositie of painted women, with this Dilemma following: If women be naturally faire, nature sufficeth them; and there is no reason that Art should plead against Nature, nor painting against the truth. If they be foule by nature, the painting which they lay vpon them, bewrayeth their fouleness the more. For this cause, *Pythagoras* forbad women to paint themselues, ordayning, that they should be content with their naturall beautie, should wash themselues with pure water, and be adorned with modest shamefastnesse. *Plautus* hauing regard hereunto, saith in the Commedie we now alleaged:

Hide not thy Age with faire vermilion.
She that is Wise is fairer manifold
Than she that daubes her selfe with painting fine:
The woman that wants Vertue, though she glitter
In gold and iewels, yet is all that while
But little better than a dung-hill vile.

The Philosopher *Nicostratus* propounded this precept; *Let a wise woman not paint her selfe, let her not vse ceruse, nor anie other paynting to colour and shadow her eyes with.* It were to be wished, that these women so painted, or rather masked, might be often at *Phrynees* feast. This *Phryne* was a very faire woman, or (as some

some say) a courtizan, famous in times past amongst the Greckes; and being at a banquet, where many gentlewomen were, who had a certaine play, wherein the custome was, that all the men and women in the companie, must doe that which one of them (to whose lot it fell to begin the sport) should first doe; She comming by chance to be mistresse of the game, wet all her hand in a bason of faire water, and with the same rubbed her fore-head twice ouer: Which the rest likewise doing, the water falling from the fore-head downe the cheekes, tooke off the painting from their faces, and made them shew old and wrinckled; whereas *Phryne* after she had washed, shewed a better liking, because of her naturall and simple beautie. We read in *Cedrenus*, that king *Salomon*, by such a deuise, discouered the subtilties of the Queene of Saba, who in the confession of the faith of the Abissins is called *Maqueda*, as *Damian de Goës* saith, who addeth, That she had a sonne by *Salomon* named *Melech*, called afterwards *Dauid*. *Cedrenus*, (whom herein I follow, the sacred Historie saying nothing of such particularities, though they be not impossible) telleth, how this Queene, when she saw that *Salomon* had expounded all her hardest riddles, caused (one day) certaine yong boyes and girles apparelled all alike, to be brought and set before the king (none being able by their faces and lookes to discerne the one sex from the other) to the end shee might therein trie king *Salomons* wit. Hee knowing the Queenes intent, presently made some water to be brought in a great Basin, bidding them all to wash their faces. By which deuise he easily discerned the males from the femalls: for the boyes rubbed their faces hard and lustily; but the maides being shamefast did scarce touch theirs with their fingers ends.

In his Annals.

In his booke of the Customes and fashions of the Abissins.

To returne to our purpose. It were to be wished, that whosoeuer he be that is fore-gon with foolish loue, would (for remedie) read and remember that which *Chrysostome* obserueth, whose words translated be these: *When thou seest* (saith he) *a faire woman that hath a twinckling eye, and a smiling face, a looke pleasant, attractiue, and amiable, such as putteth thy heart into a heat, and setteth on fire thy desire; thinke, that that which so rauisheth thee, is nought else but earth; and that the fire which burneth thee, is but dung: and then will thy furie be asswaged. Raise vp the skin of her face, and thou shalt see all the vilenesse of that goodly shew. Stay not vpon the outward maske, but pierce with the eye of thy thought, into that which is within, and what else shalt thou see there but bones, sinewes, and veines? But this is not enough. Remember, that beautie changeth, groweth old, and withereth; that the quickenesse of the eyes waxeth dead; that the cheekes grow hollow; that all that faire flower passeth away. See what it is that maketh thee (as it were) a beast: it is ashes, dust, and filth that burneth thee. For, what is the substance of this beautie that thou seest, but snot, spettle, corrupt blood, and the iuyce of rotten nourishment? what commeth there out of the eares, out of the eyes, out of the nose, out of the mouth? And if these euacuations and ordinarie defluctions of excrements should cease, and that the breast, the liuer and the braine should leaue to purge themselues that way; all this parado and goodly shew declineth and decayeth, the skin withereth, and the eyes sinke into the head. Therefore, if thou consider what is in the bottome of these goodly eyes, what is within that faire and streight nose, in the mouth, and vnder the cheekes, thou wilt confesse that this bodie so amiable, is nothing else but a Tombe whited ouer; wherein all is full of filthinesse, of rottennesse, and of stinke. If thou see a handkerchife full of that which commeth out of the nose, and out of the mouth, thou presently turnest thine head away, thou abhorrest to touch it; the hollow stooles that these beauties vse, doe make thy stomack rise, and thee to stop thy nose. Hee therefore that maketh so great account of the outward shew, and seeing a maid of a good beautie becommeth fond like a bodie without a soule, if*

In his speech of Beautie, and of a woman.

if hee consider that which transporteth him, shall know the fowlenesse of the thing, which he will not indure that another should tell him by words: for manie as faire, yea, and sometimes of a better beautie than she that maketh her selfe to be so much looked after, being once dead, are at the end of foure and twentie houres assaulted with stinke and miserable corruption, and lie gnawne with wormes. Therefore bethinke with thy selfe a little what a beautie thou loues't (poore soule as thou art) and at the appearing whereof thou looses't all thy countenance. The same Doctor saith in another place, *What is a faire woman? a whited Tombe, except shee be chast, sober, and shamefast. Beautie without such Vertues is an open gulfe, a drinke poisoning all those that cast their eyes vpon it.* Saint *Gregorie* hath in his Moralls giuen a most sure remedie against these wanton affections; *When a man coueteth* (saith hee) *the flesh that appeareth, let him consider what the same is after death, then it is knowne what one loueth. For there is nothing that so much mastereth the desire of the flesh, as to thinke, what that is which one loueth, after it is once dead.* This the Grecians would bring to remembrance, by the ceremonie they obserue in the obsequies of their dead. They make a commemoration thereof three seuerall daies after the decease, to wit, the third, the ninth, and the fortieth. Because the third day, the dead bodie is so changed, that a man cannot know it anie more by the face: the ninth, the whole bodie is dissolued, sauing the heart: the fortieth day, the heart is perished, as all the rest is. *Crusius* addeth another interpretation, which applieth this ceremonie to the Resurrection, Apparition, and Ascension of IESVS CHRIST.

Vpon the 58. Psal.

Lib. 16.

Crusius in the hist. entit. *Turcogræcia.*

To returne againe to the remedie against wanton and leaud affections. *Suidas* reporteth, that a wise Ladie of Alexandria called *Hypalia* shewed her selfe discreet in the consideration of the defect & frailtie of her sex. For, being not able to rid her selfe handsomely of the importunitie of a certaine yong man which sollicited her to naughtinesse, she shewed him some clouts fowled with her menstruous disease, saying vnto him, *See heere (young man) what it is thou loues't: verily nought else but filth and ouglinesse.* Saint *Isidor* hath a memorable storie to this purpose, and it is thus. A certaine man in the flower of his age being much giuen to women, seeing vpon a day a very faire maid, was taken with her loue, and left nothing vnassayed to haue the enioying of her. At the first she flatly gaue him the repulse; for she was a chast damosell and had promised CHRIST IESVS to keepe her bodie and her soule pure and vndefiled for him. Hearing by chance, that this wooer was readie to fall mad by reason of this passion which tormented him sore, she deuised a way whereby to preserue her chastitie, and also to quench the fire of this miserable wretch. First, she made her faire locks of haire to be cut off and shauen away, she rubbed her face all ouer with a kind of durt made of ashes wet with water: and afterwards sent for this foole, to whom she said; *Now, canst thou loue this foulenesse?* He (by that stroke being freed from the rage that pressed him) felt the fire of his desire slaked, and (which is more) alwaies after he shewed himselfe very honest and temperat.

The Venetian wanton, described by *Leander* the Monke and other Italians, should haue learned and meditated vpon this storie. *Dominicus Siluius* Duke of Venice had married a gentlewoman of Constantinople, a woman hugely proud, and so daintie, as she would not vouchsafe to wash her hands, or any other part of her bodie in cleere water, nor yet touch her meat with her fingars: but she fed her selfe ordinarily with a golden forke. In her chamber she had so many sweet perfumes made, and so much sweet water spent, that the smoke thereof made such persons as were not accustomed with such things, to ouercome

come, and almost to swoon. These shamefull vanities, these daintie tricks, these vnmeasurable delicacies had the end (at last) that they deserued, as all worldly prosperities resemble shadowes and vapors of smoake, then neerest breaking, when they are most excessiue. All these things in the end were but intollerable stinkes in our delicate *Seniora*, who was so infected with her smells, that from all her bodie there began to drop most stinking humors, and a kinde of matter so filthie to behold, and so noysome to smell, that euerie man plainely knew that her dissolute daintinesse too too excessiue, had caused this infection in her.

In the liues of the Fathers.

For the end of this Chapter, the storie of an ancient Hermit sheweth what a fraile thing, and of how short a continuance, the outward beautie of the face of any person is. This Hermit stirred with dishonest desires, and with the beautie of a certaine woman, which he had drawne into him with a wanton eye, comming euerie foot into his thought, hauing no power to make head against the shocke of temptation; was aduertised by another Hermit, that this woman was departed the world some daies before. Thereupon this old Louer goeth by night to the place where she was buried, and hauing opened the graue, did with the lap of his mantle wipe away some of the filth of the dead corps being halfe rotten: Afterwards being returned into his Cell, when the vnlawfull desires pricked him, he layd abroad his mantle that was foule & stinking, and said thus to himselfe; *Go to now, see what it is thou desirest, and take thy fill of it.* This spectacle was to him in steed of a check-master, vntill such time as his hot cogitations were alaied and quenched.

CHAP. XI.

That of the Marrow of mans bodie serpents doe breed.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 66.

Plinie writeth, that a Serpent is ingendred of the Marrow of the back-bone of a man. The truth of this testimonie appeareth by experience, and is made manifest by an example that we reade in *Plutarch*, for the king of Egypt hauing made the dead bodie of *Cleomenes* to be hanged vp, and they that watched it hauing spied a great Serpent winding about his head, and couering the face in such sort as no bird that preyes vpon carrion durst soare thereabouts; the people of Alexandria running thither (saith he) in troupes to see this spectacle, called *Cleomenes* a demi-god, and the sonne of the gods: vntill such time as the best in knowledge among them had called to minde, that as of the putrified flesh of a dead oxe, there grow Bees; of a horse, Waspes; and of an asse, Beetles: so likewise, when the matterie substance which inuironneth the marrow, gathereth togither and thickneth, Serpents are ingendred thereof. I haue oftentimes seene in a well-knowne place of Germanie a yong gentlemans tombe, who was buried in a chappell where his predecessors lay: It is said, That he was the fairest yong-man of his time; and being troubled with a grieuous sickneesse in the flower of his age, his friends could neuer get so much of him (no more than *Agesilaus* friends could get of him) as to suffer himselfe to be represented in sculpture or picture, to serue for posteritie: onely this through their importunitie he agreed vnto, that after he should be dead and some daies in the ground, they should open his graue, and cause him to be represented as they then found him. They kept promise with him, and found that the wormes had halfe gnawne his face, and that about the midriffe and the back-

In the life of *Cleomenes*.

back-bone there were many Serpents. Vpon this, they caused the spectacle (such as they found it) to be cut in stone: which is yet at this present to be seene among the armed Statues of the Ancestors of this yong gentleman. A notable example of the fragilitie of mans bodie, how faire and goodly so euer it be; and that all the splendor and magnificall shew that may be seene therein, is nothing else but rottennesse and wormes-meate: as the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* saith; *When a man dieth, he is the heritage of Serpents, Beasts and Wormes.* Which is confirmed by a certaine inscription grauen vpon a tombe at Rome in Saint *Sauiours* church, where are two latin verses to this effect:

Eccef. 10. 12.

When in my bodies prison I was pent,
I was compact of shamefull filth and ordure:
Now to this lower dungeon being sent,
To crawling Wormes I serue for food and pasture.

In his booke of Meditations. chap. 3.

Saint *Bernard* aymed at the same when he said, That man was nothing but stinking seed, a sacke of excrements, and the food of Wormes.

Of bodies dead ingender Wormes, of Wormes a rotten stinke,
And then as horrible a state as mind of man can thinke:
This is our very case, for all our pride and hie conceit,
Nor can we stay the stroake of death when he our life doth threat.

So then, nature ingendring of the carrion of our bodies, a Serpent, or a Dragon, it seemeth to shew vnto vs (as it were with the fingar) the author of our calamities and corruptions; as also the enemie that hath an vnreconcileable warre with vs: to wit, that old dragon and serpent, who not onely laieth traps for the liuing; but besides neuer leaueth renting and deuowring those that be dead and buried.

CHAP. XII.

Of the doubtfull, vncertaine, inconstant, and miserable condition of Mans life.

Lib. 3. de Oratore.

Icero saith, That a Roman captaine although victorious, doth yet tremble in his heart. Shewing thereby, how vnassured the state of worldly affaires is: of which thing the Romans (exercised aswell by prosperitie as aduersitie) could well skill how to make their benefit. This appeareth by the answere of *Scipio Affricanus* to the Ambassadors of king *Antiochus* who was ouerthrowne in a set battell by the Romans, in these words: *If the Romans be ouercome, their hearts for all that faile them not: neither doe they swell, if they be conquerors.* And as another saith in *Titus Liuius*, *No man knoweth what the euening bringeth with it.* For such is the state of human affaires, that they are set, as a white, against an infinit number of shafts of aduersitie: so that no man should be hautie, in a calme; nor haue a faint heart, in a tempest. The ancient wise men would meditat hereupon, as may be seene in one of *Senecas* Tragedies, where this admonition is inserted:

Iustin. lib. 30.

In the Tragedie of *Thiestes.*

Ye Potentates, to whom the Lord of might
Hath granted power mens liues to saue or spill;
Beware of Pride: For, what the poorest wight
Doth feare from you, is cleane against Gods will,
All high Estates depend of one more high,
A man may in the morning braue it out,
That e're sun-set may in the ashes lie:
So suddenly doe all things rolle about.

Death

Death makes all euen, impeaching Fortunes heſt.
All that the Moone ſees vnderneath her Round.
Turneth and changeth without any reſt.
Gods fauour is not limited or bound.
When our affaires are ſetled for long while,
And (to our thinking) no miſtruſt remaines:
God in a moment, by Deaths matchleſſe guile,
Ruins the building of our high diſſeigns.

It is written, That the ancient Egyptians were wont to haue a Skelliton or Image of death ſhewed to ſuch as were bidden to their feaſts, to warne them to thinke thereupon; and that at ſuch time as they were eating and drinking. The ſame is ſeene at *Trimalcions* feaſt in *Petronius Arbiter*, as the learned *Lipſius* reporteth. *As we were drinking* (ſaith *Petronius*) *and ſate rauiſhed (as it were) with ſo many dainties diſpoſed ſo neatly, and in ſo good order, a ſeruant brought into the roome a certaine Anatomie of ſiluer, ſet together ſo artificially, that the ſpondiles and ioynts turned as a man would haue them.* Trimalcion *hauing ſet it thrice vpon the Table, as this chaine thus pliable repreſented certaine diuers and ſundrie poſtures, he added*; *Lib. 1. Saturnal. cap. 19.*

Poore wretches that wee are, alas!
What is man but a thing of nought?
Thus ſhall we bee to nothing brought,
When Charons *Ferrey we doe paſſe.*
Then while we liue heere vpon earth,
Let vs employ our time in mirth.

What was all this elſe, but an aduertiſement of humane frailtie, and of vnauoidable death? *Thomas Moore* Chauncellor of England had the ſame conceit in a Latine diſtick, the effect whereof is;

As ſoone as we conceiued are, both life and death together
March after vs with equall ſteps, till God the league diſſeuer.

Iſidore writeth, That the cuſtome was in Conſtantinople, when the Emperor vpon the day of his Coronation, ſate in his high throne of Maieſtie, a Maſon would come to him, and ſhew him certaine ſorts of ſtone, that out of them hee might chuſe which ſort he liked beſt, and ſo giue order to haue his tombe made of the ſame ſtone. *Paulus Iouius* reporteth, That *Saladin* the Souldan of Egypt and of Syria, dying, and remembring the condition of mans miſerie, forbade expreſſely by his will, that they ſhould make any funerall pompe for him: Only he commaunded that one ſhould carrie an old caſſock, or a piece of black cloth vpon the end of a launce, and that a Prieſt ſhould crie with a lowd voice in the hearing of all the people, a certaine admonition, conteining in ſubſtance theſe words; In his 1. booke of famous men.

I haue a great Prince liu'd, victorious, rich, renown'd:
Now haue I but one ragge, ſince death did me confound.

The Emperor *Auguſtus*, as mightie a prince as euer any was, had the like feeling of the miſeries of this life. For, as *Cedrenus* writeth, being neere his end, he gaue a generall commandement, that after he ſhould be dead, euery man ſhould clap his hands, in token of ioy; and ſhould laugh without fayning, as was vſually done after a Comedie had been well repreſented. By ſuch a commandement he would be thought to mocke the life of man, as a ridiculous thing. At the ſacring of the Popes; when the new elected Pope paſſeth (as the manner is) before Saint *Gregories* chappell, the maſter of the Ceremonies goeth before him, bearing two drie reeds, at the end of the one a burning wax-candle tied, and at the In his Annals vpon the life of *Auguſtus*.

the end of the other a handfull of flax, the which he setteth on fire, saying with a lowd voice, *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi:* that is, *Holy father, so passeth away the glorie of the world*, and this he repeateth three times. *Paradin* hath from thence drawne an embleme, inserted among those other which he calleth Heroicall deuises, with these words, NIL SOLIDVM, that is, *Nothing firme.* The ancient Romans knew that well. For, when the Senate decreed the triumph to any of their Captaines or Generals, for their conquests atchieued: this Conquerour being placed in his chariot of Triumph, and entring pompously into the citie with a crown of gold set with precious stones fixt vpon his head; the executioner of iustice stood in the same chariot behind him, warning him to consider wel what followed after him, to the end he might looke to the rest of his life, that such honour should not make him proud. Now there was hanged behind them in the same chariot a bell, and a whip, to signifie, that this great Commaunder might fall into such miserie, that he might be whipt, and after beheaded. For the offenders that were to be executed, were wont to carrie bells hanged about their necks, for feare least as they went to their execution, some bodie hapning to touch them by mis-heed, should be thought accursed thereby.

Zonar. in the 1. booke of his Annals.

Wee read to this purpose, That the Embassador of *Mauritius* the Emperour mollified the cruell nature of the king of the Auarians, by bringing to his remembrance the inconstancie of humane affaires, in rehersing a storie of *Sesostris* king of Egypt. This *Sesostris* was wont to bee carried in a chariot of pure gold, drawne by foure kings that were his prisoners: One of these foure fastning his eye with great attentiuenesse vpon the wheele that was next him a great many turnes, and being asked by *Sesostris* the cause of his so earnest looking, answereth; *In beholding this wheele, which turneth about so fast, wherein, that which was now aboue, is by and by the lowest of all; I thinke vpon the accident of my fellowes and my selfe. Sesostris*, by this caueat abating his insolencie, set the foure kings at libertie. Wee read almost the like thing of the Emperor *Iustinian*; who carrying in triumph *Gilimer* king of the Vandals, with the Queene his wife, and their houshold, in the state of prisoners: *Gilimer* being brought into the Emperors presence began to laugh as lowd as hee could. Euery one thought, that ouermuch sadnesse vpon his so great and sudden change, had taken his wits from him; but he answered grauely, That seeing himselfe of a king brought to nothing, he was mooued to laugh at the reuolutions of mans life.

Pomp. Lætus in the life of *Iustinian.*

Memorable therefore is the act of *Canutus*, a mightie king of England, who deftly represt a certaine flatterer that told him, How all things framed to the beck and will of him being so great a king. This prince, mindfull of the inconstancie of worldly affaires, and of humane fragilitie, commanded his chaire of Estate to be placed vpon the sea shore at the beginning of the flood. And as the tide came in, he began to say vnto it; *Thou art within my fee, the land whereon I sit belongeth to me, none euer crost my commandement without punishment: I forbid thee therfore to rise, or to enter vpon my dominion, and take heed thou wet not my clothes, or any limbe of thy lords bodie.* The sea comming on as it was woont, begins without any respect to wet the kings feet, who therewith remooving backe, and rising withall, saith; *Let all the Inhabitants of the earth know, That the power of kings is friuolous and vaine, and that no man is worthie of the name of King, but onely hee, whom the heauen, the sea, and the earth do obey by a continual and vnchangeable decree.* After that day, *Canutus* neuer wore crowne any more vpon his head.

M. Camden in the historie of England.

They are truly wise and circumspect, that consider the glorie and wealth of the world to be as vnsteadie, as the waues of the sea that are tossed with the wind.

They

They flow fairely to those that thinke they haue them; afterwards they ebbe away suddenly, and go to others. Wherunto *Nazianzen* seemeth to haue regard, when as, according to the contents of the 62 *Psalme*, he said, You that gape after riches, hearken to the Prophet, that crieth;

Though goods come rolling on,
Set not your hearts vpon
So light and vaine a thing.

In his Oration of the sute for the Episcopall see of Constantinople.

For, (as it is Christianly said by *Hubert Folietta*) There is not any thing that doth more diuert the wits of men from their office and dutie, than prosperitie, accustomed to make hearts swell, and to fill them with the wind of ouer-weening: whereof it commeth, that all being not able to behold (as they ought) this worlds glorie, they grow insupportable, and make themselues hatefull to euery one, so soone as pride beginneth to master them. Therefore it is requisit by all meanes to represse this furious beast, to put the bridle of modestie into his mouth, and to take heed of a wild and insolent spirit: Contrariwise, to make prouision of great mildnesse, and to furnish ones selfe both in deeds and words with sincere debonairitie; than the which there is not any vertue that commeth neerer to Christian Religion, nor that doth more nimbly beat by the stoccadoes of prosperitie, nor better win the loue and friendship of men.

In his book of the life and studie of a Church-man.

Here we may make vse of the tragicall Historie (that we may not altogether stand vpon ancient examples) of *Hugolin Girardesca* of Pisa. This man (as *Paulus Æmylius* writeth) being chiefe of the faction of the *Guelphs* that stucke to the Pope, hauing foil'd a part of the *Gibellins* who affected the Emperor, & stricken a feare into the rest, became so great among those of his party, that he commanded with a white wand, was both in name and in deed lord of his citie, a rich & noble personage; learned, magnificall, maried to a great ladie, hauing goodly children, and they children likewise, abounding in all maner of wealth more than he could wish, liuing happie, and in all pleasure by the iudgement both of himselfe, and his fellow citizens: and who being plunged in the consideration of his felicitie, delighted himselfe with this thought, That all his hap should continue a long time. He making a solemne feast vpon his birth-day, and hauing inuited all his friends, setleth himselfe to the displaying of his prosperitie, which he magnifieth, admireth, and extolleth aboue the clouds: yea, and at last commeth to this, that he asketh one of his inward friends, If there wanted any thing to make vp his felicitie compleat? Who considering what little stay there is in worldly matters, and the deceitfull vanitie of their rowling and flying away in a moment; or rather being inspired from aboue; *Certainly*, saith he, *the wrath of God cannot be long away from this thy so great prosperity*. And it must needs be, that the good things which were heaped vpon this man alone, who had neuer before felt what affliction was, must be followed at the heeles with some extreme miserie. The forces of the *Guelphs* beginning to decay, the *Gibellines* run to armes, beset the house about, breake downe the gates, kill one of his sonnes and a grand-child that would keepe them from entring; lay hold of *Girardesca*, impriſon him with two other of his sonnes, and three grand-children, in a tower, shut all the gates fast vpon them, and throw the keyes into the riuer of Arne that ranne hard by. There *Hugolin* saw those goodly youths of his dying betweene his armes, himselfe also at deaths doore. He cried and besought his enemies to be content, that he might endure some humane punishments, and to grant, that he might be confest and communicate ere he died: but all was denied him, and so he died pitifully with his children and nephewes that were with him.

In the 8 booke of the historie of France.

To returne to ancient examples, the storie of *Polycrates* lord of Samos may serue also to set foorth the notable reuolution of this fraile life. For whereas at first he was esteemed the happiest, he proued at last the vnhappiest man in the world. He was allied (saith *Herodotus*) with *Amasis* king of Egypt, who hearing of the great prosperitie of his friend, feared (like a wise prince) that the same would not continue long. Wherefore he wrote vnto him to this effect: *I am glad to vnderstand, that mine hoste and good friend doth fare so well. Neuertheless, I haue thy great felicitie in suspition, knowing how enuious Fortune is. For my part, I had rather that mine affaires, and the affaires of my friends went in such sort, as that some aduersitie might crosse them in this life, than that they should goe alwayes to our liking. If herein thou wilt beleeue me, carrie thy selfe in thy prosperitie as followeth. Looke what thou hast about thee that thou holdest most deere, and wouldest be most sorie to loose; cast that away so farre, and in such sort, as none may euer see it: If thy prosperitie change not for all that, apply therunto from time to time (for thy ease) some such remedie as this is which I haue propounded vnto thee.* *Polycrates* liked this counsell, and hauing a Gold ring set with an Emeraud engrauen, which he vsed for his seale, he cast it into the sea: but within a while after, this ring was found in a fishes belly, and brought againe to *Polycrates*. Of which when *Amasis* heard, hee renounced by an expresse message the right of friendship and hospitalitie that he had contracted with *Polycrates*: for such a custome the Ancients obserued both in binding and loosing the same right; alleaging for his reason, That he feared he should be forced to sorrow and lamentation, because of his friend ouerwhelmed with miserie. It hapned, that after certaine daies, *Orætes* Lieutenant of *Cyrus* in the citie of Sordes, drew vnto him by craftie meanes this Minion of Fortune, *Polycrates*, whom he caused to be hanged vpon a gybbet. Before he departed from Samos, his daughter dreamed, That she saw her father lifted in the ayre, where *Iupiter* washt him, and the Sunne annointed him. Which came to passe: for his body remaining on the gybbet, was washt of the raine, and the burning Sun melted the fat of it. *Tertullian* maketh mention of this dreame, saying, The daughter of *Polycrates* the Samian foresaw her fathers punishment, by the Suns annoynting, and *Iupiters* washing. Of this imaginarie happinesse of *Polycrates* (who thought that all good hap would befall him, though he desired it not) *Paradin* hath framed a deuise, wherein is a fish holding a seale-ring between his teeth, with this word, INVITVM FORTVNA FOVET. Saint *Ambrose* seemeth to haue ruminated vpon this storie: For being one day lodged in a great rich mans house, who boasted that he had neuer in all his life felt any touch of aduersitie; he suddenly dislodged from thence with his friends, saying, *We may not stay heere, for feare we be ouerwhelmed together with this man that hath liued so much to his owne ease and liking.* They were not gone farre, when looking behind them, they saw the earth open, and swallow vp the house, with the master, and all that was therein. I could here alledge a number of examples, of such as from the top of great riches and dignities, haue suddenly fallen to the bottom of extreme afflictions and miseries: but it shall suffice for the present to specifie one, memorable among many other. It is a storie altogether lamentable, and a calamitie full of astonishment, which happened in the parts of the *Cape de bona Speranza*, to *Manuel de Sousa*, surnamed *Sepulueda*, Gouernour of the Citadell of Diu for the king of Portugall, and it is this. Hauing long enioyed great happinesse and honour in East India, hee came to Cochin not farre from Calecut, where hee embarked himselfe in Ianuarie 1553 in a great ship laden with riches, & about six hundred persons with him, among which was his wife, his children, seruants, slaues, and a great retinue, to come into Portugall. But the ship

Lib. 3.

Marull. lib. 5. *exempl. cap.* 3.

Maffeus lib. 11.

ſhip being caſt away vpon the coaſt of Æthiopia, and the ſea hauing ſwallowed vp welneere all that was within it, except the perſons who ſaued themſelues aboord halfe naked, deſtitute of all hope to recouer their loſſe againe: hauing relied vpon the wordes of the craftie and cruell Barbarians, they fell at laſt (ſo many of them as remained aliue, for the moſt part were now dead, what with feare, and what with famine, and other miſeries) into the hands of a pettie king of Æthiope, who hauing them in his power, made them be diſarmed, ſtript, and left ſtark naked vpon the ſand, depriued of all ſuccor, and of all neceſſary things. They that were left aliue, beaten halfe dead with hunger and thirſt, being in a drie and barren countrey, and ouerwhelmed with feare and ſhame, caſting their eyes to the ground, and almoſt transformed into Images, with ſo ſtrange and vnworthie a reuolution; *Eleonor* the wife of *Manuel*, daughter to *Garzias Sala*, Vice-roy of Portugall in the Indies, an honourable Ladie, ſeeing the Barbarians buſied about ſtripping and ſnatching away the clothes from her husband, her ſelfe, her children, and the reſt, forgetting her ſex, and her dignitie, begins to fall vpon theſe filchers, and to lay at them with her fiſt, to box them, and to prouoke them by all meanes, to the end they might kill her, but all in vaine. They left her ſtark naked vpon the ſhore. This chaſte Lady ſeeing her ſelfe in ſuch a caſe, and the day-light miniſtring to her more ſorrow and horror, than death it ſelfe, ſhe ſuddenly couered her ſelfe with ſand, caſting abroad her haires confuſedly, vpon her ſhoulders, and ouer her breaſt that lay naked and bare: which done, ſhe commanded the men that ſuruiued of her miſerable companie, to be gone and ſhift for themſelues as well as they could: her ſelfe remaining in that caſe without ſtirring, or ſaying a word. If at ſometimes ſhee beheld her deare children, the teares would flow from her eyes like riuers, with deepe ſighes and ſobbes. As for *Manuel*, the father and husband, ſuch an extreme ſadneſſe and griefe had cloſed vp his heart and his mouth, as hee held his eyes for a long time fixed to the earth, as if he had been ſtricken with a thunder-bolt, or paſt all feeling: yet at laſt, the care of his little ones ſuddenly waking him, he goeth to a forreſt hard by, there to ſeeke for ſome food. At his returne, hee findeth the yongeſt of his children departed, and his wife who had beene three dayes without eating any thing, ouerborne with ſorrow and with teares. His child he buries with his owne hands. The next day he returnes to ſeeke againe, and comming backe, hee findes his wife and his other ſonne dead, and ſome women ſeruants lamenting with great cries ouer their poore bodies. Hauing put by the ſeruants, he layes himſelfe downe vpon the ground, and ſtretching out the right hand of his deceaſed wife, leaned a while with his head vpon the ſame: and then with the helpe of the ſaid ſeruants, he hideth his wife and child within the ſand, without vttering any word. That done, he returnes into the forreſt, where it is coniectured hee was deuoured of the wild beaſtes: for there was neuer any newes heard of him afterwards. About ſix ſcore of theſe miſerable trauailers hauing eſcaped diuers incredible difficulties, did at laſt recouer a port of the ſea, where they found commoditie to paſſe into Portugall, who there declared the particulars of this Hiſtorie, which we haue ſet downe as briefely as we could.

Let no man therefore claw himſelfe with the diſcourſe of the nobilitie of his predeceſſors, nor of his riches and wealth, nor of his credit, as *Agapitus* in his pollitike Aphoriſmes aduiſeth vs. For all men come of clay, as well they that walke in ſcarlet and fine linnen, as beggars, and the poore lazars: as well kings, as they that guard them. Let vs neuer brag then of the beginning of dung; but let vs glorie in vertue. *Philip de Commines* warneth vs in his Hiſtorie to weigh

nothing so much as the apprehension of Gods iudgement, the loue of vpright-dealing in all matters, and not to vex and torture our selues with cares, as the greedie and ambitious doe. If we could light vpon this way, and keepe it, our life would be more peaceable, and we should enioy health, with lesse trouble. To know the strange vanitie of our life, let vs consider, That so soone as any one, whosoeuer he be, hath his mouth shut, all presently forsake him, and abhor his carcasse: in the meane while the soule is carried elsewhere, before a Throne which it cannot shun. Let euery man then (according to the holy admonition of *Lactantius*) make more account of his soule, than of these deceiuable goods, whose possession is transitorie and vncertaine: For away they goe, and dislodge a great deale faster than they came to their lodging. And if the enioying of them, should be allowed vs vntill our last sigh, yet then must we leaue them to others: we can carrie nothing away, but a life spent in our dutie towards God, our neighbours, and our selues. He that shall goe accompained with continencie, with mercie, with patience, with faith, with charitie, shall arriue rich and wealthie at Gods euerlasting pallace. This is our heritage, which can neuer be taken from vs, nor transported to any other.

Lib. 7. cap. 27.

Herodot. lib. 5.

It was not then without cause, that the Trausians (neighbours to the Thracians) the day that their children were borne, reckoned vp, with warme teares, how many miseries they were to suffer in this world: Contrariwise, they buried their dead with playing and singing ioyfully, numbring the miseries they were freed from: As *Erasmus* both elegantly and largely sheweth in his commentarie vpon the Greeke and Latin prouerbs. *Pomponius Mela* writeth also of the Getes, *That they were once reputed religious aboue all other people, because they had a very good and holy opinion of the euerlasting God: and held for certaine, That most part of the soules among them died not, but after they were gone out of their bodies, they past into a more happy life. Therefore they thought it better to die than to liue: by occasion whereof, they also wept at child-bearings, but celebrated their burials with songs and ioyfull solemnities.* The same is also attributed to another sort of people called Causians, *Who bewaile the children new-borne, and laugh ouer the dead, holding them for happy.* *Lewis Cortusius* a Ciuilian of Padua, very famous in his time, pretended (as I thinke) by his last will and testament, to stirre vp the remembrance of this doctrine, for the instruction of posteritie: For, as *Ierom Scardeon* reporteth, a little before his death, doing quite contrarie to the custome then vsed, he expressely forbad his kinsfolkes and allies to weepe, and mourne for him, according to the practise in other funerals, *But that they should banish all hanging & mourning cloaths, with the imposition of a great forfeiture vpon him that was his heire, if he did not execute from point to point this his last will. Contrariwise, he ordained that in the place of mourners, they should haue Singers, Musicians, and Players vpon all sorts of Instruments, who with Flutes, Hautboyes, Trumpets, Cornets, Sackbuts, Viols, Lutes and Harpes, should march among the priests before the corps; and that another troupe should follow after both troupes consisting of the number of fiftie musicians and minstrills, to euerie of which he bequeathed halfe a duccat for their paines. His will was besides, that twelue young girles apparelled in greene, should carrie the coffin from the place where the corps should be inclosed, to the church where he meant to be buried: permitting them to sing aloud songs of mirth, giuing them therefore a certaine sum of money towards their aduancement in marriage. He was buried at Saint Sophia, and at his funerall there were a hundred wax-candles, and twentie torches borne by the priests, who were followed by the parishes, and all the couents of monkes, except those that were clothed or garded with black, which he excluded from his buriall, for feare least by that colour they should abate the pleasantnesse of the funerall.* He died *an.* 1418.

Vpon the prouerb. *Optimum non nasci.* in the 2 booke of his Geography.

In his hist. of the famous Ciuilians of Padua. *lib.* 2. *class.* 3.

the

the seuenteenth day of Iuly, as his Epitaph sheweth. *Paulus de Castro* a Ciuilian maketh mention of this Will, & disputeth of it, as of a thing made by a man that was not then in his sound wits: which (as it seemeth) is notwithstanding allowed of by the text vpon the law, *Seruo. de Legat.* 1. And therefore *Artabanus* perceiuing that *Xerxes* began to weepe when he saw, that of many millions of men whereof his Armie against the Greekes was composed, not one should remaine aliue within a hundred yeares, saith vnto him; *That in this short space of mans life, many things should fall vpon the liuing, which would make euery one of them to wish for death, and to care little for their life: and therefore this so short course of the world seemed yet ouer-long to those that liued not at their ease.*

In l. quidam in suo. De cond. instit.

Herodot. l. 7.

And indeed, what is our life? *A vapour* (saith Saint *Iames*) *which appeareth for a little while, and then vanisheth away.* Or, as *Aristotle* saith, *What is man? the example of weakenesse, the spoile of time, the pastime of fortune, the picture of inconstancie, the balance of enuie and calamitie: and for the rest, nothing but spettle and fleame.*

Chap. 4. 14.

What is this human life? an idle hope, or feare
Of hidden things to come; a minute-while of time;
Where each-one feeles the griefe and torment of his crime;
Where ioy is kil'd so soone as it doth once appeare.

Therefore Saint *Augustin* writeth like a good Diuine in these words; *This present life is a life that is doubtfull, blind, miserable, beaten with a flowing and ebbing of humors, weakened with griefs, dried with heat, puft vp with meates, made leane with abstinence, dismembred with pastimes, consumed with sadnesse, strained with cares, dulled with arrogancie, shaken with riches, beaten downe with pouertie, loftie in youth, crooked in age, broken with diseases, ouerwhelmed with griefs; after all commeth death cutting her throat, and burying all her pleasures: so as leauing to be, one may thinke that it neuer was.*

An ancient prouerb, very well knowne, saith; *That man is a bubble of water.* Whereunto *Lucian* seemeth to haue regard in one of his Dialogues, where he compareth our liues to little bubbles that are made by the raine vpon the water, whereof some breake so soone as they are made, to make place for others that presently follow them: in such sort that all this shew is as much as nothing. It is (in a word) a flake of smoke, a shadow that passeth, a dreame, a pace halfe stridden, the shadow of a dreame, a nothing, if it be compared with the true and euerlasting life.

In his Dialogue intituled *Charon.*

Commendable therefore is the pietie of our predecessors, who haue erected tombes to Kings and Emperours, whereby posteritie may be made to vnderstand, That after death there is no respect of persons, but that the flesh of all men is a lump of clay, of rottennesse, and of filth. Hereof we may read yet at this day, a memorable Epitaph, among many other, in the Cathedrall church of Brunswike, thus translated out of the Latin, which was reasonable bad for that time.

Duke Henry *lieth here, that did this Temple found,*
A good and godly Prince, as euer went on ground:
His wife so vertuous doth lie here by his side,
Who was of poore distrest the succour, stay, and guide:
A Princesse fearing God, and wise in euery thing,
Mechtilda, *daughter deere to Englands mightie king.*
God feed them with the bread of Saints, and Angels blest;
King Otho, *borne of them, within their armes doth rest,*
Who now for food doth serue to wormes that gouern there,
Togither with his wife, a creature passing faire,

Who of her beautie hath the colour chang'd to dust.
Thou passenger, that this do'st read with sorrow iust,
Wish happinesse and peace to him that shall take heed
How that our bodies, goods, and our whole life indeed,
Are nothing else (alas) but dust, but wind, but death,
A thing of nought, that passeth sooner than ones breath.

Sabbas de Castilion, a knight of Saint *Iohns* of Ierusalem meant the same in the Epitaph which himselfe made, and is to be read in the beginning of an Italian booke of his, which he intituleth *Ricordi*. The Epitaph goeth thus:

D. O. M.

PVTREDINI ET CORRVPTIONI RESVRRECTVRIS VTINAM IN MELIVS SABBAS MEDIOLAN. EX GENTE CASTIL. FR. ET MIL. HIEROSOLYM. PARVO CONTENTVS VIXI. PARVO CONTENTVS ET SOLITARIVS HIC IACEO ANGVSTE. QVALIS EGO FVERIM NEC EGO SCIVI NEC TV QVÆRAS. QVISQVIS ES SI PIVS ES DEPRECARE DEVM PRO ME. HOSPES SOSPES ABI. VALE, ET VIVE MEMOR LETHI. VIVENS MIHI MORITVRO POSVI. MORTALIVM VITA ORTVS LABOR ET MORS. OBIIT AN. DOM. SAL. M. D. LIII. DIE XVI. MARTII.

RELIQVVM MORTALE ET CORRVPTIBILE FRATRIS SABBÆ.

That is to say,

To God all-good, and all-mightie.

Sabbas, *a* Milannois, *of the house of* Castilion, *religious, & knight of the order of Saint Iohns of* Ierusalem, *wisheth this rottennesse and corruption may rise againe in better state. I haue liued content with a little. I lie here in a narrow roome content with a little, and alone. What I haue beene, I neither knew, nor doe thou enquire. Whosoeuer thou be, if good, pray God for me. Passenger passe in peace. Fare well, and be mindfull of Death. Aliue I made this for my death. Mans life and birth is labour and death. He died in the yeare of our Lord* 1553. *the* 16 *day of March.*

Here resteth the rest that was mortall and corruptible of Frier Sabbas.

For good cause then doth the learned *Buchanan* in his Tragedie of *Iephtè* deplore the miserable condition of mans life, as followeth:

I neuer yet could happie peace obtaine:
But as one waue another driueth on,
And one day secondeth anothers course;
So doth one trouble which transporteth me
Follow another that before it goes.
One sorrow by another is reuiued,
As from one teare another is deriued.

Our life may be compared to the life of him that sayleth in a ship; Who, whither he sit, stand, or lie, alwaies maketh way, being carried by the vessell that goeth either with wind, or tide: So we, both waking and sleeping, winded vp vpon the wheele of time, draw euerie minute towards our point. *Seneca* remembreth vs hereof. *We passe this life* (saith he) *as if we were saying vpon the sea, for so* Virgill *saith,*

In the 71 letter to *Lucilius.*

——— *the fields and cities from the shoare retire.*

Euen so, in this sudden course of time, first we lose out of our sight and remembrance, our Infancie; then our adolescencie; after that, all the betweene-time of youth and old age; consequently, the best yeares of our last age: In the end, we descrie death, the hauen of all mankind.

kind. Fooles that we are! doe we thinke it is a rock? no, it is a port, where we must ancker soone, or late, and it may not be auoided.

In his speculatiue Dialogue.

I thinke it not amisse to insert here the note which the Lord *Gabriell Simeon*, a Florentine, draweth out of certaine Hieroglyphicall figures, and which the late Archbishop of Mentz, *Daniel*, one of the Princes Electors wrote with his owne hand in a praier booke of his : *Life is short, Beautie deceitfull, Money flieth away, Rule-bearing is odious, Victorie doubtfull, Peace fraudulent, Old age miserable, Death happy, the fame of Wisedome, euerlasting.*

Here it would not be much amisse to set downe some few examples of great men, who hauing been from meane estates aduaunced to the high dignities of swaying crownes and scepters, yet by their humble and low carriage, would (as it were) guard themselues against the crosses and ouerthwarts of fortune, by keeping themselues as low in heart, as they were eleuated in the shew of the world. Many Authors haue written of *Agathocles* king of Sicilia, who of a Potters sonne, by his prowesse and vertues came to gouerne that kingdome: He was not free from many enormous vices, yet this is written of him to his commendation, That though he had as royall authoritie as any king his predecessor had before him, yet he would neuer weare the diademe, nor haue any guard, but gaue free accesse to all that would come to speake with him. Moreouer, though no other prince was euer more furnisht with money, or with richer mooueables than he, yet he caused his name to be engrauen in Greeke letters vpon vessels of earth, which he placed among his rich pots of gold and siluer, that vpon sight thereof he might call to mind the place from which he was descended. Another like memorable example wee haue in *Willegis*, Archbishop of Mentz, who from a very base condition being ascended to most high dignities, would leaue a perpetuall marke of humilitie, and of the remembrance of his meane qualitie to his successors: Being issued from a base house, and sonne to a Carter, he caused these words following to be written in great letters in his lodging chamber, *Willegis, Willegis, remember from whence thou camest.* He caused also the wheeles and other implements of a cart to be there hanged vp, for a remembrance of his pedegree. And at this day there are to be seene, as it were two cart-wheeles in the Armes of the Archbishop of Mentz, and one in the scutchion of the church of Mentz.

Lesc, the second of that name, though a base fellow, was yet (becausse of his vertues) chosen king of Polonia in the yeare 780. But he carried himselfe like a prince descended from ancient kings: and all his life time tooke especiall care vpon the solemne dayes, when he was to appeare in his roiall robes, to cast ouer them a garment of course cloth which he had worne before; thereby to keepe in remembrance his former life, that so he might not be ouertaken with the inconstancie of this worlds affaires, which throweth those to the ground whom it hath highly exalted. Many kings of Polonia did afterwards solemnely obserue this custome.

When *Libussa*, princesse of Bohemia, had enobled and after maried *Primislaus* the third of that name, who before was a plaine husbandman, in remembrance of his first condition, he brought with him (at such time as he was to mount on horsebacke, to receiue the royall pompe) a paire of woodden shooes: and being asked the cause, he answered, That he brought them to the end they might be set vp for a monument in the castle of Visgrade, and shewed to his successours, that all might know that the first prince of Bohemia had been called from the cart to that high dignitie; and that he, who from a clowne was called to weare a crowne,

a crowne, had nothing whereof to be proud. These wooden shooes are still kept in Bohemia, as a precious relick, and the Priests of the Church of Visegrade cary them about in procession vpon euery coronation day.

In the life of the Emperor *Claudius.*

Now although *Trebellius Pollio* may write, That the most learned Astronomers are of opinion, That the longest life of man is limited at six score yeares, and that none euer obteined a time exceeding that; adding, That euen *Moses* the friend of God (as the books of the Iewes say) liued six score and fiue yeares, and being asked Why he would die so soone, being of strength to liue longer; he answered, That he had heard by a voice from heauen, that none should passe that time: yet notwithstanding, if men should liue now adayes as long as *Adam* & the other Patriarks liued before the flood, it would be but a small matter. To draw to an end, in the prayer of *Moses* the seruant of God, Threescore and ten yeares are allotted to mans life, and fourescore yeares to the strongest:

Psalm. 90. *If any man goe beyond that, it is but labour and sorrow*; in a word, *wee passe away, and our dayes flie apace,* as *Moses* saith in that Psalme. The Ancients haue distinguished mans age into diuers parts, as *Peter Messie* a Spaniard showeth in a collection that hee hath made thereof. To make it appeare what it is, we will adde (for conclusion) the distinction of ages, made by *Solon*, and reported by *Philo Iudeus* in his Commentarie of the creation of the world, and is thus much in effect:

In the 1 part of his diuers Lectures, *ca.* 40

The Child that cannot yet by words his meaning show,
May at seuen yeares enclose with pales of double row
The parke of his faire mouth: but at the fourteenth yeare
He hopes to see the downe in his red cheekes appeare.
His one and twentieth yeare no sooner doth begin,
But one may see a beard all ouer cheeke and chin.
Then growes he into strength; but though he think it long,
Vntill the twentie eighth he is not counted strong.
From twentie-eight, before to thirtie-fiue he get,
He mariage will desire some children to beget.
When fortie-two arriue, thoughts of a manly straine
Doe make him quite forgoe things of a childish vaine.
And then at fortie-nine his tongue and trauell tend
To courses all of gaine, as to their proper end.
The seuen yeares that doe next to this account assemble,
Are most entire of all, and most themselues resemble.
At sixtie-three yeares age, though he grow weake and languish,
Yet Wisdome and aduise doe in him chiefly flourish.
But he that can the point of seuentie yeares attaine,
May with him carrie hence a mind both prompt and faine.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the miserable condition of the Acridophagi, a people of Æthiopia.

Strab. lib. 17. *Diodor. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.

THe Acridophagi (that is to say Locust-eaters) are a people of Æthiopia, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus* write, inhabiting neere to the Desert, of a lower stature than other men, leane, and very black. In the Spring time certaine hoat winds out of the West, doe take vp and bring to them out of the desert, an infinit number of locusts, which these people powder with salt, whereof they haue abundance, and keepe them for daintie meat, and feed vpon it, hauing no other

other victuals all their life time. For they cannot breed cattell, and they eat no fiſh, becauſe they are far from the ſea, and haue no reliefe or ſuccour any way els. They are not much loaden with fat: they run as ſwiftly as is poſſible, and the oldeſt of them neuer paſſeth fortie yeares. Their death is ſtrange: for when they draw neere to their old age, there breed in their bodies certaine winged lice, of a diuers ſhape, ſtinking, and ougly to behold, which in a little time eat their belly, after that their breaſt, and at laſt their whole bodie. The diſeaſe beginneth with an itching, which the patient feeleth intermingled with griefe and pleaſure, and ſcratching himſelfe vntill he haue made an open paſſage for the lice, and for the matter that floweth forth; the ſickneſſe groweth ſo grieuous and vehement, that with greedie nailes and lowd cries he teareth all his bodie, out of which the vermin come forth in ſuch abundance (as out of a pierſt hogſhead) that it is impoſſible to clenſe the poore bodie of them: but the ſame, by reaſon of the blood ſo corrupted with the aire, and with the feeding, being no other thing but rottenneſſe and vermin, doth in that ſort miſerably die and periſh.

One may therefore ſay, That the locuſts feed theſe people, and afterwards eat them. There is no great difference betweene theſe Acridophagi (although their manner of life differ) and thoſe ſlauiſh Negros, which the Portugals bring by troups out of the fartheſt Iſlands. I haue heard them tell that haue ſeene ſome of them come out of the ſhips that vnladed in their hauens, that theſe Negros (ſuch almoſt as the Himantopodes of Libya, deſcribed by *Solin*, that haue ſcant any thing of man but the face, and ſeeme to creepe rather than go, bowing their thighs and knees vpon their feet and heeles, hauing a voice and ſpeech betweene beaſtly and humane) are vnladed & beſtowed in certain warehouſes built of purpoſe vpon the ſhore, where the Portugals locke them vp like beaſts, without difference of ſex or age, vntil they find a Marchant for them. He that buyeth them, hath much adoe to apparel them, and to make them conceiue that they are men or women, and not bruit beaſts. Such (in a word) as were the ancient ſlauiſh Corſi mentioned by *Strabo*, which were ſeene at Rome (ſaith he) with aſtoniſhment, by reaſon of their ſauage gate, their furious looke, and all their other carriage cruel and beaſtly. For either they ſuffer themſelues to die with anger, or being (as it were) mad, they ſtrangle and cruſh their maſters, if they haue neuer ſo little libertie or leaſure. To be ſhort, though they haue them at neuer ſo vile a rate, yet they ſoone repent the buying of them.

Lib. 5. de ſa Geographia.

CHAP. XIIII.

Braſſe doth not ruſt, and keepeth other things from rotting. A ſtrange way of burying bodies.

BEing at Venice with ſome of my companions (among which number was *Anthonie de Maſſau*, a young gentleman of Pomerania, learned, valiant, and taking great delight in Antiquities and rare things) we ſaw in the houſe of the Magnifico *Lauredan*, afterwards Duke of Venice, little images of Braſſe, which his ſon (who had caried vs in a Gondala, after the faſhion of that citie, and brought vs into his fathers houſe) very courteouſly ſhewed vs. He affirmed, That theſe Images were found in Ægypt hid in the bodies of the dead, whereout that is taken which at this day men call (after the Arabians) Mommy, or Mumy. I haue many times ſince thought, that they laid theſe Images in the earth of a ſuperſtition, as the ancient Romans hid their Puppets vnder ground, which

which they called *Sigilla* (like as in our time some for deuotion doe shut vp in sepulchres certaine relicks and images of Saints:) or, that there was some other mysterie in it. Now, as I haue vpon other considerations, admired more than once, the great prudence of the Ancients, ioyned commonly with their superstitious ceremonies, and haue seene, according as an excellent Poet saith, that

Nought without reason hath been done by wise Antiquitie:

So haue I found out, That these little Images of Brasse were not without cause annexed to the dead bodies. For the holy Histories do shew, That the Ancients (and namely the Ægyptians) were very carefull and curious to preserue whole and entire the dead bodies within the sepulchres, and to keepe them from corrupting, so much as possibly they could. When a dead bodie shalbe embalmed, as they vse to doe in Ægypt, it continueth whole, saith *Plato*, a very great and almost innumerable number of daies. And if some members of the bodie do putrifie, yet the bones, sinewes, and some other pieces continue. To this purpose they were wont to employ the sweet drugs and spices of Arabia Fœlix. They knew well besides, that brasse is a mettall very solid and lasting, for in that qualitie *Virgill* and *Horace* commend it: Experience hauing taught them, That brasse keepeth it selfe a long time from rust and corruption, yea that it is endued with a particular vertue against putrifaction (and such a little image may that be of which *Suetonius* writeth, that was adored thrice a day by *Nero* with sacrifices, as it had beene some god.) I thinke they tied and fastned them to the dead bodies (and I denie not but there might be some superstition ioyned with it) to preserue them the longer from rotting: Epecially seeing, that the Ancients for the same consideration, fastned nailes of brasse within the dead bodies, saith *Pierius*. Not long since there was found in a certaine wood neere to Nuremberg, very ancient tombes, and among the bones of the dead, some of these nailes and buckles of brasse.

In the liues of the Patriarchs *Iacob* and *Ioseph*.

In the Dialogue entit. *Phædon*.

In the life of *Nero* sect. 56.

In his Hierogłyphicks.

Now albeit I am not ignorant that there is another manner of burying and imbaulming, of which *Lilius Gyraldus* and others haue written: yet this that I haue now said may so much the easilier be brought to passe, as there is a great difference betweene the dead bodies of the Orientals, and of the Europeans. The Orientals are of a drier temperature, and therefore lesse subiect to putrifaction than the Europeans. This we learne of *Ammian Marcellinus*, who saith it was an easie matter, after a battell giuen, to know the dead bodies of the Romans from those of the Persians: *For those of ours* (saith he) *after they are killed, doe presently melt away, so that the fourth day a man cannot know a dead Roman by the features of his face. But the bodies of the Persians wax drie like a woodden stake, so that a man cannot perceiue them to melt, or marre with corrupt matter; because while they liue, they eate little, and withall their natiue countrey is extreame hot.* Hereunto agreeth that which *Varro* saith, That the Persians had gotten this aduantage, for that they exercised themselues moderately in their youth, and had made their bodies so drie, that they neuer spet, nor blew their nose, and were maruailous actiue and nimble. Therefore, as *Xenophon* writeth, They did eate commonly water-Cresses, because, saith *Suidas*, This herbe staieth spettle and vrine, a thing that our Phisitions vtterly deny. Howsoeuer it be, the Persians abstaine much from spetting, pissing, and blowing their nose. They had also learned (as *Varro* saith) if children eate and sleepe too much, they wax thereby the duller of spirit, and their bodies grow not so well. But although such vigor of bodie be attributed to the Persians, yet *Herodotus* writeth, That the Persians heads are so soft that if they be hit with a little stone, it will breake the skin and hurt them; contrariwise,

In the 19 booke of his historie.

In his Fragments.

In the institution of *Cyrus*.

Lib. 3.

riwise, that the heads of the Ægyptians are so hard, that no blow with a stone can scarce breake the skin. The reason is, for that the Ægyptians begin from their childhood to shaue their haire, so that the futures of the skull grow firme and hard with the heat; and that is it which keepeth them from being bald: For there is hardly a bald man to be seene in Ægypt, because all of them haue their heads hard and strong. But the Persians are contrarie, because that from their yong age, they are taught to couer their heads, with high and sharp hats, and with turbans.

A man may say of the Spaniards that haue conquered the New world, the verie same almost that *Ammian Marcellinus* writeth of the drie bodies of the Persians; as may be gathered by a letter of one of their souldiers, sent from Lima a citie of Peru, to a Physition, in the yeare 1568. and alleaged in the additions of *Benzo*. The Indians, after they had massacred a very great number of Spaniards, said one to another, that their flesh was too hard, and that it must needs be mortified three or foure daies before they could eate thereof. *Benzo* giueth another reason, why the Indians would not eate of the flesh of the Spaniards: For he, hauing discoursed at large of this peoples vnreconcileable hatred towards the Spaniards, and hauing called his fellowes (for he was a Milannois, and the king of Spaines subiect) wicked, traitors, vngracious, vnworthie the name of Christians, and to tread vpon the earth; addeth, that the Indians could not behold them but with horror, and would call them *Viracochies*, that is to say, The froth of the sea; *Although* (saith he) *all the inhabitants almost of that sea-coast were wont to eat mans flesh, yet some of them seeing their neighbours eat the Spaniards killed by them in fight, trembled at such meat, and feared least that flesh of the* Viracochies *would be hurtfull to their health.*

See the historie of the New world, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 23.

To returne to our purpose: that which *Abraham Ortelius* reporteth after *Gyrald de Cambren* is wonderfull, That the bodies of men rot not after their decease, in the Isles of Arran; and that therefore they be not buried, but left in the open ayre, where putrifaction doth them no manner of hurt: whereby the families (not without amazement) doe know their fathers, grand-fathers, great grand-fathers, and a long race of their predecessors. *Peter Martyr* a Milannois saith the same of some West Indians of Comagra: These be his words, *The Spaniards being entred the lodging of this Cacick, find a Chamber full of dead bodies hanging by ropes of cotton. And asking what superstition that was, they receiued this answere, That those were the fathers, grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers of the Cacick of Comagra. The Indians say, That they keepe such relikes preciously, and that this Ceremonie is one of the points of their religion. According to his qualitie while he liued, his bodie being dead is richly decked with iewels of gold, and with precious stones.*

In his great Theatre of the world, Table 10.

In the 2 *Decad de Reb. Oceanicis, lib.* 3.

CHAP. XV.

Punishments ordeined against idle persons. How much Idlenesse is detested.

IT is a common saying, *He that nought doth, nought doth.* Againe, *He that will eat the kirnell, must cracke the nut:* that is to say, He that will haue the profit, must not shun the labour. For this cause, and also to banish vices, or (at least) to better them, many good Statutes and Ordinances haue beene made, which doe shew, in how many sorts (& that worthily) Idlenesse hath been euer detested; and contrariwise, industrie, and loue of labour had in singular commendation. They that sit crowching in the world, with their armes acrosse, their mouth gaping,

Otia dant Vitia.

gaping, and both their feet in one shooe, lead a beastly not a human life: for they breathe onely, and so doe beasts, as *Crinitus* saith. Which occasioned the Law-makers to Enact fit and conuenient lawes with punishments annexed, against Idlers, branding them besides with notes of infamie. *Solon* in his lawes condemneth this vice mightily; *Whosoeuer* (saith he) *shall giue himselfe to Idlenesse, let him be bound ouer to answere it in place of Iustice, before those that shall accuse him.* *Draco* the Athenian Law-maker condemned Idle persons to death. In the ciuile Lawes, *Iustinian* saith, *That the mind of the Idler hatcheth no good.* Which sentence (it may be) was borrowed out of the Iphigenia of *Sophocles*, where it is said, That

There neuer was good thing brought foorth by Idlenesse,
And him that loueth Sloth the gods doe neuer blesse.

It is said of the Philosophers called Brachmans, That they kept their boyes from food, and would not let them eate their dinner, till they had first done some seruice to their parents, or spent the time about some other necessarie thing. The ancient Monkes and Friers tooke not their meat, till they had giuen an account to the common father, of their taske of worke. The Parthians had a custome among them, not to suffer their children to eat in the morning, before such time as they had beene abroad, and were come home againe hot and sweating, with force of running and shooting, striuing who could doe best. This moued *Plato* to make a law against Idlenesse; and to this purpose alleageth the saying of the Poet *Hesiodus*, That

The gods haue Vertue set vpon a lofty hill,
Whereto none can ascend but by a certaine way
Of toile and sweat; long, rough, to passe exceeding ill,
But at the top is full of ease and pleasant stay.

These wise men did well consider, That without trauell there is nothing durable in this world, and that the gods haue sold to men all things by the weight of trauell, as another of them said. Therefore *Cicero* writeth, *That Nature had not formed vs of such a fashion, as that we should thinke our selues made to play and to sport, but to appeare graue, and to apply great and weightie matters.* *Cato* the Censor was wont to say, and to repeat often to his souldiers, this, which euerie one should well remember; *If with trauell you doe any good and honest thing, the trauell vanisheth, the vertuous act remaineth: But if, to please your foolish desire, you commit some leaudnesse; that filthie desire flieth away, but the wickednesse abideth, sticking alwaies to the soule as a brand which can neuer be raced out.* I haue read a certaine Christian and memorable exhortation tending to this end, The effect whereof is this;

Gods will is, that the way which to the Heau'ns doth lead,
Should be rude, rough, and steepe, ill-fauour'd for to tread:
And he vouchsafeth not the entrance in his gates
To men benum'd with Sloth; a thing he hiely hates.

We might produce many examples of Idlenesse, but they are very triuiall and common: among the rest there be two worthie the remembring, of two kings of Ægypt, who not able to liue in quietnesse themselues, hated those extremely that were sloathfull. *Herodotus* writeth that *Sesostris* was the first of all the kings of Ægypt, that with a fleet of ships passed the Arabian Gulfe, and brought in subiection the inhabitants about the coast of the red sea: Afterward, returning back againe, he entred with a huge Armie into the firme land, assaulting and subduing all that euer he encountred; and so passing out of Asia into Europe, ouercame the Thracians, and the Scythians. Departing thence, he drew towards Colchos, and the riuer Phasis. If he met with warlike people, that fought cheere-

In the 2 booke of honest discipline chap. 12. *Plutarch.* in his life.

In Auth. de monach. &c. col. 10. *tit.* 133.

In the 4 booke of his lawes.

In his first booke of Offices. *Plutarch.* in his life.

Lib. 2.

cherefully and valiantly in defence of their libertie, he caused certaine Mount-ioyes of stone to be set vp in diuers places of the countrey, wherein was grauen the kings name, his kingdome, and the successe of his victorie, with addition of certaine notes testifying the valour of that people. And as for others that yeelded without blow-striking, and shewed themselues womanish, he caused to be grauen vpon the same Mount-ioyes the tokens of their idlenesse and cowardise. *Alexander* of Alexandria, and *Pierius Valerianus* make mention hereof. An other king of Ægypt, named *Amasis*, made an expresse law against idle and slothfull persons: which was, That once a yeare euery man should appeare before the Nomarcha or Gouernor of that Iurisdiction wherein hee liued, to yeeld an account, and make it appeare before him, what meanes he had to liue vpon. Hee that failed, or was found to be a Loiterer, was punished with death. *Solon* borrowing this law of the Ægyptians, made it to be of force in his Commonwealth with great honour, and the Athenians obserued it with great commendation. Whereupon *Athenæus* noteth, That the Areopagites (the Iudges for life and death in Athens) followed carefully the same law in euery terme and tittle. For he saith expressely, that *Phænodemus*, *Philochorus*, and many other Historians doe write, That the Areopagites called in question, condemned, and very sharply punished all disorderly persons, makers of good cheere without working, and such as did eat vp their wealth. Whereupon the same *Athenæus* bringeth in this example following: There was, saith he, two young Athenians, *Menedemus* and *Asclepiades*, much giuen to the studie of Philosophie, but poore. The Areopagites according to their charge determin to send for them, and to examine them how they liued, considering they were in good state, went euery day to the Lectures, and yet they had no reuenue to keepe themselues withall. They being adiourned to answere, prayed, that a certaine Baker whom they named, might also be warned to appeare, and that he might be interrogated about their behauiour. This Baker deposed, That euery night these two young men came by turnes to his house, and there wrought at the Mill; in the morning he that had laboured, went his way, carrying with him for his wages a Drachma of siluer, being about a groat sterling. The Counsell wondering at the trauell of these two young men, ordeined, that there should be giuen them out of the common treasurie two hundred drachmaes in commendation of their vertue.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 22. *de dieb. genial.* *Lib.* 34. of the *Hieroglyphicks.*

Plutarch in his life. *Lib.* 4.

For this cause is the industrie and diligence of *Scipio Africanus* much praised, who was wont to say, *That he was neuer lesse alone, than when he was alone.* And the other *Scipio* surnamed *Nasica* answering some that said, That the affaires of Rome went well, seeing Carthage was ruin'd, and the Greekes were made subiect to the Romans: *We are*, saith he, *in greater danger than euer we were, seeing wee haue no more enemies to feare and to fight against.* He knew that it is profitable for vs to haue aduersaries by occasion, seeing that so long as they stand vp, we may not be suffered to sit couring vpon the ground, and to doe nothing. At this old *Cato* glanced, who would haue euery one that thought to enter into any credit, bethinke with himselfe what account he might be able to make, not of his trauaile only, but also of his rest. For Histories do shew, That the greater part of the most excellent Romans, from the beginning of their Commonwealth, haue wrought with their hands. Whereof we haue example in *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, who from the plough was brought into the Counsell-chamber. In those times all the chiefe men of the citie liued in the countrey; and if there were cause of assembling the Councell, they were called from their farmes to the Senat-house. Hence came the old prouerbe among the Plow-men; *That the best manure is made*

Titus Liuius, *Plutarch*, and others, witnesse it.

of the Lords steps in the land: And, *The masters eye fattens the horse and the field.* The Censors also blamed him that plowed ill, and punished him that plowed least and harrowed most. *Cato* spake thereof thus, as *Gellius* writeth: *If any man,* saith he, *did suffer his field to be ouergrowne with weeds, and weeded it not: if hee did not plow it and harrow it: if he let his trees or his vine be vntrimd or vndrest, he was punished, and condemned to pay a fine by the Censors.* *Ouid* considered this trauell and good husbandrie of the Romans, when he said,

Lib. 4. cap. 13.

Lib. 1. Fast.

The Palaces that now with golden Workes are seeld,
Were then all ouer set with boughes brought from the field.
A Senator that had a Countrey life possest,
When he was ouercome with great desire to rest,
Would lay him downe on straw (that was his onely bed)
And get a wadde of hay to lie vnder his head.
The Pretor hauing left his Plough-taile, would come home,
To iudge in Hall and Street with iust and rightfull doome.
And if a Siluer boule in any house were seene,
The Owner had beene thought a Traitor to haue beene.

The Ancients liked well the Apophthegme of the Spartans, who said, *That a man should call vpon the Gods, and keepe his hands working,* because they neuer heard idle fellowes. To this purpose *Cato* said, *We get not our succour from the gods by effeminat praiers and requests: all things fall out well to those that Watch, that Labour, that Consult: if thou giue thy selfe to Sloth and Idlenesse, in vaine thou prayest to the gods, who are then angrie and wish thee ill.* The old Romans were of the same opinion, who worshipped and reuerenced with sacrifices, certaine little gods or Patrons, putting them in mind of trauell, and among the rest, *Agenorius, Stimula,* and *Strenua:* saying, That the one prouoked them *agere,* to doe or to worke; the other *stimulabat,* spurred them forward thereunto; and the third made those that laboured *strenuos,* strong and valiant. And they would not assigne a chappel within the citie to the goddesse *Quies,* which signifieth Rest, but appointed her one in the suburbs. Therefore *Ennius* said in his Tragedie called *Iphigenia,* as *Gellius* reporteth it:

In Salust. in coniurat. Cat.

Lib. 19. cap. 10.

Who cannot leasure vse, and idle time out-weare,
Is troubled more in mind than if he busied were.
For hee that knoweth well himselfe how to employ,
Will settle thereunto, and follow it with ioy.
The Idler doth not know what will his purpose be,
For neither at the Boord, nor in the field is he.
He ploddeth heere and there, and euer hauing bin
At his proiected end, he must againe begin.

But not to stand alwayes vpon the lawes, precepts, and actions of the Pagans, let vs heare what the holy Scripture saith, in the which Idlenesse is no lesse condemned and branded than other vices. *Salomon* in his Prouerbs doth censure it liuely, when *hee adiudgeth the Sluggard to beg in Winter, because hee would not plow his ground in season.* Euery one knoweth that which the Apostle saith, *If any will not worke, let him not eat.* And it is a common sentence, *That euery man shall receiue his wages according to his worke.* *Ignatius,* a disciple of the Apostles, and of their time, said; *Let no idle person eat, for feare lest hee become a Robber and a Ruffian.* Againe, *Let none be idle among you: for Idlenesse is the mother of want.* To come againe to the holy Scripture; It is said in the booke of *Iob, That man is borne to labour, as the Bird to flie.* Let vs ioyne hereto the notable saying of Saint *Augustine, That God approoueth*

Pro. 10. 5.

2. Thess. 3. 10.

In his Epistle to those of Antioch. To those of Tarsus.

Iob 5. 7.

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the Almes which proceedeth of iuſt Trauell. But Idleneſſe is merely deteſtable, *Which* (according to Saint *Bernard*) *is the kindler of wicked thoughts and affections.* No man was receiued into the Monaſteries of Ægypt (ſaith the ſame Father) if he could not take paines, and applie himſelfe to labor, not ſo much to gather goods, as for the ſoules health. For like as Brambles grow in a ground that is not laboured, and Toads in mariſhes and ſtanding waters: ſo doe leaud and wicked thoughts heape together in an idle heart. Our mindes are created and made fit to doe ſomething: Trauell fatneth them, reenforceth them, delighteth them; Idlenes melteth and conſumeth them. And as a Bow would be bent, ſo the mind requireth the ſame, and is marred if it be kept looſe and vnbent. It can neuer reſt, but will giue it ſelfe to doing of euill, and run riot, yea, and will plunge it ſelfe in all kinds of execrable filthineſſe, rather than doe nothing. Sathan neuer putteth his ſleights ſo much in practiſe, as when he diſcouereth Idleneſſe: then doth diſſolution put it ſelfe into the field, aſſaulting not onely women, but the ſtouteſt men that are, as *Lodouicus Viues* wiſely warneth Chriſtian women.

In his letter to *Ruſticus.*

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Papyrius Maſon writeth, That by the conſent of *Stephen* Biſhop of Rome, and in fauour of *Pepin*, *Childerick* the king was depoſed, ſhauen, and confin'd within a Frierie, by an example profitable for the Commonwealth, admoniſhing kings not to ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome of Idleneſſe, much leſſe to make a vertue of it. For Idleneſſe hath euer been the deſtruction of Noble and moſt excellent families. Therefore in all well gouerned countries and commonwealths, Loiterers and vagrant perſons are narrowly look't after; and diligent inquirie is made, whence they are, and how they liue in their places where they ſwagger and cut it out ſo brauely. And particularly in Saxonie there be certaine ordinances made by the Electors, by which In-holders and keepers of Ordinaries, Tauernes, and Tap-houſes are forbidden to lodge ſuch vnthrifts aboue three daies: And if they walke from one Tauerne to another, and are ſpied, they are brought before the Iudges of the place, who examine the matter diligently, and puniſh them as they ſhall deſerue. And namely there is a citie in Miſnia, called Weſſenfels, vpon the borders of Turingia, where they vſe to make very ſtraight ſearch after ſuch Rogues and Vagabonds: inſomuch as at a gallows ſet vpon a little hill neere to the high way, one may commonly ſee ſuch naughtiepackes both men and women hang by dozens. For it hath been auerred by the proceſſe, that ſuch monſters are very often indited, found guiltie, and condemned of thefts, robberies by the high way, and other horrible crimes: and not without cauſe, ſeeing no bodie will thinke that a man can liue by the aire, as *Alexander* the Emperour ſaid.

Lib. 1.

In his 1. booke of the Annals of France.

L. fin. C. de alim. pupil. præſtand.

This conſideration hath occaſioned the Ancients to enact lawes and ſtatutes againſt exceſſiue & ſuperfluous expenſes. The Corinthians were of this number, as indeed their citie had need of ſuch phiſicke, of which *Athenæus* maketh mention after the Poet *Diphilus* in one of his Comedies entituled the Marchant, where he bringeth in one of the Players, ſaying:

Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Wee haue in Corinth this good Law in vſe;
If wee ſee any perſon keepe great cheere,
We make inquirie, Whether he doe worke,
Or if he haue Reuenues comming in?
If either, then we ſay no more of him.
But if the Charge exceed his Gaine or Rents,
He is forbidden to run on his courſe:
If he continue it, he payes a fine:

If he want wherewithall, he is at last
Taken by Sergeants and in prison cast.
For, to spend much, and neuer to get ought,
Is cause of much disorder in the world.
One in the night-time filcheth from the flocks;
Another breakes a house or else a shop;
A third man gets a share his mouth to stop.
To beare a part in this good fellowship,
One feignes a suit his neighbor to molest,
Another must false witnesse beare with him:
But such a crue we vtterly detest
And banish from our citie like the pest.

For conclusion, *Poliphilus* in his Hipnerotomachia hath a good expofition of Hieroglyphicall figures in these tearmes.

EX LABORE DEO NATVRÆ SACRIFICA LIBERALITER. PAVLATIM REDVCES ANIMVM DEO SVBIECTVM. FIRMAM CVSTODIAM VITÆ TVÆ MISERICORDITER GVBERNANDO TENEBIT INCOLVMEMQVE SERVABIT.

That is to say,

Sacrifice liberally of thy labour to the God of nature. Thou shalt by little and little bring thy soule in subiection to God. He it is that shall safely keepe and graciously maintaine thy life, gouerning and preseruing it whole and sound.

CHAP. XVI.

Of lustie and stout Beggars.

I Hapned by chance vpon a booke, wherein I read these words; *There be three sorts of people that must be cast out of cities: Leapers, Dead persons, and sturdie Beggars.* Therefore it was not without cause, that God made *Moses* forbid the Iewes to suffer Rogues and Beggars to be among them: whereby we are to gather, how greatly those people haue in all times beene hated, which, like waspes, would eat the honny gathered by others, and steale that which belongeth to those that are poore indeed. Wherefore, if the Imperiall lawes ordeine, that the sonne, who by his owne industrie can get his liuing, ought no longer to be nourished nor maintained by his father: lesse to be borne with are these great knaues, that can maintaine themselues by their owne labour; nor should they be suffred to fatten themselues to the hurt of others. And therefore when any of these loytering fellowes holdeth out the hand to beg, it were a better almes to giue him a good schooling, than to bestow vpon him a piece of bread, or of money. *Plato* giueth vs a law vpon this matter, saying; *Let there not be a Beggar in our Common-wealth.* The same saith in another place. That in euery citie where Beggars are suffred to walke, there filchers, cut-purses, breakers of shops, hie-way-thieues, and other such naughtie fellowes doe commonly swarme. The Emperours *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* haue made almost the like law, inserted in the Code of *Iustinian*, vnder the title DE VALIDIS MENDICANTIBVS. There is also a constitution made by *Charlemaigne*, forbidding to giue any thing to these Beggars: and willing, *That euery countrey should nourish their poore, that such as are able and strong should get their liuing, and that their labour should furnish*

L. si quis. §. sed si filius. de lib. agnosc.

Lib. 11. de Legib. Lib. 8. de Repub.

furnish what they desire. The moderne Ordinances of the Empire haue had the like regard; for they command expressely that these dregs of the people(not worth the ground they goe vpon, and which liue onely by prey) should be banished out of all company.

For these reasons, the ancient Sages that had authoritie in kingdomes and other publike states, would neuer indure these cosiners, that went about to couer their knauerie with the cloake of religion, and to make merrie with others cost. For *Valerius Maximus* saith these words of the common-wealth of Marseilles, *Their gates are shut against all those that seeke to maintaine their begging vnder colour of deuotion: being of this opinion, that shamelesse and masked superstition ought to be driuen farre away.* We haue an excellent lesson in Ecclesiasticus, where the Author of that booke saith, *My sonne, lead not a Beggars life; for better it were to die than to Beg. The life of him that dependeth on another mans table, is not to be counted for a life: for he tormenteth his soule after other mens meat; but a wise man and well nurtured will beware thereof. Begging is sweet in the mouth of the shameless, in whose bowels there is kindled a fire.* To this, *Iohannes Auentinus* seemeth to haue aymed, a very learned man, who saith these words; *Since these Begging fellowe-ment abroad, with the wallet on their shoulder, the Church was neuer at ease. By their new deuises they haue alwaies gon about to set the Parishioners against the Curats and Bishops: like Rauens they haue with open throates euer fluttred after dead bodies: they haue buried the ancient writings and inuentions of the Philosophers both Christian and Pagan. Whatsoeuer glosse they set vpon their hypocrisie, yet it is certaine that God forbiddeth Begging, no lesse than whoredome. The holy Scripture condemneth this disorder, as an infamie altogither intollerable. The ancient Christians deuided the Tenths into three parts: whereof one was for the poore, which by reason of old-age, or sickenesse, could not labour and worke. Among them, to Beg and to offend God, was all one thing.* These are in effect the words of *Iohn Auentin.*

Lib. 2. cap. 1.

Cap. 40. 28. &c.

In the discourse of the Turks affaires.

If it be an vnhappie, yet it is a merrie conceit that is set downe in the old instruction; willing, That to these great and fat lubbers that make an occupation of Begging, a man should giue a piece of bread, and for a pittance, a box on the eare: the bread, because a man denying so small a relieue to another, should shew himselfe inhuman: the box, to teach them to leaue such roguerie; and to remember, that such a leaud course maketh them odious to all good people, as there is iust cause.

Being vpon this Meditation, I called to minde a pretie Storie which *Iosse Damhoudera* reporteth in his Criminall practise. As I sate (saith he) with some Counsellors of Brūges, before the gate of the towne-house, a Beggar that counterfeited weeping, and bare shew of the poorest wretch liuing, commeth towards vs, and desireth some beneuolence, adding that he was touched with a secret disease, which shame would not let him vtter before so honourable a company: we tooke pittie of him, and euery one gaue him somewhat. One of the company bad his seruant to goe after this Beggar, and to sound him what his hidden disease might be. He hauing drawne him aside, praieth him to reueale himselfe, and to tell what his secret sickenesse was, seeing he had a good fresh colour, his armes were fleshie and round, his breast fat, and all the rest in good liking; So as (quoth the seruant) I see no shew of any indisposition in this bodie of thine. Ha, answereth the Rogue, full little knowest thou where the saddle wringeth me, nor perceiuest the euill that stingeth me, and (indeed) it is far from thine eyes. It is a disease spread euerie where, and creeping all ouer my bodie; it doth so ransack my veines, and the verie marrow of my bones, that there is not any lim I haue, can stur to labour, or to doe any worke. I haue heard that this disease

is called Lazineſſe, or Sloath. What thinkeſt thou, Is it not a ſecret and ſhamefull diſeaſe, that will take a man ſo? The ſeruant angrie at the ſhameleſneſſe of the Beggar, returneth to his maſter, of whom being asked what the ſecret diſeaſe was, he reciteth the conceit, and diſcouereth the coſinage: the gallant is ſought for, but he was gone; his nimble feet had ſaued him. A man might annex to this tale, many ſuch like, one will bring another to remembrance. *Agrippa* in his declamation deteſteth (and worthily) all this vile company of ſturdie Beggars, ſhewing by many examples and reaſons, that they are the Authors of an infinite number of euils.

Chap. 65. of the vanitie of Sciences.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Ægiptians (otherwiſe called Gipſies) or Bohemians.

THere is in Germany, and ſome other countries, a ſort of people gathered togither, that wander vp and downe, and doe no good; whom the Germans call *Zigeuner*; in Italy they are called *Cingari*, in Spaine *Gittani*, in France *Ægyptians* and *Bohemians*. The opinions of their Originall and countrey are diuers. Some thinke them deſcended from the race of *Cham* the ſonne of *Noë*, and that they came foorth at firſt out of Ægypt and Æthiopia, ſo that vntill this preſent time they beare the curſe of their great grand-father, in roauing thus ouer all the world. *Polidore Virgill*, among others, bringeth them from Aſſiria and Cilicia. *Raphaell Volaterranus* thinkes they are come from the Vxians in the countrey of Perſia. But experience diſcouereth the weake ground of ſuch opinions. For theſe gadders are none elſe but camrades and companions of theeues, and a raſcally crue of idle, vnthriftie, and coſining perſons, that neuer came out of the Eaſt or other farre countries, but from the neighbour-people, and out of diuers countries, who gather togither by companies in the fields, and there take vp their lodgings, running into villages, to markets, and other dwelling places; yea ſometimes ſlip into townes, and into cities, where they truck, change, deceiue, play at faſt and looſe, filch, fetch ouer finely, and making as if they were skilfull in palmeſtrey, laugh at people in their ſleeues, looking vpon the lines of their hands, and telling them good fortune, draw a liuing out of ſuch cheating tricks, and keepe themſelues fat and in good liking; but all that they doe is to bring them ill fortune that they come neere. They tell you tales at their pleaſure, That it is enioyn'd them for certaine reaſons to leaue their countrey; That they are forſt to doe it; otherwiſe, if they ſhould faile to ſend away euery yeare ſome Carauanes of men, women and children, as it were into this kind of exile, all the reſt would die with hunger.

In his booke of the Inuentors of things.

Pierius in his Hieroglyphicks writeth, That theſe impoſtors haue borrowed their name and manner of life, from a water-ſwallow, or wag-taile, which the Latins call *Cinclus*, whoſe pourtrait repreſented to the Ancients a man exceeding needie, whereof came the prouerb mentioned in *Suidas*, *Poorer than a wag-taile.* Whereupon he ſaith, *The wag-taile being ſo poore a bird that it hath no ſetled neſt, ſignifieth (after ſome) theſe roguing Beggars that now a daies run vp and downe the world, with women tellers of fortune, and a traine of little children after them, without any place or lodging to goe to, whom the Italians call* Cingari. *Eraſmus* ſaith, That Beggars and Vagabonds are of the Peaſants called *Cincli*, and for proofe alleageth *Ælian*, who ſaith, That among the Greekes ſuch running fellowes are named *Aneſties*, that is to ſay, people that haue neither fire nor lodging. But that we may yet better

Lib. 25. at the end.

Belon in his 4 book. chap. 22. thinketh that the *Cincle* is a kind of Snipe.

In his Adages. In the 12 booke of the Nature of beaſts.

better know whence these prating and cosining fellowes are, let vs heare what *Albert Crantz* saith of them: *In the yeare foure hundred and seuenteene, certaine men began to shew themselues vpon the coasts of the Baltick sea, swarth, tan'd with the sun, clad in ragges, filthie and slouenly in all their fashions, egregious theeues, chiefly the women of their companie, and they that haue men among them. The common people call them Tartars, and the Italians Ciani. They haue a Captaine, whom they all as souldiers follow and honor. The chiefer sort are meetly well apparelled, and keepe hounds: but they haue not a foot of ground to hunt any beast in, if it be not by stealth. They change their horses often: yet the greater part of them walke on foot. Their women are caried vpon iades with their children and stuffe. They shewed forth at that time the Letters patents of king* Sigismund, *and of some princes, requiring that for their sakes they might be suffered to passe freely through the cities and prouinces, without doing them any hurt or molestation. They giue out, That for a penance they are enioyned to goe ouer the world: but that is a tale. It is found, that they are a sort of rascall beggers borne in this gadding too and fro, idle loyterers, without countrey or place to goe to, that neuer leaue rolling, liuing of that their wenches steale, leading their liues like beasts, without care or exercise of Religion, liuing from hand to mouth, gadding from one countrey to another, and comming about againe at the end of some yeares, but in new bands, so as in such places where they haue once been, there are new Gypsies found, if it be not after many yeares. In all prouinces where they passe, they receiue such men and women as will put themselues to their companie. It is a strange heape of people, speaking or vnderstanding all languages, and doing a thousand harmes to husbandmen: for while they are busie at worke in the fields, these fellows are watching how they may rifle their houses.* In his historie of Saxonie, *lib.* 11. *cap.* 2.

Iohn Auentin hath set foorth this race of Deceiuers: and I thinke it not amisse to adde here what he saith of them, extracted out of the Annals of *Bauieres*. *In the yeare* 439, *the great theeues of the world began to put themselues into the field, and to walke vp and downe Germanie; heaped together of diuers people dwelling vpon the frontiers of Turkie and Hungarie, vnder the leading of a king named* Zindelon. *Wee call them* Zigener: *They liue by theft, pillage, and such money as they get for telling mens fortunes, without any controllment. They excuse themselues that they are borne in Ægypt, adding and lying impudently, That they are driuen from thence by the iudgement of God, for the sinne of their predecessors, who would not lodge the Virgin* Marie *with her child* Iesus, *and that for the same they are condemned to trot and trudge vp and downe the space of seuen yeares. I haue discouered that they speake the stile of Bergamo, and are traitours and spies, and for such doe the Emperour* Maximilian *the first, and* Albert *duke of Bauieres pronounce them by published Edicts.* And yet so greatly hath vaine superstition dulled and besotted the world, that men would thinke they committed a great sin, if they did but touch these players at fast and loose, who are suffered to beguile, to steale, to rob by the high way, with all freedom from punishment. *Nicholas de Nicholai* lord of Arfeuille, *Andrew Theuet*, and many others in their voyages into the East, witnesse that among the Turks there gad vp and down certain Friers, called Torlaquins, who in theeueries, cosinings, and mischiefes, excell our Gypsies in these parts, with whom they specially agree in this, That they meddle with telling of Fortunes by looking into the lines of ones hand. *Lib.* 7. towards the end. *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 18.

I will here adde but one storie of the good behauiour of one of these Torlaquins, which *Leonclauius* saith he heard from the mouth of a gentleman named *Iohn de Salgast*, who affirmed that he had beene an eye-witnesse of the fact committed. And to the same I will adde the murder of a Deruis, which is another kind of Monke as bad as the Torlaquins. *Salgast* being in Alexandria saw a Torlaquin standing by certaine Stoues of women, who hauing very earnestly eyed one of those women as she came out of the stoue, being transported with beastly furie,

furie, hee runnes at her, layes hold of her, and forthwith throwes her to the ground, and for all she made great resistance, had carnal knowledge of her in the presence of a great many spectators of this horrible villanie. Her husband without once seeming angrie at the matter, begins rather to lift vp his hornes in a iollitie, and to publish himselfe happie, saying, That a holy man by speciall motion had called out his wife among all the rest to lie with her. What a blindnesse is this of the Mahumetists, especially of the Ægyptians! saith *Leonclauius*, for end of this tale. And he writeth, That he neuer could heare that any such thing had been offered in the Turks countries so long as he staied there. For the other storie it is this: In the yeare 1579, *Mechmet Bassa*, a great Vezir, sonne in law to the *Sultan Selim* the second, a personage of great authoritie, and the second man in all Turkie, being set in a hie seat within his house (as his manner was) to giue audience to all commers, he saw a Deruis entring within the barre of the audience, whom he very well knew. He presently reacheth forth his hand to him, as if he would haue giuen him an almes. Wherat euery man made roome for the Monke to goe to the Bassa; and when he was come neere to him, he drew from vnder his goats-skin (for that is all the apparell they were) a poinyard, with which hee gaue such a thrust into the Bassas breast, that he fell downe and died in the place. They that stood therabouts cut this murdring Monke in pieces. Another of the sect of the Torlaquins had offered to doe the like in the yeare 1493 to *Baiazet*, but failed of his blow. These Monks apparell themselues with a sheep-skin or a goats-skin as these Deruises doe, but besides they put ouer it a beares skin haire and all, in manner of a cloke: vnder which this Monke wore a Cymeter, and drawing it suddenly, the horse whereon *Baiazet* rode, startled at it, which made him misse of his purpose, and yet *Baiazet* was hurt. Then *Schender Bassa* gaue the Torlaquin such a blow with a Battle-axe which he wore, that he broke his skull, so as the braines flew out. *Baiazet* offended at such an attempt, banished all the Torlaquins out of his empire.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of humane Industrie. Of some Instruments of Musicke anciently vsed.

WEe see in some places of Germanie, persons, both men and women, that are of a wonderfull ingenious wit: And also some as well children and young folke, as those that are in yeares, and broken with old age, that can find something to set themselues a worke with, so that they are able to get their liuing. I haue seene in a very famous citie, boyes & girles of fiue or six yeares old, and lesse too, that in playing (as it were) the children haue gained some piece of money for the maintenance of their little life. So industrious is Nature to inuent Trades, out of which she may hope to draw some ease and profit to maintaine her selfe with. She is content with a little, therein contrarie to opinion, that hath neuer ynough. If there be any people in the world handsome and fit that way, they are those of the Low-countries, who are as painfull as is possible, nimble, diligent, and wonderfull sparing.

The Letter of *Adrian* the Emperour to the Consull *Seruianus*, witnesseth that the same was practised by those that liued in Alexandria. *It is a rich citie*, saith he, *and abounding with store, in the which none liueth idle: Some make Glasse, others Paper; of whatsoeuer trades they are, they all appeare and are thought to be exceedingly industrious. The goutie both in feet and hands are set aworke, and the blind also.* Besides this testimonie

teſtimonie of *Adrian*, we haue alſo the witneſſe of *Athenæus*, who writeth, That the Alexandrians were excellent Muſicians: *There are no people* (ſaith hee) *better skilled than they, nor that can play better vpon the Harpe. Moreouer, they play very well on Pipes, not onely on the ſmaller and lighter ſort, as Flutes and Bag-pipes, but alſo of Hautboyes, Cornets, and Sagbuts, and all other vſed among the Ancients:* of which *Athenæus* maketh a long deſcription in that place. *Lib.4.cap.24*

It is well knowne how great a working Muſicke hath to ſtir vp the affections of men and of beaſts; a thing which many ſtories recited by *Lilius Giraldus*, verifie: for which cauſe many other (eſpecially the Count *Balthaſar* of Caſtillion in his Courtier) commend Muſicke for an exerciſe well befitting a gentleman. *Nicephorus* reporteth a notable ſtorie to this purpoſe. In the time that the tyrant *Eugenius* raiſed the perillous warre in the Eaſt, which diuers hiſtories make mention of, money grew ſhort with the Emperour *Theodoſius*, who thereupon determined to raiſe a Subſidie, and to gather from all parts more than euer hee had done. The citiſens of Antioch bare this exaction with ſo euill a will, as, after they had diſgorged many outrages againſt the Emperor, they pulled downe his pictures, and thoſe likewiſe of the Empreſſe his wife. A while after, when the heat of their anger was paſt, they began to repent them of their folly, and conſidered in what danger they had brought themſelues and their citie. Then did they curſe their raſhneſſe, confeſſe their fault, beſought the goodneſſe of God, and that with warme teares, that it would pleaſe him to calme the Emperours heart. Theſe Praiers and Supplications were publikely ſung with lamentable tunes, and lamenting voices. Their Biſhop named *Flauianus*, employed himſelfe valiantly for the citie in that needfull time, and hauing made a iourney to *Theodoſius*, did his vttermoſt indeauour to appeaſe him. But ſeeing himſelfe reiected, and knowing that the Emperor was deuiſing ſome grieuous puniſhment; and of the other ſide not hauing the boldnes to ſpeake againe, and yet very much troubled in his thoughts becauſe of the people; there came a deuiſe into his head. At ſuch time as the Emperour vſed to be at his meat, certaine yong boyes were wont to ſing muſicke, to make him merrie: *Flauianus* wrought ſo, that he obteined of thoſe that had the charge of the boyes, that he would ſuffer them to ſing the ſupplications and praiers of the Antiochians. *Theodoſius* liſtning to that graue Muſicke, was ſo moued with it, and ſo toucht with compaſſion, that hauing then the cup in his hand, he with his teares watered the wine that was in it; and ſo afterwards forgetting all his conceiued diſpleaſure, pardoned the Antiochians. In the hiſt. of the Poets, 1. *Dial.lib.*1. *Lib.*12. *cap.*43.

The power of Muſicks mouing the ſpirits, is knowne by the ſtorie which *Pauſanias* and *Strabo* write of *Tyrtæus* the Spartan Poet; who hauing firſt rehearſed his verſes, and afterwards made them to be ſung with Flutes tuned well together, he ſo ſtirred, encoraged, and enflamed his ſouldiers, that where before they were in diuers conflicts beaten, being then tranſported with the furie of the Muſes, they remained conquerors, and cut in pieces the whole armie of the Meſſenians. We read that *Timotheus* a Mileſian, and plaier on Flutes, plaied and ſung a ſong made in the honour of the Goddeſſe *Pallas*, in the preſence of *Alexander*, with ſuch an alluring grace, that the prince (tranſported with the vehemencie of that excellent Muſicke) ſtarted vp, being ſtirred in euery part, and called for his armor: And then againe, when *Timotheus* began to change his tune, and to ſound (as it were) the Retrait, *Alexander* would be quiet and ſtill. *Lilius Giraldus* reporteth a ſtorie, taken out of the Hiſtories of Denmarke, of a certaine Muſician, who did ſo excell, that he was wont to brag, That he would with his Muſick ſet his hearers beſides themſelues, making them merrie, ſad, yea and furious when he *Pauſ.lib.*4. *Strab.lib.*8. *Dialog* 9. of the hiſtorie of Poets.

he listed: and this he performed in the kings presence. *Gyraldus* addeth further, That he had seene the same done often at Rome before Pope *Leo* the tenth. For the rest, the Ancients had many kinds of maruailous accords of Musick, inuented for sundrie affections, as may be gathered by a letter of *Cassiodorus* alleaged by *Gyraldus*. The Dorian Musick was graue, and made persons setled, and quiet. The Phrygian, full of noise, and warlike, prouoked the minds to fight. The Æolian being sweet, appeased the trouble of the braine, & lulled men asleep. The Iasian, hie, sharpned wits, and lifted them vp to the contemplation of heauenly things. The Lydian, inuerted to cheere the Spirits, strengthened and brought them againe into forme.

Lib. 2.

Now, although Musick be of a great vertue to moue and stir the passions of the soule, as *Douzellinus* prooueth learnedly, and with good termes: yet shall it not be amisse to ioyne vnto this Meditation, that which my late father, of happie memorie, wrote to a gentleman, a friend of his, who had asked him among other things, How far yong men should proceed in the learning of Musicke? *Whereas many will haue* (saith he) *that children should learne Musick exactly, not that of the voice onely, but also of all sorts of Instruments carried to the mouth, or but touched with the hands; that requireth a diligent consideration. But in this confusion that is now in the world, I see not how a man may throughly answer this question; for we must yeeld in many things to the custome of the time, although we see the world goe quite acrosse it. In regard of Musick, we must keepe a meane therein, if we will traine vp youth in godlinesse, vertue, and care of some dutie for the time to come: that is, that at certaine houres (which would be otherwise as it were lost) they should intend such exercise, without desire to handle and to know how to touch all sorts of Instruments. There be many Instruments of the Ancients, of which we cannot represent the forme, nor shew the vse. And as for Flutes, it is said, that* Minerua *layd them aside, because they made her cheekes swell, and her face il-fauoured to looke vpon. And* Minerua *was held among the Pagans for the goddesse of Wisdome and Vertue. Which Pagans would not suffer that yong men, of whom there was hope to serue in affaires of state, should learne Musick to make profession of it, and afterward to make shew thereof to others: but would, that youth should haue some reasonable skill therein to recreate themselues with sometimes, that so they may returne the cheerefuller to more graue and serious workes.* For, as an ancient Poet saith,

In his booke of the meanes to beare iniuries.

Affaires both publike and abroad are rul'd by Reasons might,
Not by the songs of Musick sweet, or any such delight.

This was my deceassed fathers opinion. To this may be referred that which *Cicero* saith, *That Common-weales goe according to the Musicke vsed in them. For if it be too gallant and dissolute, the men become foolish and disorderly; If graue, they carry themselues modestly.* Such are the Commonwealths, as the families are. That knew the Lacedemonians well, as they shewed towards *Timotheus* a famous Musician of the citie of Miletus; before mentioned: For he hauing found out certaine new accords, and conuerted them (by the inuention of some strings which he added to the Harp) into a melodie full of mirth and sport, they made this decree following, gathered out of *Boetius*, by *Lylius Gyraldus*. *Because* Timotheus *the Milesian, receiued into our citie, maketh no account of the ancient Musick, and hauing reiected the Harp with seuen strings, to bring in an harmony of many voices, hath corrupted the hearing of yong folke, by the multiplicitie of his strings, setting foorth Musick heretofore vnknowne, and differing accords in the place of the simple and ordinarie, making faynings insteed of full singing, and quauering in place of an vnison: neither teaching nor singing the songs in publike after the accustomed manner; we ordaine, That the kings and the Ephori shalbe aduertised hereof: That* Timotheus *shalbe accused: That the Harp strung with*

Lib. de Legib.

In the 9 Dialog. of the Historie of Poets.

with eleuen ſtrings ſhall haue the ſuperfluous ſtrings taken away, and be kept to the ſeauen it was wont to haue: to the end, that whoſoeuer ſhall ſee the graue and modeſt carriage of Sparta, *may take heed of bringing in thither any new-fangled faſhions inconuenient and diſhoneſt, practiſed in any other place.*

CHAP. XIX.

We muſt ſhun Diſſoluteneſſe, and infamous pleaſures.

THe Ancients, when they ſaw their youths leaning betimes towards leaudneſſe and filthie pleaſure, as they doe naturally, and of a corrupt inclination that is in them; they wiſely conſidered of ſundrie meanes, firſt to turne them away from thoſe vices, and then to inure them to honeſtie and vertue. They knew, that inticing pleaſures infeeble the ſoule, ouerthrow all good nature, ruin the wit, and riſle prudence: Is there a more dangerous plague in all the world? *Seneca* giueth a good leſſon to this purpoſe, *That there be not more outragious enemies againſt any whomſoeuer, than theſe pleaſures are againſt their ſeruants: for they no ſooner lay hold of one, but they preſently throw him backwards into a bottomleſſe pit of perdition.* And Saint *Ierome* ſaid no leſſe grauely, than truly; *That ſo ſoone as the ſinne is committed, Repentance followeth it; during the time whereof, the ſinner feeleth no other thing but the ſtings of the pleaſure that deceiued him: inſomuch, as out of that which a man deſireth to correct, the matter of new offence is borne.* In the Epiſtle to *Amantius.*

Now modeſt and wiſe antiquitie hath made vſe ſometimes in this behalfe, not onely of true diſcourſes and examples come to paſſe: but euen of that alſo which is ſaid to haue befalne beaſts, whereof we haue thought good to produce here ſome reports among other. They ſay, that cattle feeding in the fields are wonderfully mooued at the ſight and ſent of the Panther: that ſmelling her, they draw themſelues into one troupe without being wood, but at her ſight, which to them is hideous: for which cauſe the Panthers hide their heads, offring all the reſt of their bodie to be ſeene, to the end they may the ſafelier doe ſome ſpoile, while the beaſts and the keepers are buſie in beholding them. *Solin. cap.* 21.

Saint *Ambroſe* vſeth an excellent compariſon to this purpoſe, of the Crab and the Oyſter. *The Crab* (ſaith he) *loueth to eat the fleſh of Oyſters: but becauſe their ſhels are hard and cloſe ſhut, he watcheth diligently when they lay themſelues againſt the ſunne; and as ſoone as they are open to take in ayre, the Crab putteth a little ſtone at the edge of the ſhell, ſo that the Oyſter cannot ſhut it: then putting his claw with eaſe into the lodging, he there rifleth all at his pleaſure. Euen ſo, when men wallow in idleneſſe, and open their hearts to pleaſures, the deuill commeth thither, and throwes wicked thoughts into them; and ſo theſe wretches not able to ſhut the ſhell that preſerued them, are deuoured.* In his *Hexam.*

Thus did the Ancients ſerue their turnes not onely with examples and Hiſtories naturall and true, but oftentimes alſo tooke a delight to aſſure pleaſant tales, for true things: or to goe very neere it, to the end that they might bind by little and little, and retaine in a louing awe the ſpirits of children, making them as well touch with the finger as ſee with the eye, the diſcommodities and miſchiefs that proceed from vnruly and infamous pleaſures. *Plato* wiſely ſheweth vs, what fables ought to be told, and what to be ſuppreſſed. Men of age and ſtaied vnderſtanding need not the knowledge of this diſtinction. For as the Bee gathereth ſweet hony out of bitter flowers, and ſtinging nettles: ſo they that are endued with iudgement may draw profit out of fables, and find pearles in the midſt of their ordure and ſtinke. This is a thing moſt knowne, *Lib. 2. de Repub.*

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as *Plinie* also said long agoe, That there is not so bad a booke, but may affoord some good : the dregs cannot lie so thick in it, but a man may thereout draw some cleere lickor. Or, as the French say in another prouerb, IL N'EST MAL, DONT BIEN NE VIENNE. *There is no ill, but some good may come of it.* For the rest, fables finely inuented haue this propertie, That they turne the spirits round about, chiefely of the ignorant; who willingly heare fained things, and being allured with the pleasure of the reading, consent to that which delighteth them.

Quintil. lib. 5. of his Instit.

We reade to this purpose in *Dio Chrysostome* a tale both pleasant and profitable, repeated by *Pierius* in his Hieroglyphicks. There is found in Lybia a kind of beast begotten by the coupling of males of diuers kinds, with the femall that bringeth foorth this beast; being cruell, fierce, and furious, liuing most an end about the sandie straits of the sea, hunting after other beasts whereon she feedeth, but aboue all desiring the flesh of mankind. This monstrous beast is in shew thus. It hath the bodie of a woman of a faire stature, with the breast bearing out, the throat smooth and bright, the eyes quick, powerfull and able to allure a man to loue: But from the Nauill downeward all is hard scales ending in a long taile of a serpent, which hath a head passing dangerous, and therein teeth, which she sheweth; without wings, but made like the Sphynx: for the rest, not saying a word, but hissing with a shrill noise as great serpents vse to doe. There were a very great number of these beasts, swift-footed aboue all others; for the rest such as no other beast could brag that he neuer had beene, or could be set vpon and hurt by them, who employ in their hunting against diuers beasts nothing else but swiftnesse and force, which none is able to resist. But as for man, if he come neere them, they offer not to ouertake him but by craft and faire shew, opening their breasts, wherewith they charme those that behold them, laying snares and offring skirmishes strangely deceiueable, all their drift consisting in this, to make themselues be well-liked, and sought vnto. For, without making the least noise, without threatning or shewing themselues terrible, they stand still, with their eyes modestly cast to the ground, inuiting like beautifull women, and with a comely grace, all that behold them, to court and entertaine them with talke, to which they allure them by all the wily tricks that fraud and impudencie can deuise. But he that commeth neere them (as the manner is of voluptuous madlings to doe) he is presently trust vp, and carried away by them, hauing crooked hands and close-hidden, till the very point of the occasion be offred. At the same instant the serpent appeareth, who laying hold of this wretch, transpierceth him with his horrible teeth, and presently taketh away his life: Then the serpent and the beast togither make merrie with the poore bodie. *Dio* addeth, that *Hercules* of Lybia passing that way, met some of these beasts, and hauing discouered them a far off, made away with all the speed he could; they hauing run after him a long time without ouertaking him, turned their furie against themselues, renting their faces and breasts very cruelly.

In his 5. Orat. Pierius lib. 14.

He saith, that by these beasts are meant fleshly pleasures, and warneth vs, by the example of *Hercules* to take heed for comming neere them, but as soone as euer we perceiue them comming, to betake vs to our heeles, the onely way to saue vs out of their danger. For euen as a passenger that with a fained kind of modestie to fetch vs ouer, desireth of vs a nights lodging, if we take him not in, keepeth on his way; but if we suffer him to enter, he becommeth our gueſt and companion; if we let him alone, he maketh himselfe at last our master: So likewise, when the stings of any leaud and dishoneſt desire stirre vs, if by and by we frowne

frowne at them, they retire: If we take a pleasure and delight in them, they master vs, and in the end pierce vs quite through. For carnall pleasure the more it is frequented, the prouder it groweth; by flying it, you put it to flight. *Nathan* the Prophet of the true God, meant to giue the same aduertisement in the parable propounded to king *Dauid*, comparing his concupiscences in beholding *Bethsabe* (the wife of the valiant *Vrias*) to a passenger lodged in the rich mans house. Therefore *Thomas de Kempis*, who liued about two hundred yeares agoe, saith well in his booke of the Imitation of Christ, *That we must watch, especially in the beginning of temptation:* because the victorie is more easie, if we leaue not open the gate of our soule to the enemie, but that from within we answere him if he knocke, and denie him all entrance. And this also an ancient Poet counselled for a remedie against vnlawfull pleasures: 2. *Sam.* 12. *Chap.* 13.

Resist the comming ill; for if it once take place,
There is no remedie that can the same displace.

For first of all, the Thought presents it selfe all naked and bare to the Vnderstanding, next commeth strong Imagination, at last Delight, then corrupt Motion, and after all, Consent: which maketh that the malicious enemie doth by little and little take possession of that place, because there was no head made against him at the entrance: and the more a man delaieth resistance, the more his forces weaken, and the enemie euerie foot groweth stronger. Againe, let vs apply hereunto the admonition of *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, touching the Strumpet; *The lips of the strange woman* (saith he) *drop honie-combes, and her mouth is softer than oyle: But the end of her is bitter as Wormewood, and sharpe as a two-edged sword.* The ancient Paynims thought heereupon, when they painted the Syrens sitting in a very faire garden, but compassed about with carkasses and dead mens heads. By which representation they would shew, That wanton and libidinous tricks, although pleasant at the first, are yet accompanied with shame, ruine, and horrible death. *Iames Boissard* hath an Embleme to this purpose; VOLVPTATIS VSVRÆ, MORBI. And another, the inscription wherof is, DELECTAT ET ANGIT, shewing thereby the fruits and effects of pleasure, sweet at the beginning, but in the end sharpe and of short continuance. For, vnder the pourtrait of a Bee-hiue, pleasures appeare very familiar, flattering those that come neere them; but the sting lies in the taile, & they leaue to them that retire from them nought els but repentance and griefe. Therefore was it wisely said by *Scipio* to *Massinissa*, *That we should not so much feare armed enemies, as pleasures that assault vs on euerie side.* But better yet by Saint *Augustine*, *They are right kings and lords that can master vices and pleasures.* For examples obserued in Histories, it is found that Pleasure hath ruined more princes and tyrants, than Crueltie: Witnesses hereof are *Sardanapalus*, *Candaules*, *Dionysius* the younger, and *Hieronymus*, tyrants of Sicilia; *Heliogabalus*, *Amintas*, *Periander*, *Pisistratus*, *Tarquin*, *Aristocrates*, *Timocrates*, *Childericus*, *Andronicus*, *Appius Claudius*, *Galeatius*, *Sforce*, *Alexander de Medicis*, *Petruccio* of Siena, *Lugtac*, and *Magel* king of Scotland, and many others, who haue all of them lost their states, because they desired to follow their pleasures rather than vertue. Prou. 5. 3. 4. Lib. 1. cap. 19.

For remedies against Pleasures, there is nothing better to driue them away, than Watching and Abstinence; which *Vlpius Marcellus* gouernor of England in the time of *Commodus* the Emperor, did very well vnderstand: for albeit he slept not much naturally, yet to giue himselfe the lesse thereunto, he refrained much from eating. And that he might not fill himselfe with too much bread, he caused his owne bread to be brought him from Rome, to the end that the same being old, drie, and very hard, he might eat no more of it than should serue for his

need. To this purpose is that prettie saying ; *Nunquam vidi continentem, quem non vidi abstinentem:* He is neuer continent, that is not abstinent. And againe, *Luxuria non fugatur, nisi fugiatur:* The onely way to put pleasure to flight, is to flie from it.

Liuius lib.10. Decad.3.

Scipio Affricanus said wisely to *Massinissa* ; *Beleeue me, our age ought not so much to feare armed enemies, as pleasures that enclose vs round of all sides. Whosoeuer by his temperance brideleth and tameth them, doth get himselfe a greater honour, and a more excellent victorie, than we shall haue in ouercomming king* Syphax. *These shakings of the soule* (saith *Lactantius*) *are like a chariot made readie to be driuen ; for the sure and safe driuing whereof, it is first of all required, That the Chariot-man doe know the way well ; for then, though he driue fast, he neuer ouerturnes ; contrariwise, if he be out of his way, though he goe faire and softly, either his way will be rough, or he will goe vp-hill and downe-hill, or else he will be carried whither he ought not. So man in the course of this present life, carried by his affections (horses wonderfull strong-headed, and sometimes plaine furious) shall yet quit himselfe of his dutie, if he follow the right way.*

Lib.6. institut. cap.17.

In his booke of a Christian woman.

A certaine wise Spaniard, of whom the learned *Viues* maketh mention, gaue both a prudent and profitable aduice; by meanes whereof, many yong men turned away from the allurements and blandishments of Pleasure, betooke themselues to the exercises of vertue, whereby the whole kingdome receiued great good. For the way to goe where our desire carrieth vs, is easie, and (as it were) descending downe: but the most part not knowing what good things are, seeke misfortune and ruine. I remember (saith *Viues*) that I heard it reported when I was a young boy, how that in a certaine citie of Spaine the young gentlemen abounding in wealth, and liuing idlely, abandoned themselues to riotousnesse, taking no care but for feastings, dauncings, loue-toies, pastimes and exercises of the bodie, which made them neither learned nor wise, to the great griefe of the old men, who of such beginnings coniectured a great ruine of the state: By occasion whereof, many of them consulted together both morning and euening of the meanes to remedie these disorders: plainly seeing, that after their deaths the citie should fall into most vile & wicked hands. There was one among them that propounded a very good aduise: for hauing obserued that these yong gentlemen were louers, and wholly gouerned by the wils and pleasures of their Ladies; he counselled the other old men to let their daughters and their sons wiues at home vnderstand, in what a danger the state of their citie was, which of most flourishing and happie that it had bin, should become the miserablest of all other, so soone as these hare-brains should be masters of it: and that then the women, who now gaue themselues to pleasure, swimming in all kind of delights, the state being turned vpside downe, should scarce be able with all that euer they could doe in the world, to prolong their poore and miserable life. That for these euils there rested but this one remedie, to wit, if they whom the young men so much honoured, would incite them to addict themselues to vertue and prudence, and to thinke of the meanes to preserue the publike state: Which would be easie to doe, if they would turne their backs, and cast a frowning looke vpon Dauncers, Pratlers, Plaiers, Iesters, Feasters, and Gamsters; and contrariwise, if they would graciously fauour the Wise, the Modest, the Sober and prudent, making account of them, and weighing them highly, as those that should in time to come be the stay and safegard of their country, blaming the other, as vnthrifts, naughtipacks, cast-awayes, such as would one day dishonour the citie, and bring it to ruine and ouerthrow. This counsell allowed of all, and imparted to the women, as most profitable in so great a danger, was by them carefully put in execution. The

youth

youth of that citie was in a little time so changed, as that they who were dissolute and past hope, became meerely conuerted, giuing themselues to laudable courses, and making themselues euery day more and more fit for the managing of affaires both domesticall and publike. From that time afterwards, this citie began to florish more vnder these young men, than it had done in all the time of those old, who were excelled by them in wise and vertuous gouernment. To that before said, let vs adde one sentence taken out of *Apuleius*: *If thou praise a man*, saith he, *because he is Noble, thou praisest his race. If because of his riches, that is due to Fortune.* A little after: *But if thou esteeme of him that is painefull, vertuous, and learned, thou accountest of a man indeed: for that commeth not by succession from his father, nor is subiect to the change of time, nor yet dieth together with the bodie.* In his treatise of *Socrates* his God.

CHAP. XX.

Delicacie and Dissolution ruine the Effeminat. Also of Honestie.

Athenæus in his *Dipnosophists*, hauing discourssed of the dissolution and miserable end of many effeminat persons, concludeth thus: *Let vs therefore take heed of being slaues to worldly delights, seeing they destroy our liues.* Which sheweth, that it is no new thing for men to be ouertaken with their delights and effeminat inuentions, as birds are taken in the lime; and perish vnawares in the midst of that which liketh them best, as the flie singeth her wings, and burneth her selfe in the candle. To begin with the sacred Historie; What other thing did that faire young man *Absalon*, *Dauids* sonne, by letting his heauie haire grow for a show, than make a rope by which he was hanged at a tree in the forrest of Ephraim? And for profane stories, we haue a worthie example of this matter in *Darius* the last king of Persia. *Chares* of Mitylene writeth (as *Athenæus* reporteth) That in the time of this *Darius*, the excessiue superfluitie of the kings of Persia had so ouerflowne it selfe, that at the royall Beds-head there was set vp a rich closet shut with a partition between, of greatnes able to containe fiue beds; within the which were alwayes kept in store fiue thousand talents of gold: right ouer against that, to wit, at the feet of the Bed royall, was another closet, ynough to hold three beds, and within that were kept three thousand talents of siluer; and it was called, The kings foot-stoole. Moreouer, in the kings chamber there was a Vine all of gold, inriched besides with precious stones, and hang'd ouer the bed in forme of a vine-frame. *Amintas* writeth, That this Vine bare grapes made of pearle of inestimable value. Neere vnto it was the cup of gold wrought by *Theodorus* the Samian, the excellentest Gold-smith of his time. These and such other delights brought *Darius* to such extremitie, that after the losse of some battels, hee that had such a precious pillow to his head, and a foot-stoole of such value to his feet, had his feet and his hands fettred, was basely throwne vp in a chariot, and at last cowardly slaine by traitors whom he refused to obey. *Plutarch* saith, That *Alexander* hauing the first time put *Darius* in rout, slaine an hundred and ten thousand Persians, and gotten the rich campe, when as entring into the stoue that was made readie for *Darius*, he saw the basons, bathing-tubs, and oyle pots, the viols and perfuming bottels all of pure gold, exquisitly wrought and laboured, all the chamber perfumed with so sweet a smell as it seemed a paradise: and then againe going out of the Bath, and entring into his tent, seeing it so high, so spacious; the bed, the table, and the making readie of supper, all in so sumptuous and magnificall an order, as it was a thing worthie of admiration, turning

Lib. 12. *cap.* 10.

2. *Sam.* 18.

Lib 5. About the beginning of the 12. booke of Dipnosoph.

In his booke of the kings lodgings.

In the life of *Alexander*.

turning him about to his Minions, he said vnto them; *Yea marrie, this was a king indeed! how thinke you?* A right Philosopher would haue laught at all this vanitie, which is at large described by *Quintus Curtius* and *Arianus* in the life of *Alexander.*

Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 18. To this Meditation may that be very well referred which we read of *Plancus Plotius* brother to *Munatius Plancus* Consull and Censor of Rome. He being sought for by the souldiers during the proscription of the Triumuirat, to be put to death, and being hid in a sure place by the faithfulnesse of his seruants, was betraied by the smell of his perfumes and muske-bals. Whereupon a learned Poet hath made latin verses, to this effect:

A cut-throat Crew from the Triumuirat
Demand for Plancus *to be done to death:*
His seruants pittying their masters case,
Bestow him in a place secure and free:
But his perfumes and musk-bals him betray
Vnto the sword wherewith he stricken is.
So, many men whom Vertue might haue sau'd,
Are by fond pleasure of their liues bereau'd.

Lib. 2. of his Rom. historie. *Velleius Paterculus*, a worthie Historian, writeth; That the women during this proscription, shewed themselues excellently faithfull to their husbands; the free-men did good offices to their lords; the bond-men carried themselues meetly well: but the sonnes did not helpe their fathers any thing at all. *So hard is it for men* (saith he) *to defer the reaping of the fruit of that hope which they haue once conceiued. And to the end it may be knowne that the very principall had forgotten all dutie of pietie, to satisfie their greedie ambitions, and cruell desire,* Marc. Annius *put into the role of the proscripts his vncle* Lucius Cæsar; Lepidus *his brother* Paulus; *and the Consul* Plancus *had the credit to put in his brother* Plotius.

Lib. 44. of his Historie. To the same purpose we reade the like storie of *Muleasses* king of Tunis in Africa. For *Paulus Iouius* writeth, That he hauing beene ouerthrowne in a set battell by his owne sonne *Amida*, as he was flying away to recouer his kingdome, couered all ouer with dust and with blood, he was discouered in the troupe of the runnawaies by the sent of his perfumes and smels, wherewith he vsed to sweeten and beslubber himselfe: Being by this meanes staied, and brought back againe prisoner, his owne sonne caused both his eyes to be cruelly put out. Here may that be fitly brought in, which *Politian* inserteth in his mixtures, gathered out of an ancient Greeke Author, bewraying the dissoluten esse of the Sybarites; a pleasant tale, and such as will make one laugh. He saith, that these pleople did giue themselues so much to delights and sports, that they would bring into the places of their feasts, horses so taught and fashioned, that at the sound of the Flutes they would stand bolt vpright, & with their fore-feet would stir & wag so nimbly, as a morisdancer would doe with his fingers, and so dancing withall, would keepe compasse and measure. *Cap. 15.* It hapned, that a certaine Flute-plaier hauing receiued some great disgrace among these effeminate fellowes, ran away to the Crotoniats their enemies, who but a little before had beene beaten in a skirmish by the Sybarites. The Fluter promised, that if they would employ him, and trust to his fidelitie, he would take a course that all the horsemen of the Sybarites should be their prisoners. They beleeued him, and thereupon he was made Colonell of the Crotoniats: then he called vnto him all the Minstrels of Croton, and taught them with the Flute to play

play a certaine jygge: and when he saw fit opportunitie, he put himselfe with his troupes into the field. The Sybarites exceeding presumptuous and forward because they saw themselues a great deale the stronger in horsemen, come on to the fight. Suddenly, the signall being giuen, all the Flute-players gather togither, and begin to play with their Flutes. The Sybarites horses, hearing the musick, and their wonted measure, rise vp and stand vpon their hind-feet, cast their riders backward to the ground, and insteed of the battell, betake themselues to dancing and playing in the field, as they had vsed to doe in the houses. So all these wanton Sybarites were taken prisoners, and their horses too, who danced no longer than the conquerors listed.

The Philosopher *Crantor*, with whom *Sextus Empyricus* agreeth, distinguisheth of human actions very well. The first place he giueth to Vertue, the second to Health, the third to Honest pleasure, the fourth to Riches. But it is a vaine endeuour and to no purpose for men to labour to rid themselues of vices, and to make prouision of vertue, submitting themselues to some discipline, and carefully following the precepts of Philosophie, which by chance may heale some scratches, not any deepe wounds of the soule; although (I say) they leuell their actions to this marke, it is all but lost time and labour if they be not endued with the true knowledge of God, to order themselues according to his will, and by his fauourable assistance to begin and to proceed in the right way. Saint *Augustin* recordeth vnto vs this lesson. *Although* (saith he) *the Soule doe seeme with praise to command the bodie, and Reason vices; yet notwithstanding if the Soule and Reason doe not serue God according as he will be serued, they neither master the bodie, nor yet vices, as appertaineth. For, I pray you, how can it be that the Soule which knoweth not the true God, and is no way subiect vnto him, but is prostituted to the vncleane and wicked spirits which corrupt her, can gouerne the bodie, and bridle vices as ought to be done? Therefore, if man doe not refer to God the Vertues which he thinketh he hath, and by the which he guideth the bodie, and ouercommeth Vices, to obtaine, or to keepe any thing whatsoeuer; such Vertues are rather Vices than Vertues. For albeit some thinke, that the Vertues are right, and worthie of that name: when they be referred to themselues, and are not desired but for their owne selues, they are but blasts of Wind, mountaines of Pride, vnworthie so good a title, and are to be iudged foule spots of the Soule. Because, that euen as that which maketh Flesh to liue, is not of Flesh, but aboue Flesh: so also that which maketh Man to liue well and vertuously is not of Man, but aboue Man: and not onely Man, but also all heauenly Power and Vertue.*

Lib. 19 cap. 25. de Ciuit. Dei.

Touching the second part of the title of this Chapter. Histories both sacred and profane doe shew how God hath alwaies iudged and punished Whoremongers, Adulterie, & vncleane persons, that haue abused his patience, and perseuered in their damnable impurities. That which *Moses* writeth of the causes of the Flood, and the strange ouerthrow of Sodom and Gomorrha, is apparant to euery man. The Israelits fornicating with the daughters of *Moab*, foure and twentie thousand of them were destroied. For the leaud entertainement giuen to a Leuits wife, the Israelits were seuerely punished, and the Tribe of *Beniamin* almost abolished. The family and crowne of *Dauid* had like to haue falne to the ground, because of his Adultery, and of that which followed thereof. For one womans rauishing, Troy was sacked. For the violating of *Lucretia* the kings were banished Rome. For the like crimes, Athens and Sparta were soone changed. Infinite Emperours, Kings, Princes, and Potentates haue beene wip't away, for hauing polluted their persons and offices, with Fornication, Adulterie, and other filthinesse. The whole Empire of Rome hath borne

the markes of this fearefull iudgement of God, in the foule lusts of their princes. The Diuines and Ciuilians haue layd open the hainousnesse of the crime of Adulterie, in that it offendeth against the holinesse of God, against the puritie of the Bodie and the Soule, against the publike and particular Honestie, it ouerthrowes Families, it foisteth in vnlawfull Children, it confoundeth the right of Inheritances, it corrupteth human Societie, and causeth infinite disorders. Wherefore this crime hath not onely beene condemned by the lawes of Nations that are not barbarous, but also seuerely punished by the magistrats and people that haue had any feeling of Honestie and Reason. They that haue made but a mocke of this horrible offence, haue falne by little and little into most fearefull precipices of all confusion, haue been the by-talke or subiect of teares to all good men that haue liued to this present time: And he that followeth their steps, draweth downe the terrible iudgements of God vpon him and his. The law of God condemneth Adulterers to die, and that most expressely; it being a law vniuersall, and not peculiar for one people, but ruling the whole company of the children of *Adam* at all times and in all places. Likewise among the Pagans, the law *Iulia* punisheth Adulterers with death. True it is (as all human lawes sauour of the inconstancie and vanitie of those that make them, and that should maintaine them) that this law grew corrupted by little and little; yet soone after it was reuiued againe, as witnesseth the Emperour *Alexius*. Whereupon *Constantin* ordeined, That the sacrilegious violators of Marriage should be punished with death. In processe of time, the punishment was changed; for, after the woman Adulterer was whipped she was shut into a Nunnery. *Xenophon* bringeth in an Armenian, saying, That Adulterers were put to death, not for hauing corrupted the women, but because they quenched the coniugall affection. By the Ciuile law and the law *Iulia*, he is an Adulterer that abuseth another mans wife by carnall copulation, whither he be married, or no. But if the married man had to doe with a woman not married, that was called by another name, to wit, *Stuprum*, as the law *Iulia* obserueth. But the Canon law termeth all coniunction of married persons (sauing the coniugall copulation) Adulterie; though the one of the two be not married. Also God is the defender of Marriage, and he will punish the Adulterers. 23.9.4. The Ciuile law condemneth those that haue attempted the honour of married women, and ordeineth that they should be punished for that attempt, albeit no effect followed.

L. Castit. ad L. Iul. de Adul. L. Quamuis C. eod.

L. Stupr. F. & l. 11. Cod. ad l. Iul. de Adult. C. Significe. de Diuort. De extr. crimib. l. 1.

The keeping of a Concubine is vnlawfull, albeit the Roman lawes haue borne with it in the man, not in the woman: but without iust ground or sound reason: Fornicators being excluded the kingdome of God, and for the remedie of incontinencie Marriage being permitted and declared honourable among all. Polygamie, pluralitie of wiues at once (whatsoeuer ceremonie come betweene in such copulations) is vtterly vnlawfull, being condemned by the institution of holy Marriage, *Genes.* 2.24. and by the interpretation that the Author himselfe maketh of his meaning, *Matth.* 19.5.

L. Vnica. C. de Concub. l. in Concub.

One man is Married to one woman, and one woman to one man,
God of one bodie two did make, and of two bodies one.

Polygamie was tollerated by the Magistrats vnder the Law; but the example of some must not be drawn into consequence, much lesse into a rule or law. Pandarisme, or the practise of bawdrie is a thing insupportable, being an enemie to honestie, a traitor to coniugall and virginall chastitie, a murtherer of the holy human societie, a firebrand of hell, the right trucheman of the vncleane spirit,

was

was neuer suffered in a well gouerned Common wealth, and sauors of nothing but of infamous Paganisme and Atheisme.

Touching Brothell-houses, the common schooles of Sathan, set vp to ouerthrow the Temples of the Holyghost, and to bring in Filthinesse to triumph ouer Shame and Innocencie; Can he that suffereth and alloweth them, say, that he euer heard this euerlasting Law of the Highest sound in his eares; *Let there be no Whoore among the daughters of Israel* (among the people of God) *nor a Whorekeeper among the sonnes of Israel?* The Emperour *Iustinian* hath expressely forbidden them in his foureteenth Constitution. *Lactantius* saith, That the deuill was the Authour of the Stewes, to draw such persons in triumph after him, as doe prostitute themselues to his and their owne desires in such places. Some thinke that magistrates permit such disorders to auoid greater, as Adulteries, Rapes, and Incests. Whereunto *Cato* seemeth to ayme when he saith, That they are suffered as Vsurers are, to take away the occasions of theeuing and robbing. But the Christian doctrine beareth not with one fault to auoid another: And this is a true rule in diuinitie, That we may not doe any euill how little soeuer it be, that any good, how great soeuer, may come thereof. Deuter. 23. 17. Lib. 6. cap. 23.

Touching such punishments as are appointed by the Emperours, Kings, Princes, and Magistrates of our time, against Adulteries, and other pollutions of publicke Honestie, their lawes are extant. If the confusions raised vp by the vncleane Spirit (who is a lyer and a murderer) to abolish by his Impes all Pietie, Iustice, Temperance, and Modestie, haue beene a Sanctuarie and retrait for a number of wicked men; If Gouernours of people haue been content to make Ordinances in paper, and haue let vices goe vnpunished: God who hath begun to enter into iudgement with them and their people, liueth still as he hath liued in times past, and seeth still as he hath seene heretofore, and will go on with that which he hath begun. His rods lie a steeping in vinegre, he is cutting thongs out of the leather of Europe, and his yrons are euery day in the fire.

But let vs now adde some considerations concerning the meanes of preseruing Honestie, for good men to prouide both to themselues and their familie, to the end they bee not plunged in these infamous pollutions of the world. One of the chiefe remedies, is Abstinence from wine and meates. *Bee not drunke with wine* (saith the Apostle) *for therein is excesse.* And *Salomon* wrote long afore that, *That wine maketh a man to looke vpon strange women, and his heart to speake leaud things. Lot being drunke with wine, committed Incest with his owne daughters.* And our Sauiour exhorteth vs earnestly, *To take heed least at any time our hearts bee ouercome with Gluttonie and Drunkennesse and cares of this life.* The second remedie, is to flie Idlenesse. *Loue not too much sleepe* (saith the Wise man) *for feare least penurie oppresse thee.* Sleepe is an enemie to labour and diligence: The soft bed engendreth vncleane thoughts, and hee that lieth wallowing on his couch, thinketh more vpon the satisfying of his dishonest pleasures, than of any other thing. The third is, To shun the companie of vncleane persons, and such as are neuer content but when they may vse vnchaste words, and vnseemely gestures. He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled with it. Euill words corrupt good manners. A man shall learne to howle with wolues: and he that dwelleth with a creeple, shall halt with him. *Dina* the daughter of *Iacob* would needs conuerse with the Infidels, and such as were strangers to Gods Couenant, by whom she was rauished, and she was the cause besides of great euils. It is reported, That *Henrie* the third perceiuing that many dissolute persons prepared great reuellings and other doings, which

Ephes. 5. 18. *Prou.* 23. 33. *Genes.* 19. 36. *Luc.* 21. 34. *Prou.* 20. 13.

which they meant to shew at his marriage in Ingelheim, dasht it all, and gaue order, that the money appointed for Musicians, Iuglers, and Mummers should be giuen to the poore. But the world scorned to follow his example, especially for these hundred yeares. The fourth, consisteth in the containing of women, especially maids, in some conuenient decencie, according to the exhortation and doctrine of the Spirit of God by his holy Apostles. For, except the wanton fashions inuented within these few yeares in despite of Christian simplicitie and modestie, be not repressed; the gate is wide open to all licentiousnesse and villanie, and we draw neere to the damnable age, that of vice will make vertue. The other remedies are, To banish euerie dishoneſt countenance and word; to auoid the sights and discourses of vnchast persons; to embrace labour fit for our callings; to liue soberly, yea and austerely sometimes; to behaue our selues in household according to the rules of the Apostles, which prescribe the honest dutie of the husbands and the wiues; that the widowes and such as are vnmarried, remember also their dutie according to Gods word, whose blessings are assured to those that liue honestly: as contrariwise, his horrible curses hang ouer the heads of those men and women who by Fornication, Adulterie, Incest, and other execrable contaminations continue to abuse his long patience and clemencie.

1. Tim. 2. 9. 1. Pet. 3. 3.

The end of the first Booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Of Gentleneſſe towards bruit Beaſts.

ALbeit that all bruit Beaſts were created for the vſe and profit of man, to whom they were committed after his fall, and his domination ouer them confirmed againe after the flood: notwithſtanding this, libertie muſt be altogether exempted from tyranny and crueltie, as it was expreſly injoined by almightie God to his people Iſrael when he forbad, that the *dam which ſate vpon her young, or vpon her egs, ſhould not be taken away with the neſt.* The rudeneſſe therefore and crueltie of ſome lobs and lowts towards ſuch beaſts as are bred and accuſtomed to the ſeruice of man, and which theſe bruitiſh fellowes threaten, beat, hurt, torment, euen as their choller and ſome other violent paſſion driueth them, is not to be endured and borne withall. For although the poore beaſts may ſometimes do that which moueth vs, and whereby we receiue ſome offence in our bodies, or in other things belonging to vs; yet we cannot ſay, they doe vs iniurie, conſidering they had neither the thought, nor deliberation of any ſuch thing: but either age or trauel, ſometimes hunger, and oft times the blockiſhneſſe or vnhandſomeneſſe of thoſe by whom they ſhould be guided and gouerned, maketh them do ſuch things as their nature moueth them to, and whereunto neceſſitie enforceth them. For good cauſe therefore is that Perſian named *Pharnuchus* condemned as barbarouſly cruell; for that being one day on horſebacke, his dog running acroſſe his horſe legs, had made the horſe ſo kicke and fling for feare, that he caſt his maſter to the ground; who cauſed the horſe to be brought by his ſeruants to the place where he had kept ſuch a flinging, and there by the commandement of their cruell maſter, they hought him, and cut off his legges.

Geneſ. 1. 2. 9.

Deut. 22. 6.

Let vs ioyne to this ſtorie that which *Sabbas de Caſtilion* a Milanois, knight of Saint *Iohns* of Ieruſalem reporteth: whether it be a thing true, or fabulous, it is worth the relating. He ſaith he read in a little booke (not remembring the Authours name) that there was once in Calabria a law made, That who ſo would complaine againſt any man of Ingratitude, was bound to ring a certaine little bell appointed for that purpoſe; at the ſound whereof certaine commiſſioners met

Lib. intit. Ricordi. cap. 122.

met togither, who hauing heard the complaint and defence of the parties, if they found that the partie grieued had cause to accuse him against whom he complained, of ingratitude; they would presently award the defendant to make the plaintife some satisfaction, vnder paine of a great fine; and this arbitrement was to be performed without any delay. Now it hapned, that a Calabrian, hauing for some yeares togither drawne seruice out of a horse of his (which by trauell and old age was falne blind, scabbed, lame, and altogither vnprofitable) draue and beat the poore jade out of the house, so that wanting meat he was faine to feed poorely abroad, pittifully tormented with waspes and other flies. The horse limping and seeking for some shadowie place, lighted vpon a chappell, which he taking for a stable, findeth the way into it, and in the same hung the little bell before mentioned. By chance there stuck at the bell-rope the same time some boughs of trees, which the beast tugging and drawing at, the bell therewith made a noise: The Iudges presently come togither after the accustomed manner, and finding no bodie there but the horse, which they saw so leane and in such ill plight, they made him be brought into the market-place, and causing the owner to be called before them, straitly enioyned him to take his horse into his house againe, to feed him, and to vse him in all respects as he was wont to be vsed in his strength and ableneſſe to trauell: naturall equitie requiring, That, for as much as the horse had spent his yeares in his masters seruice, he should in his old age be maintained by him. This law was iust, and the sentence that followed thereof commendable, although giuen in the behalfe of a poore beast.

In the bookes where hee treateth of Benefits.

For good cause therefore doth *Seneca* call him vnthankefull, that denieth the receiuing of a benefit, that doth not requite it, that dissembleth it; but him aboue all, that forgetteth it. Which sheweth, that nature hateth nothing so much as an vnthankefull man: she hauing imprinted certaine markes of thankfulneſſe and remembrance of good turnes, euen in bruit beasts, as in elephants, lions, dragons, eagles, and wolues, whereof diuers examples are found in Histories, and which a man may make a whole volume of. They that haue written the Historie of beasts say, That the sparhawke hauing in the depth of winter seised vpon a sparrow, keepeth it aliue, and all the night laieth it to her breast, to heat and keepe warme her bodie therewith: in the morning she letteth it flie away without any manner of harme, & all that day will be sure not to seeke for her prey towards that part whither it flieth for the good turne she receiued of the sparrow. The like is reported of the eagle and pigeon. *Ælianus* writeth a storie of the thankfulneſſe of a dragon, in these termes: There is in Achaïa a citie called Petra, where a yong boy bought a very little dragon, and fed it by hand, making much of it, and playing with it, and laying it in his owne bed. When it was great, and full growne, the citizens fearing least it should doe them scathe, sent it away into a wilderneſſe. The boy being also growne a man, as he returned within a few yeares after from a feast with some of his companions, certaine theeues lighted vpon them; he beginning to crie for helpe, behold the dragon came vnlooked for, who falling in hand with the theeues, dispatcheth some, puts the residue to flight, and saues the life of his benefactor. If this tale of *Ælianus* written a great while since, be true, it is a worthie and admirable thankefulneſſe. We may adde to this dragon the Lion healed by *Androdius* the Roman slaue, whose life the Lion saued a good while after: the storie is written by *A. Gellius*, and by *Ælianus*; and since newly set foorth in rich verse by the lord of Bartas in the sixth booke of his first Weeke.

Lib. 13. cap. 46.

Weeke. This picture of thankefulneſſe in creatures deuoid of reaſon ſhould induce men to ſhew themſelues (as their dutie alſo requireth) the more carefull to requite any good receiued. For it hath beene rightly ſaid by the Sages, *That we muſt ſhun an vnthankfull man*, becauſe there is not any thing that can ſo much rend the vnion of mankind as that fault: As (contariwiſe) thankfulneſſe is a good thing, and much to be deſired, for that it bindeth and glueth hearts togither. Therefore it is not without cauſe that in our Imperiall lawes we haue the naturall obligation of acknowledging a benefit. For which cauſe the Athenians alſo ſuffered that vnthankfull perſons ſhould be ſued at the law: and good reaſon, ſeeing the commerce of giuing and receiuing benefits (without which the life of man can hardly continue) is annihilated and brought to nothing by the careleſneſſe of the vnthankfull perſon. *And it is a point of humanitie* (ſaith *Plutarch*) *to cheriſh the Horſes whoſe backs are broken with trauell; and not the yong dogs onely, but alſo thoſe that can run no more.* Alſo we ſee, that the field of Bountie is more ſpacious than the field of Iuſtice. For we employ not the lawes, nor execute Iuſtice but vpon men; but gentleneſſe and curteſie extendeth euen to beaſts, and that proceedeth of Bountie. Therefore we muſt not thinke to ſerue our turnes of beaſts, as of ſhooes or other houſhold things, which we caſt away when they can ſerue vs no more: but we ought to deale kindly with beaſts, if it were for no other reaſon but to accuſtom our ſelues to humanitie. And therefore we read that old *Cato*, although otherwiſe an excellent perſon, was taxed for this, That he made his old ſlaues, and his oxen that could worke no more, to be ſold away; and for that he let goe a horſe very leane and in ill caſe, whoſe ſeruice he had vſed in Spaine while he was Conſull: and indeed it is reported that he was too hard a maſter.

L. Sed etſi lege. §. conſuluit. De petit. hered. Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3.

In the life of *Cato* the Cenſor.

To returne to the gentle vſing of beaſts: many men, after they haue beene ſerued of horſes and of mules in dragging or carying ſtones for buildings both publike and priuat, haue for all their life after giuen them leaue to doe nothing, ſaue only to goe vp and downe and depaſture, and then to come againe into the ſtable. *Plutarch* reporteth to this purpoſe, That when *Pericles* cauſed the temple of *Minerua* to be builded, which was called *Hecatompedon*, the ſtones and other ſtuffe were brought into the caſtle euery day in a number of carts and wanes drawne by mules, as the manner is: of which mules ſome hauing before done good ſeruice, and falling old and weake were caſt off and let goe to feed where they could find any paſture. Among theſe, there was one that would come euerie day into the Ceramic ſtreet, and put himſelfe before thoſe that drew vp the ſtones, and would ſometimes goe along by them, as it were cheering them, and encouraging them to worke: the people of Athens prayſing the good nature of this beaſt, commanded that he ſhould be kept at the common charge, appointing prouiſion for him to liue of, euen as for an old ſouldier, who by reaſon of his age could ſerue no more. Hiſtoriographers write of *Selim*, Souldan of the Turkes, That he freed a bay horſe of his from all trauell (yet the lord of Busbeck in his Iournall, ſaith, That the Turks called him *Caraboulук*, that is, *cloud-black*, becauſe he was all black) and the cauſe was, for that he had ſaued himſelfe by meanes of this horſes ſwift running vpon which he was mounted after an ouerthrow he receiued in a battell, of his father *Baiazeth*, neere to a citie called Chiurli. *Ferdinand* king of Naples gaue the like diſpenſation to a horſe of his. And it hath beene found true (they ſay) by diuers proofs, that the horſes had a certaine knowledge proper & peculiar to them: As indeed there haue beene ſome (and *Solin* inricheth this diſcourſe with many examples) that could neuer

In his treatiſe of the induſtrie of beaſts. *fol.* 12.

Leontlauius, *Lonicerus*, and others, in the Annals and Hiſtories of Turkie.

Cap. 47.

neuer be vsed but by their first masters, and they would shew themselues fierce and vnruly if they were changed away. They knew their masters enemies, and would kick at them in the heat of battels: which, *Paulus Iouius* saith, the horses of the Mammeluks in Ægypt were wont to doe. Moreouer, if they lost those that dressed them, and whom they loued, there haue beene some that haue let themselues die with hungar: as *Ælian* witnesseth of one *Socles* an Athenians horse, who seeing himselfe too well beloued of that beast, which would vse to faune vpon him infinitly, and fearing some shame, sold him away; which the horse tooke so heauily, that it was impossible to make him eat euer after, and so he let himselfe pine to death. These be rare qualities, and not to be found but in a kind of horses more generous than others are that haue not so much vnderstanding.

Lib. 6. of the hist. of beasts. cap. 44.

Furthermore, we reade in diuers histories, That there haue beene monuments erected for three mares that woon the prise for running best and swiftest three seuerall times in the Olympick games, as *Herodotus* witnesseth. Men write also of the buriall of the horses of *Cimon*, and of *Alexander* the great, whose horse called *Bucephalus* (so called either because of his great head, or because he had the marke of a bulls head set vpon his shoulder) would not endure that any but his master should get vpon him: and when *Alexander* came neere him, the horse would of himselfe kneele downe, to giue him aduantage, and knew as well as could be whom he carried, saith *Quintus Curtius* after many other. We reade in *Dio*, That the Emperor *Adrian* caused a tombe to be made, and a pillar to be set vp, and therein an Epitaph to be grauen for his horse called *Borysthenes* wheron he vsed to hunt. And *Iulius Capitolinus* witnesseth that the Emperor *Verus*, ordained that there should be a tombe erected in the Vatican for his horse *Volucer*, (which he loued so well, that he vsed him rather like a man than like a beast) and made for him a Statue of gold. So likewise *Steuen* king of Poland, who reigned of late yeares with great reputation, caused to be set vp neere to the castle of Vilne a Statue of gold for his horse buried there. The same day that the Vaiuode of Transsyluania brother to king *Steuen*, died, this horse, exceeding strong and swift, fell downe starke dead in the plaine fields. There was an Epigram made thereof in Latin, which is thus translated into our tongue

Lib. 6. of his historie. *Plutarch* in their liues.

Lib. 6. of the deeds of *Alexander*.

In the life of *Verus*.

Neere to Vilne castle in the earth was layd
The king of Polands horse, most braue and swift:
Which aying did presage (as fell th' euent)
That the kings brother was this world bereft.
To this faire Courser thus with death affected,
His master made this Statue be erected.

There is yet to be seene at Rome in the vineyard belonging to the Cardinal *Sermonetta*, a pleasant monument of a certain mule (to fal from horses to asses) which was found betweene Rome and Tiuoli, by *Thomas Porcache*, as he reporteth in his collection of ancient Sepulchres: grauen ouer against a mounting-place of stone, which the ancient Romans (who had not the vse of stirups) were wont to vse then, and which were set in the hie-waies one not far from another. The inscription is this:

Funerali antichi di diuersi populi & nationi.

DIS PEDIBVS SAXVM.
CHIVCHIÆ DORSIFERÆ ET CIVNIFERÆ AC PESSVETÆ ET MANSVETÆ. CVIVS VT INSVLTVRA DESVLTVRÆ COMMODETVR PVB. CRASSVS MVLÆ SVÆ CRASSÆ BENEFERENTI SVPPEDANEVM HOC CVM RISV POS. VEXIT ANN. III. MENS. XV. DI. ET NOCT. 2½

The

The grace of it cannot wel be expreſſed in Engliſh, becauſe of the featie conceits this Epitaph ſheweth to haue with the ancient Epitaphs erected to men and women, which began commonly with theſe words DIS MANIBVS SACRVM. I leaue the reſt to the conſideration of the curious Reader. To end this Meditation of curteſie towards beaſts; Hiſtories alſo ſpeake of the burying of dogs. *Xantippus* cauſed his dog to be hid in the ground vpon a promontorie, which had followed by ſea the galley wherin he went from Athens to Salamina, ſwimming along by the gallies ſide: and as ſoone as he was arriued, his breath failed him, and he died ſuddenly. The place where he was hid, was commonly called, *Cynoſcema*, that is, The dogs graue. *Plutarch* in the life of *Themiſtocles.*

By ſuch curteſie (of which we haue produced diuers examples) the Ancients haue made proofe of their gentle nature, and would ſhew to poſteritie, that Ingratitude is a deteſtable vice: and that whoſoeuer ſhall accuſtome himſelfe to be worſe than a beaſt towards beaſts, will not thinke much at laſt to be cruell towards men. For the reſt, it cannot be denied, but that the names of vertues, which ought to be proper to men, are alſo ſometimes attributed to beaſts; as Magnanimitie, to Lions; Strength, to horſes; Prudence and Fidelitie to dogs.

CHAP. II.

Of the heroicall nature of Lions, tormented in ſame Countreys with Gnats to the death.

WEe read many wonderfull and almoſt incredible things of the marueilous nature and great courage of Lions. Among other things, when this beaſt is hunger-driuen, he ſeemeth to be mad: but when he hath eaten his fill, he is eaſily won, and tamed: in a word, he neuer doth much harme, if he be not prouoked. The Lions that are bred in the country of Suſa in Perſia, haue a great mane, and are crowned, very nobly-minded, forbearing to touch men, but when they are hungar-ſtarued and cannot find other prey of great or ſmall beaſts. Wherupon *Plinie* writeth, That the Lion is the only beaſt of all other that ſheweth meekneſſe to that which maketh reſiſtance againſt him: for when he hath ouerthrowne any, he pardoneth whomſoeuer it be that doth (as is were) intreat him; if he teare and deuoure, it ſhall be rather a man than a woman, and he neuer falleth vpon children, but when he is pincht with extreame famine. The hunting of Lions was a very hard thing at the firſt, and it is dangerous yet at this day. For they that haue trauelled to the Eaſt, and to the South, where Lions haunt, report, that many a hunter looſeth his life there. For the meanes to take them, *Beliſarius* Duke of Nerito writeth a Chapter thereof apart. And hiſtories witnes, that as this beaſt doth ſhew himſelfe very thankfull for any pleaſure done him, as it befell to *Helpis* the Samian, who vpon a certaine coaſt of Africa hauing drawne out a bone that ſtucke in a Lions throat, was in recompence of that cure fed and maintained by the Lions hunting, ſo long as his ſhip lay at anchor on that ſhore. And *Gellius* maketh mention of *Androdus* or *Androcles* the ſlaue, who was at Rome knowne of a Lion whom he had healed of a hurt, wherupon followed the ſpeech of the people, tearming this Lion the mans hoſt, and calling the man the Lions phyſician: ſo is he much inclined to reuenge himſelfe. For it hath beene tried by experience, and *Plinie* alſo confirmeth it in the place before alleaged, That the Lion being hurt, doth take exceeding good note of him that ſtriketh him, ſo that long after he can picke him out in the midſt of a troupe,

Lib. 8. *Nat. hiſt. Cap.* 16.

In his diſcourſe of hunting.

Lib. 5. *cap.* 14.

troupe, though it be neuer so great; and then (if possibly he may) he runneth vpon him, and teareth him in pieces: witnesse hereof the memorable example in *Iuba* king of Mauritania. It is said, that this king had in his traine a braue young gentleman, and that marching with his armie by the desarts of Africa, to goe and take some order in certaine affaires, they met with a Lion, at whom this gentleman shot an arrow, wherewith the Lion being hurt, betooke himselfe into the next forrest. *Iuba* hauing dispatched that he went about, and returning with his troups the same way, the Lion among all the horsemen pickt out him that had hurt him, and with a violent course ran at him, and tare him in pieces for all they could doe to saue him: which done, the Lion being content with his exploit, and not medling with any other, retired himselfe into his den.

Lib. 4. of the hist. of beasts, *cap.* 45.

By that which *Ælianus* saith, it may appeare that Lions are endued with iudgment both to haue compassion and to shew rigor and crueltie. He writeth that a Lion, a Beare, and a Dog were nourished and brought vp together, and that for a long space they liued quietly and in peace together, as if they had been tame and of one familie. It hapned that the Beare transported with rage, rent the Dog in pieces, whereat the Lion mooued, rushed vpon the Beare that had broken the familiaritie, and tare her in pieces for that she had done to the Dog. It hath been knowne, saith *Aristotle*, that this beasts greatnes of courage is such, that he neither flieth nor feareth any thing; but if he be constrained to giue place to the hunters, because of their great number, he goeth away softly, and with a little pace, turning about oftentimes to make head, and euer now and then looking behind him: Being come into couert places, he hieth him away as fast as he can, till he be in the open plaine, then he setteth himselfe againe to march faire and softly. If he be forced sometimes to flie away in the open and champaine country, he runneth, but it is without skipping: if he be followed hard, he staieth till the hunter come neere, and then runneth vpon him, noting and assaulting him by whom he is hurt. Now the Lion is not content alone to fall vpon him that hath hurt him, but also very often, without standing vpon the hunters and the meanie, he setteth vpon those whom he seeth by likelihood to be the masters, and that are best mounted. *Q. Curtius* enricheth this point with a goodly example, reporting how a marueilous great lion inuaded *Alexander* at a certaine hunting, for all he was compassed about with his friends and his guards. *Robert Gaguin* witnesseth the same in the historie of France, where he saith, that a tame Lion in Auergne, being gotten out of his masters house, deuoured many men and women, vntill the owner of him being followed by a great many paisants shewed himselfe to the Lion, who taking knowledge of him, came and yeelded to him: but at the instant so many shot were discharged against him, that he was kild dead in the place.

In his history of Beasts.

In the historie of *Alexander*. *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 28.

Moreouer, it hath been obserued, that the principall force and vigour of the Lions consisteth in their eyes; and that if one couer or blind them, they loose all their naturall fierceneſſe: and *Plinie* saith that a Getulian shepheard was the first that discouered this secret. For one day, as he would haue defended his flockes, hauing neither weapons nor companions; and seeing a roring Lion comming to set vpon him, to saue himselfe, he put off his coat, and throwes it vpon the Lions head. It hapned that the coat did so double about the necke and the head, that it couered the beasts eyes, whereby his violence so swaged, that he stood still all amazed, giuing good leasure to the shepheard to prouide for his safetie. They that seeke out the causes of naturall things attribute this force of the lions eyes, to their drieneſſe: which they proue by this, That nothing putteth lions sooner to flight, than the brightneſſe of fire. Indeed they that haue hoat and drie eyes, feare

Lib. 8. *cap.* 16. of his Nat. historie.

feare very much the bright fire. Now, as Lions exceed other beasts in force, and sudden violence; so (of the other side) the diuine prouidence hath brideled (as it were) that part which maketh them most fierce, to the end that their number increasing, might not too much damnifie men and beasts. Besides, it hath ordained that the beasts which are timorous and good for meat, are fruitfull; not willing that the race of them should decay. And therefore the females of Deere and of Sheepe bring forth oftentimes two, and sometimes more. The Hare hunted by man, by fox, by hound, by the Eagle and other birds of prey, is so fertill, that of all other, he is the only beast, whose female being great with one young, conceaueth another, and so soone as she hath discharged her selfe of that, she taketh the male and conceaueth againe. But the beasts that liue by rauening are barren in comparison of the other. *Plinie* saith, That the greatest beasts are least fruitfull. The Lioness, a mightie and rauenous beast, bringeth forth but one Lionet in all her life, by the saying of *Herodotus*, who writeth, That when the same being a little one, beginneth to stirre in the belly of the Lioness, hauing the clawes sharper than any little beast, it pearceth her belly; and as fast as it groweth, the claws worke, and the wound increaseth, so that working it selfe out, all those parts of the belly being rent, come forth together with it. To this the fable of *Æsope* hath relation, where the Lioness is brought in, answering the Fox, who twitted her with this, That during all her life time, she brought forth but one whelpe. It is true (quoth she) but it is a Lion. Neuertheless, *Solinus* and the rest, as well ancient as moderne, write more certainely hereof, and as experience sheweth. *Solinus* saith, That the Lions haue fiue young ones the first litter, foure the second, three the third, two the fourth, and one the last, and all in the space of fiue yeares; and after that beare no more. This doubt is now dissolued; For in parkes and chases of Lions belonging to the princes of Germanie, the Lioness bringeth forth yoong oftentimes.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 63

Lib. 30. of his Nat. historie.

He that is the Creator of all things, the fountaine and wel-spring of all wisedome, hath represſed the Lions violence by another meane, and hath prouided that such beasts should not multiply too fast, to the annoyance of other beasts. For he hath stirred vp an enemie against him that is very vile and of no shew, yet sharpe and vncessant, and that eagrely prosecutes his purpose with such seconding force of companions like to himselfe, that the Lions can find no certaine remedie, nor safe retrait against the assault of such an enemie, but in death. Which hapneth so much the more easily, as the Lions are by nature cholericke, and vtterly inclined to furie. Therefore we read in *Virgil*,

The dreadfull furies of the Lions fierce. And in *Ouid*,
Their fuming snowt a dreadfull furie shewes.

Which *Lucretius* setteth forth in excellent verses, the substance whereof is this:

Such is the furie of the Lions fell,
Who with the force of roaring doe so swell,
That oft they burst, not able to digest
The wind of anger that doth them infest.

To proceed with our Meditation; Touching this enemie so contemptible, but most hurtfull to Lions, let vs heare *Ammian Marcellinus*, who writeth thus: *Among the marishes and thickets of Mesopotamia, are an infinit number of Lions, the which during the Winter (which is calme and gentle in those countries) liue at ease. But when Summer commeth, the heat being intollerable, the lions are tormented with the heat of the Sun, and with an innumerable armie of gnats. And for that these insects doe chiefly flie at the eyes which are moist and bright, stiffely and eagrely assaulting the eye-lids; the poore lions being*

Lib. 18. of his historie.

not able to endure any longer, run with furie to the riuers, into which they caſt themſelues, and are drowned: or elſe with ſore ſcratching of their eyes, they pull them out, and fall ſtarck mad. If this were not, all the Eaſt would ſwarme with lions. The gnats haue the better means to annoy their enemie continually (who is otherwiſe cruell and mightfull of all other beaſts) for that the lion ſleepes very little, and his eyes are glaring continually halfe open. Which hath made many thinke that the lions ſleepe not at all, and the rather for that when they reſt, they alwaies wag their taile. The which yet *Ariſtotle* denieth may be by naturall reaſon, namely, That a creature may liue without ſleepe: although I am not ignorant that *Olympiodorus* of Alexandria writeth, That a certaine man who ſuſteined himſelfe with nothing elſe but with the ayre and the light of the ſunne, had liued without any ſleepe. The Ancients, becauſe of this watchfulneſſe of the lions, placed their ſtatues before the gates of temples, eſtabliſhing them (as it were) the guards thereof, as we ſee at this day in many porches, lions made of ſtone. *Alciatus* remembred this, ſpeaking of watching and guarding, where he concludeth the Epigram which he made of it, in words to this effect:

In his Comment. vpon *Phædon.*

This lion fitly ſtands here ſentinell,
For when he ſleepes, he ſleepes with open eyes.
His picture at an entrie, ſignifies
A faithfull guard, and one that watcheth well.

For which cauſe the Ægyptians, to repreſent a man carefull and vigilant, or elſe a porter, paint a lions head: becauſe the lion when he waketh, ſhutteth his eyes; and when he ſleepeth, openeth them: which is the ſigne of guarding. In like manner the Ancients, to ſignifie force, drew all the fore-part of a lion; becauſe that is it which ſeemeth to be moſt ſtrong and vigorous in him.

Many examples might be alleaged out of Stories, to ſhew, how fierce and mightie this beaſt is to doe an infinite ſort of miſchiefs. But there is one remarkable among many other, mentioned by *Plutarch*, concerning the citiſens of Megara, with whom *Caſſius* had left certaine lions in keeping, which he had prouided for the ſports of his Ædileſhip. Megara being taken by *Calenus*, the citiſens (ill aduiſed) brake open the dens wherein theſe lions were and let them goe, thinking the beaſts would haue kept the enemies aworke, and that they in the meane-while ſhould prouide for their affaires. But it happened quite contrarie: for the lions fell vpon the miſerable Megarians being vnarmed, making ſuch hauock of thoſe they met withall, that the enemies themſelues pittied to ſee ſo bloudie a ſpectacle. Such another like thing hapned in our time within the caſtle of Naples ſurnamed the New, as hath beene told by many ſouldiers that were there at that time in garriſon. They told, how of a long time the cuſtome was to keepe lions in a place that looketh towards the ſea; ſome enemies comming in the night vpon that ſide with their gallies, and meaning to ſurpriſe the caſtle, ſet vp their ladders ſo ſecretly, as they got the wall, and entred into the void place, where falling againſt all expectation into the pawes of the lions, many of them were miſerably torne in pieces: and the reſt faine to get them downe againe with ſpeed, followed by the ſouldiers of the garriſon whom the roaring of the lions had awaked. We read alſo in the Holy hiſtorie, That God ſent lions againſt the idolatrous and profane Babylonians or Chutæans, whom the king of Aſſyria had ſent thither to people the countrey. When *Salmanaſſer* carried away the ten Tribes into captiuitie, theſe Chutæans were placed betweene Iudeæ & Galile, for which cauſe they were called Samaritans, as who would ſay, Wardens, or Borderers. Likewiſe the Prophet *Ezechiell* reckoneth vp

In the life of *Brutus.*

foure

foure fearefull iudgements of God againſt the wicked, namely; war, peſtilence, famin, and wild beaſts. We read alſo the pittifull ſtorie of the Prophet, who for that he tooke not heed to the commandement of God, was ſlaine by a lion. *Daniels* enemies were torne in pieces by the ſame lions, whoſe mouthes God had ſhut but a little before that they ſhould not hurt his faithfull ſeruant.

cap. 4. *1.Reg.*13. *Daniel.cap.*6.

There be ſome lions cowardly and baſtard: but the royall (as they call them) are ſo generous and of ſuch courage, that they can alſo note men that are couragious and valiant, yea and can be affraid at their words. We reade a memorable ſtorie hereof written by *Albert Crantz*, touching *Henrie* Earle of Holſacia, ſurnamed of Iron, becauſe of his ſtrength. This Earle being gotten into great fauour (by reaſon of his valour) with the king of England, was enuied by the courtiers; who one day ſpying the abſence of the King, counſelled the Queene, That, for as much as the Earle was preferred before all the Engliſh nobilitie, ſhe would make triall whither he were ſo nobly borne as he gaue out, by letting looſe a great lion vpon him, which the king cauſed to be kept in a cloſe and ſure place: ſaying withall, That the beaſt greatly reſpected nobilitie, and would not once touch *Henrie* if he were noble indeed. They get leaue of the Queene to make this triall vpon the Earle, who had vſed to riſe before day, and to walk (for taking the aire) in the baſe court of the caſtle, looking well if all the gates were faſt ſhut: The lion is let looſe in the night, and the Earle hauing a night-gowne caſt ouer his ſhirt, with his girdle and ſword, and ſo comming downe the ſtaires into the court, meeteth with the lion briſtling his haire, and roaring. He nothing aſtoniſhed, ſaith with a ſtout voice to the beaſt, *Stand, ſtand, yee dog*. At theſe words the lion coucheth at his feet, to the great amazement of the courtiers, who looked out of their holes to ſee the iſſue of this tragedie. But the Earle did more; for he layeth hold of the lion, and ſhutteth him within his cage. Some ſay, that ſtanding by the bars of the cage, he ſaid to certaine Engliſh there preſent, If there be euer a noble man among you, let him come and doe that which I will doe. Whereupon he goeth in, and laieth vpon the lions neck the night-cap which he had worne on his head, and ſo goeth foorth without once looking behind him, the lion neuer ſtirring out of his place. Then the Earle calling to them, Let him among you all (quoth he) that ſtandeth moſt vpon his pedigree goe and fetch my nightcap. They all bled at the noſe; and vtterly aſham'd, withdrew themſelues. A while after the Earle, to free himſelfe out of the pawes of enuie which he had meetly well taken downe, got him away with the gracious and bountifull leaue of the king.

In his hiſt. of Saxony, *lib.*9. *cap.*24.

In that booke, and the ſame chapter, *Crantz* maketh mention of another ſtrange thing which hapned in the court of *Mathias* king of Hungarie. There was (ſaith he) a Polonian ſouldier in the kings pay, a man that boaſted much of his valiantneſſe, and who in a brauado would ordinariy challenge the Hungarians to wreſtling, and to skirmiſhing with the ſword, and with the pike, wherein he alwaies had the better. His brags made him ill beloued: But among other knacks of his boldneſſe, one day as he ſtood by a great yron cage in the which a lion was kept, the greateſt and fierceſt that had beene ſeene of a long time: he begins to ſay to thoſe that were in his company, Which of you dares take a piece of fleſh out of this lions throat, when he is hungrie? None daring to take it in hand; you ſhall ſee (addeth the Polonian) the proofe of my ſpeech. All that day following the lion had not any meat giuen him: the next day they threw him the foure quarters of a ſheepe. The lion begins to grunt, to couch downe at his prey, and to eat greedily: Herewith the Polonian enters, and

locking the lion betweene his legs, giues him a blow with his fist vpon the iaw, crying; *Ha ye dog, giue me the piece.* The lion amased at such a bold voice, lets goe his hold, shewing no other countenance, but casting his eye after the Polonian that caried the flesh away. The newes hereof being brought to the king, he licensed the Polonian; saying, That a man so venturing his life vpon a iolly humour, might be corrupted by promises, or by money, to execute some notable villany. Yet he sent him not away emptie handed, but because of his valor, gaue him good presents. The Naturalists say, as *Crantz* addeth, That the lion feareth nothing so much as the voice of a bold man. *Iulius Camillus* reporteth, That as he looked one day in the Tournells at Paris, out at the windowes of the square tower, into the garden, with many other gentlemen, a lion that had escaped out of his cage, came and layd hold of him behind, all the rest hauing saued themselues here and there. Seeing himselfe so taken, and abashed at the first, he settles himselfe, and begins to looke vpon the lion boldly, and with a frowning eie, who presently doffing his naturall fierceneſſe laieth himselfe along at his feet, as it were flattering him, and asking him forgiueneſſe. *Camillus* attributeth this efficacie to some solarie vertue predominating naturally in him.

In the Idea of his theatre.

This (to conclude) hath induced me to marke that which many hold for certaine, (as both experience sheweth, and I haue learned it of eye witnesses and such as cannot be reprooued) That lions are much afraid of the crowing and sight of cocks, either because they be more solarie than the lions, or for some hidden propertie. *Albertus Magnus* maintaineth it, as many others did before him; but he yeeldeth not this power of making lions afraid to any but to white cocks. The Poet *Lucretius*, as a disciple of *Epicurus*, thinketh, That out of the bodies of cocks there issue certaine toies, idols, or images which flie right against the lions, so sharpe and pricking that they cannot endure the violence of it: A ridiculous opinion, sauoring of the draffe of Epicurisme, as his verses thereof shew;

In the 5 booke of the Nature of things.

The rau'ning lions cannot brooke the sight
Of the braue cocke, if he before them stand:
But seeing him they take their sudden flight.
For that they spie in him a kind of sand
Or sparckling moates, with striking to the great
And quick eies of the furious lions, pierce
Through their eie-lids with such a griefe and heat,
As they cannot endure, it is so fierce. &c.

Well, whatsoeuer they say, it hath beene found not long agoe, in the court of a prince of Germanie, That the lion feares neither cocks nor hens: For a lion hauing got loose, and escaping out of the parke where he was kept, getteth by chance into a place where many cocks and hens and other pultrie were a feeding for the princes table. But he in steed of being afraid at their crowing and crying, fell a killing and deuouring the greatest part of them.

CHAP. III.

Of the strange antipathie and disagreement that is betweene Horses and Wolues.

He hath seene the wolfe (spoken of one that hath lost his voice.) *Lupi Mœrim videre priores.*

THere be strange things reported of the wolfe, a beast knowne euerie where, especially in Germany, where he is greatly hated because of his suttletie. But among other fabulous tales that goe of him, this of the common people is one, That the man that is first seene of the wolfe, presently groweth dismaied and past all sense, euen to the loosing of his voice: As contrariwise,

wise, if the man haue the aduantage of seeing him first, the wolfe will not be able to howle. For though it may so fall out, that the wolfe being neere some persons, may by the contagion of his breath, either take away their speech, or cause hoarsenesse in them; which aboue all commeth very easily to fearefull persons: yet to say that the same is done alwaies, & in all places, I haue found (by leaue of *Aristotle*, of *Plinie*, and of *Solin*, great and learned naturalists) that it is a vaine persuasion; when I haue, either trauelling in the country, or walking about villages, spied wolues vnawares, that had with leasure ynough beheld both me and my companie, all and euerie part of vs.

Touching the marueilous antipathie or dissention that is betweene the horse and the wolfe, it were easie to make triall thereof. For they say, That a mare casteth her foale, if she haue toucht a wolfe, or but trod where the wolfe hath past. Therefore the Ægyptians, when they would signifie a woman that had brought forth a dead child, painted a mare treading vpon a wolfe. Some also are of opinion, that a horse, though neuer so fierce & furious, standeth still when he treads vpon the steps of a wolfe, and that his thighs become altogether benumb'd, saith *Iohn Baptista Porta* after *Pamphilus*: and that the horse refuseth to passe by the place where he smelleth the wolfe to be couered with earth. *Pierius* saith, That certain discreet men could well skill how to make their profit of this antipathie, to rid themselues handsomely of the importunitie of princes that will haue all they can get: for when they haue commanded some goodly horse to be brought them, the owner not daring to resist that commandement, hath secretly hidden vpon the way by which the horse was to be led, the guts of a wolfe, which so soone as the horse smels, he growes restie, and by no meanes can be made to goe any further, and so is reckoned but a Iade, and lead backe againe to the stable. The Ancients knew this tricke (or some other as good) as may appeare by that which is recited by *Amphion* the Theban, who furnished *Pelops* of certaine drugs to hide all along the way, wherby both the horses of *Oenemaus*, and all other that would afterwards run that way, had their edge taken off, and grew restie. In like manner, Saint *Ierome*, *Arnobius*, and others do write, That in times past the wagoners, and they that run vpon chariots, to win the prise in the playes of the Cirque at Rome (where the chariots made seauen turnes with an incredible swiftnesse, in which a marueilous dexteritie was required, for feare of ouerturning, as also a nimblenes to know how to out-strip the horses and chariots of the other competitors) did vse magicall charmes and imprecations to stupifie the horses, and to make them grow restie: Which serueth for the better vnderstanding of a certaine law found among the ancient lawes in the Code: where the Emperors *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius* adiudge the magicall wagoners and runners to be put to death. *Iames Rœuard* a Ciuilian hath learnedly noted that, and reporteth to this purpose a notable storie, touching the counsell which Saint *Hillarion* gaue to a Christian borne in Italie, against a Pagan of Gaza, who by his spels made his horses nimble for the course, and staied those of the Italian, who for all that (by the counsell that was giuen him) got at last the prize.

But let vs goe on with our Meditation. There is no lesse disagreement betweene the wolfe and the horse while they are aliue. For the wolfe (a flesh-rauening beast) lieth in wait euermore for the horse as he is feeding, surprises him, throttles and deuoures him. Sometimes the horse defends himselfe, and with blowes with his heeles keepeth him off, and grieuously woundeth him, and so saueth himselfe with swift running away. For all beasts haue this by nature, that they know not onely the aduantages, but also the disaduantages and discommodities

Orus Apollo in his Hieroglyp.

Lib. 1. of his *nat. Magick. cap.* 9. In his Hieroglyph. *lib.* 11.

L. Vlt. C. de Malef.

Lib. 5. *cap.* 14. of his diuers readings vpon the law.

Plinie li. 8. *c.* 25.

Plutarch in his Table-speech.

dities of their aduersaries, they know what helps they haue, the occasions that they take, and in what places they are to be assaulted and offended. It is said, that the horses which haue fought against wolues, are the more couragious: The Greeks esteemed them the swifter, and called them *Lycospades*. *Baptista Porta* is of the same opinion, and *Plutarch* before him hath giuen some reason for it. It is also a strange thing, that the wolfe, a beast so furious and so craftie, feares neither cudgell nor sword, so much as blowes with a stone. For it hath been found, that in the places where he hath bin hit with stones, his flesh hath ranckled: and men haue been seene to make wolues, that were very much chafed, run away a good pace, by knocking two stones together. There be few countries frequented with wolues, where there is not some reward appointed to those that should kill of them, specially in France they haue vsed for euery wolfe that is taken, to giue the hunter * twentie sous Turnois, out of the kings money; besides the publike collection and beneuolence that the people commonly bestow vpon them that carrie about the wolues head or his skin to shew. From this law came the Commissioners of Wolferie, or taking of wolues, saith the lord of Malleuille, in his Recuell of the lawes of the Waters and Forrests.

*Two shillings sterling.

Cap. 11.

To returne to our Horse, I cannot end this chapter without inserting into it the praise of this beast, written by *George Buchanan*, an excellent Poet of our time, in excellent good verses, the meaning whereof is this;

The high Creator hath all other beasts ordaind
For some especiall vse, trauell, or exercise:
But the braue Horse doth fit himselfe for all assayes;
He drawes the Cart and Waine, the Coach and Litter leads,
The Packe and Saddle beares, and on the ridgie field
The Plough and Harraw trailes with their sharp yron teeth.
His Master he doth beare, whither he (swimming) crosse
Some bridge-lesse riuer, or must leape a broad deepe ditch,
Or runne a rugged way, or rowse the haughtie Stag.
He coruets and carreeres, windes, turnes, and backe retires,
Leapes, bounds, rebounds, and makes a thousand liuely friskes;
Then runnes he out at length, and yeeldeth many sports
To him that softly trots, or gallops him amaine.
If warre arise, to warre he goes, and shewes his force;
His nostrils fuming smoake, his neying lowd and cleere,
Are sound aduertisements of his braue martiall heart.
His generous breast to wounds and dangers he presents:
And when he feeles the shocke, he brauely layes about.
His master being pleasd, himselfe is most content;
But dull and ill apaid, his master being sad:
It being all his care to please his master well.
And (in a word) wise Eld doth say, That Horse and Man
Doe both one bodie make; and that in ages past,
Of these two there were borne in the Thessalian chase,
Halfe horses and halfe men, the hardie Centaures race.

Cap. 42.

Solinus among others, attributeth some iudgment to horses, as we haue already said, and produced some examples therof. Let vs adde hereunto the memorable storie described by *Nicetas Choniate*, in the life of *Alexis Comnenus*, who had traiterously defeated his good brother *Isacius* of the empire, and caused his eyes to be put out. This Parricide going out of the Church, would get vp vpon an Arabian

Arabian horſe, that was very faire, and as readie as any could be. The horſe (as it were) indued with wit and reaſon, ſpiting that ſo wicked a man ſhould mount him, begins to ney, to champe and kicke, riſing and coruetting, and taking on ſo furiouſly, that he made the tyrants crown flie to the ground, and threw him after it vpon the pauement: who to ſhew himſelfe a braue man, made the horſe to be brought him again, and beſtrid him the ſecond time, but he was caſt to the earth as before: a preſaging of his wretched and well deſerued end. I heard a gentleman of Franconia both valiant and wiſe, oftentimes ſay; that by his horſes direction he had eſcaped the ambuſcado that his enemies had laied for him. For as one day he would haue taken the riuer of Mein in a place where he had often waded ouer, the enemie had placed on the other ſide a troupe of Harquebuziers, who lay cloſe looking for his comming, with ſome horſemen that were in their companie. As he was in the midſt of the riuer, his horſe (which in euerie other thing was obedient vnto him, and as firme as poſſibly might be) begins to pricke vp his eares, makes a ſudden ſtay, and quite aſtoniſht turnes about, for all that euer the ſpur, or the voice, or other mean could doe to make him goe on, a thing that he had neuer done, or offered to doe before that time. But the ambuſcado being a while after diſcouered, and the gentleman wondring at the part his horſe had plaied, confeſſed that God, by the direction of his horſe (as is aforeſaid) had preſerued him aliue. For if he had gone but a ſtep or two farther, he might haue bin a faire marke for his enemies to ſhoot at.

That which *Iohn Lopes* a Spaniard writeth, and is alleaged by *Nicholas Boyer*, is worth the marking. He ſaith, he had heard a man worthie of credit report, That he had ſeene in Andolouſia, a braue horſe brought by deuices and ſmels, to leape a mare that had foaled him: And that when he came to ſee what he had done, with his teeth he bit off his ſtones, to the great wondring of many men that were beholders of ſuch a puniſhment. Beſides that which hath been ſaid before of the docibilitie of the Sybarite horſes, we haue a memorable example in *Dio*, who writeth, That the Parthians among other guifts preſented *Traian* with a horſe taught and trained to reuerence the prince: for he held vp his forefeet, as a ſuppliant would doe his hands, leaning his head vpon him that ſtood next to him. Now, as this beaſt being tamed, is eaſily made gentle, & becommeth (as it were) a ſeruant to men, and obedient as a dog: ſo on the contrarie, if he be fierce, vntamed, and furious, they that are not vſed to the ſight of him, will be afraid once to looke vpon him. Therfore was it not ſaid in vaine by a Poet, ſpeaking of horſes, that

The fierie ſmoake out of their noſtrils flew.

Let vs bring for witneſſes the Weſt Indians, whom the horſes (backt and managed, which they call *Pacos*) and the great dogges, did ſtrike ſo much feare into, as they feared nothing ſo much as thoſe beaſts; ſo that three men on horſebacke put to flight a thouſand Indians: and it appeareth, that theſe poore people haue been ouercome and put to rowt more by the Spaniards horſes, than by the Spaniards themſelues. For which cauſe *Benzo* writeth, That the Indians were a great deale more afraid of one horſe, than of all the weapons of the Spaniards: which they did not conceale, but ſaid openly, That it was neither the courages, ſwords, launces, croſſe-bowes, nor gunnes of the Chriſtians that had ſubdued them, but their fierce and furious horſes; as both the effect and experience ſhewed. For in all places where the Spaniards were driuen to make war on foot, being not able to bring their horſes with them, they alwaies had the worſt, and were ouerthrowne by the Indians.

In the Treatiſe of Marriages, *Deciſ.* 318. *num.* 2.

In the 26. chap. of the firſt booke, In the life of *Traian.*

Lib. 2. of the hiſtorie of the New world.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the industrie and fidelitie of Dogs. Their Elogie, or memorable praise.

In the hist. of *Tiberius, sect.* 8. *Lib.* 5. of the Hieroglyphicks.

THere be found many discourses almost incredible in histories, concerning the industrie and fidelitie of dogs. *Dio* reporteth notable things of the fidelitie of *Sabinus* his dog. *Pierius* recounteth out of ancient Authours, that *Minerua Iliada* had a temple in Daulis, wherein certaine dogs were kept, which neuer shewed themselues gentle to any, and to be plaied withall, but to the Greekes; for against the Barbarians, they would euer be barking and still troubling and biting them. *Plinie* saith the like of *Diomedes* his birds, which were neuer seene any where else but in a certaine Isle vpon the coast of Apulia, famous for the sepulchre of *Diomedes*, and for a chappell dedicated vnto him. These birds by reason of their cryings and croakings, bred great annoiance to the Barbarians that landed there: but they fluttered & reioyced at the Grecians. The same *Pierius* reporteth ancient Authors to haue written, That neere to Mount-Gibell in Sicilia there was a temple builded to *Vulcan*, the groaue wherof was guarded by dogs (as *M. Marlianus* also reporteth, That in old Rome before *Vulcans* chappell, in the Flaminian Cirque, were certaine dogs that would neuer barke but against Church-robbers) which would run with great fawning to meet the good and deuout pilgrims: but if any that were villanous and dishoneſt came thither, they were miserably torne in pieces by those dogs. *Thomas Fazel* writeth, that the Pagans held these actions for so many miracles: but we make account (saith he) they were the deceits of Sathan. The same saith, That at this day there is not seen any trace or token of this temple, and a man cannot say in what part of the Mountaine it was. *Cœlius Rhodiginus* and *Alexander* of Alexandria write hereof at large.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 44.

Lib. 6. of the Topography of old Rome, *cap.* 8.

In the end of his 2 booke, and first Decad.

Lib. 23. *cap.* 29. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

The faithfulnesse of a dog, hath beene cause that many haue chosen to trust their liues with that beast, and to commit themselues to the good of him, rather than of reasonable men. As we read of king *Massiniſſa*, who by the barking of dogs freed himselfe many times out of the ambuscadoes that were laid for him, discouered a far off the comming of his enemies, stood vpon his guard, and, by the helpe of dogs, sometimes carried away the victorie. *Plinie* reporteth to this purpose, That the Colophonians tooke great care to traine their dogs and make them fit for war, in so much as they made squadrons of them, which fought in the first rankes with a wonderfull boldnesse, and would neuer giue back: Aboue all, they did good seruice in the night. We read also that the king of the Garamantes, driuen by sedition out of his realme, was re-established againe by the helpe of two hundred hunting dogs. It may be that *Henry* the VIII. king of England (according to the purport of a letter which his Ambassador sent from Spire to the king of Polonia, *An.* 1544. by the report of *Olaus Magnus*) had an eie to this prompt fidelitie of dogs, when in the armie which he sent to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth against the French king, there were foure hundred souldiers that had the charge of the like number of dogs, all of them garnished with good yron collers after the fashion of that countrey: no man being able to say, whither they were appointed to be sentinels in the night, or to serue for some stratagem for obteining the victorie. *Strabo* saith, That the like was practised in old time, and that the English dogs went to war with the Gaules: and there is mention of a Procurator or Commissarie that had charge of the dogs of Britanie, in the Emperours behalfe. And at this day there be some

Lib. 8. *cap.* 40.

Lib. 17. *cap.* 5.

some of them found, which *Camden* calleth Agase-hounds, & named Agasæi by *Oppian*. *Andrew Theuet* speaking of the king of Cephala, writeth; That when he will giue battell to his enemies, he commonly mingleth many troupes of dogs among the squadrons of his souldiers. We will hereafter make mention of a dog so couragious in the war, that the Indians were more afraid of his teeth, than of any other Spanish weapons; and that the owner receiued extraordinarie pay euerie monethfor the seruices that were done by that dog.

Camdenus in the hist. of England, in his Cosmograph. In the 18. chap. of this 2 booke.

We must not forget what *Michaell Vosmer* writeth of the goodnesse and fidelitie of dogs. It is a strange thing (saith he) that is found written in the Annals touching the dogs of *Florent* the fifth Earle of Holland and of Zeland, who being once at a hunting wounded in twentie places of his bodie, his dogs neuer forsooke him, but went with him to the castle of Mude, from whence being taken away, as he thought to saue himselfe, he was slaine outright by certaine traitors and cut-throats; but the dogs neuer left the dead bodie. At the last when his seruants had taken vp the bodie to carrie it by water to the citie of Alcmar, the dogs got into the boat without eating or drinking any thing all this while. The bodie being carried into the church, they went and lay them all by it, without euer going away, but there languished vntill at last they were driuen from thence by force.

In the liues of the Earles of Holland and Zeland.

The lord *de la Scale* reciteth such another example of a certaine hound belonging to one of Corsica, whose bodie being dead by reason of the cold snowes, the dog would neuer part from the same nor suffer any to come neere it: so that they were faine first to shoot the dog to death with arrowes, that so afterwards they might take and beare away their masters bodie. The said lord addeth, Certainely I should rather erect a tombe with an Epitaph to this dog, than to the Sultan *Solyman*. In the same place he maketh mention of another storie, which is this. A courtier enuying the credit of a certaine friend of his, or carried away with some other malice, came suddenly vpon him, and killed him, and after buried him in a place besides the way. The partie slaine had at the same time a hound with him, who lay a long while vpon his Masters graue. Hunger for that time ouercomming loue, he returnes home, and being seene without his Master by some other friends, who thought the dog had beene straied from him, they bad that some meat should be giuen him. Hauing let downe a few morcels, he returnes to the graue, which course he continued so often, that the friends of the dead began to suspect, and at last beleeued that the dog sought for his Master: They follow him, and comming to the place where the earth was cast vp, dig into it, find the bodie, take it away, and cause it to be buried in another place. The solemnities ended, the dog keepes with them whom he had lead to this discouerie. A good while after, the murtherer comes againe to the court; the dog knowes him, and begins to run at him with great cries, & so earnestly pursueth his point vpon him, that suspition begins to enter into the minds of a great many, that there was some euill in the man. The dog continuing stil to vex him, the king was at last aduertised of the case, who commanded that the man should be straitly examined touching the fact. He affirmeth himselfe innocent: the dog, when the murtherer denied that he knew what was become of the dogs master, neuer left barking and bawling; in so much as all that were present tooke the same as a disproofe, that the dog made against him. Well, the matter proceeded so far, that the king ordered it should be decided by a combat betweene the man and the dog. To make short, the dog had the day: and the combat is painted and finely set foorth in the hall of a certaine castle in France; & the worke wearing out with age hath sometimes

In his Disput. against *Cardan, exercit. 202. sect. 6.*

times beene renewed by commandement from the king. It deserueth (saith the lord *de la Scale*) to be set foorth in pictures of brasse, that it may neuer perish.

Lib. 17. *cap.* 32. Let vs insert here that which *Nicephorus* writeth of a blind dog who wrought wonders, giuing againe to euerie one readily that which was his owne, and by signes discouering secrets. The translator addeth this, That he pointed at the women with child, the whore-masters, the adulterers, the couetous, and the valiant: Therefore men thought he was possessed with some wicked spirit. He belonged to one *Andrew* an Italian mountebanke. But I thinke it is done by the teaching of these plaiers of legerdemaine; for they acustome beasts to vnderstand the twincklings of their eies, their voices, the gesticulations of their feet and hands: as I haue obserued in a little horse, whose signes (yet) for the most part were false. There hath beene seene a sea-fish taught to doe very strange things by a certaine fellow yet liuing, but it was killed by an enuious fellow. And of late daies a Scottish-mans horse gaue occasion of great sifting and wonderment to many persons that saw him at Paris and other places. Neither must we forget that which *Iouian Pontanus* an Author worthie of credit writeth of his dogs, which could neuer be brought to line the bitch that had whelped and brought them vp. Besides all this, We must confesse that there is in this beast I know not what particular sense and aduice more than men know: as appeareth by a memorable example that hapned in our time at Nouara in Lombardie. The Swissers and the Frenchmen being vpon the point of giuing a battell, a great number of dogs that had followed their masters in the war, suddenly left the campe of the French, and ran (as if they had beene beaten away) to the Swissers, and being come to them, they began to lick their feet, to fawne on them with their tailes, and to lie downe before them, as presaging that they should carrie away the victorie, and taking them alreadie for their masters. Which thing did the more encourage the Swissers to the fight, from whence they returned victorious, with a very memorable successe.

P. Iouius. P. Iustinian in the hist. of Venice, and others, make mention here of.

As I haue not vndertaken to write the whole historie of dogs: so neither must I forget, that there be some of them sometimes so generous, that their courage increaseth, according as the beasts with whom they fight are strong and fierce. We haue hereof a notable example in that which befell *Alexander* the great, as *Plinie* writeth. This prince being on his voiage towards the Indies, receiued for a present a verie great dog, which the king of the Albanians sent vnto him, with aduice, That he should not set this dog against wolues, beares, boares, and other such beasts of meane force; but against lions or elephants. *Alexander* desiring to see some sport, made a lion to be brought, whom the dog ouercame, and with a trice tare in pieces. Then he commanded to set an elephant vpon him, longing to see the issue of that fight. The dog seeing his aduersarie, begins to bustle himselfe, and to bristle his haire all his bodie ouer, and casting out a furious bawling maketh the elephant turne taile, and proceedeth on so couragiously, that he groundeth his aduersarie, to the great applause and astonishment of all that beheld it. *Solinus* recounteth the same storie, but a little differingly, for thus he saith; The dogs of Albania bring vnder all other beasts, throttle bulls, kill lions, stay all that is throwne against them: and therefore are very famous in histories. We reade that *Alexander* going to the Indies receiued two of them, which the king of Albania presented him with: one of the which seeing wild boares and beares brought against him, would not so much as looke vpon them, or offer to rise from the ground; in so much as *Alexander* thinking that this disdaine grew of cowardise and feare, made him be kild:

Lib. 8. *cap.* 40.

Cap. 20.

kild: But they that knew the qualitie of such dogs, and had procured them to be sent, caused a lion to be presented to the other, which he suddenly dispatched: and afterwards perceiuing an Elephant, first being very cheerefull, he tugd and trownst his aduersarie, and after cast him to the ground, to the great wonder of the beholders. These dogs grow very high, and barke with a stronger voice than the roaring of lions. Perhaps *Andronicus* his dog, Emperor of Constantinople, was of this race. This prince much hated because of his villanies and mischiefs, made himselfe be guarded, not onely with companies of strange souldiers, but also with a very great dogge, who made no bones to fight with lions, and could turne ouer a man all armed off his horse: The Guard kept watch in the night a prettie way from his chamber, and at his chamber dore this dog was tied, who at the least noise that was, made a terrible barking. *Quintus Curtius* writeth such a storie of the valour of dogs in the East Indies, foure of which in a moment defeated a very great lion, in the presence of *Alexander*. It is thought they are engendred of a Dogge and a Tigresse, and are as couragious and strong as possibly may be.

Nicetus in his Annals.

Lib. 9.

To returne to our purpose, If that which we said at the beginning of the dogs of Daulis, and of the Sybarites, seeme too stale, & scarce likely, let vs heare what *Sabellicus* a moderne historian writeth of this beast. The Rhodians (saith he) held a very strong and well fortified citie, called the castle S. *Peter*, in a place of the firme land, ouer against the Isle Coos, being the onely retrait for the Christians of Asia, that saued themselues from being slaues to the Turks. The enemie was master of all without and about this place, in so much as the citisens could not safely fetch wood or other fuell for their vse. Some bodie had told the Venetians strange things of the sence and seruice of the dogs that were within the citie, to the number of fiftie, all which the Inhabitants put forth euery night (as it were) for Sentinels. If during the night, these watchers met with any Christian, they would receiue him, and with fawning and ioy conduct him into the citie: contrariwise, if they discouered a Turke, they would first keepe a great barking, and then falling vpon him, pull him down and teare him in pieces. These are the words of *Sabellicus*. At Renes in Brittaine, at Saint *Malo*, and at Saint *Michels*, they keepe a great many dogs, that watch & ward both night and day, as I haue heard reported by many. *Plutarch* sheweth that it is an ancient custome; for he saith, That the enterprise of *Aratus*, which he vndertooke for the freeing of his countrey, had like to haue bin mar'd, by the watchfulnesse of a dog. By this it appeareth, what moued *Socrates* to sweare commonly by the dog, as *Plato* noteth; who thereby would point out an vnmatchable faithfulnesse, such as is seene in those creatures. For which cause the same Philosopher esteemeth the franke and readie nature of a dogge worthie admiration in this, that he is angrie with one hee knoweth not, and that neuer did him hurt before, and fawns vpon one he knoweth, though he reuer receiued any good from him. If I could not by strange examples, it were easie for me to confirme this by that of mine owne dog, which hath faithfully serued me in my iourney into Italie, as well going as comming backe againe; his speciall direction (next to the mercifull prouidence of God) hath made me somtimes escape great dangers, both alone and in companie: this I noted for a rare thing in him, that he would neuer in my presence fawne vpon any Italian, or Iew; but (contrariwise) would barke at them, or bite them. He hated the bitches of Italie, like serpents. And for all he was found & yong, being at Ferrara, I could not possibly make him come neere one, though she were in heat.

Decad. 3. lib. 9.

In the life of Aratus.

The marks of a good dog, and of a gentle kind, are these that follow. He must

Richard Dinoth in his Memor. of beasts.

In his booke of Hunting.

be fleshie, great, of a large forhead, and full of appearing veines, eyes blacke and flaming, eares thin and long, the necke long, the breast bearing out, the shoulders broad, the thighs high, the flanks set forward, the legs equally distant, the haire small and thicke, the colour mingled. *Belisarius* duke of Nerito discourseth amply hereof, to content the curious Reader. And *Suidas* in his Recuels representeth all sorts of dogs: Some are good for the hunting of little beasts, to sent and discouer them, others to set vpon great beasts, others to guard houses & parks: others are cushin-dogs, and for pleasure. But to close vp this Meditation, we wil adde hereunto that which *Iames Micyllus* a learned Poet hath written in praise of a dog, in good Latin verses, expressed thus in our tongue:

Of any beast, none is more faithfull found,
Nor yeelds more pastime in house, plaine, or woods,
Nor keeps his masters person, or his goods
With greater care, than doth the dog or hound.
Commaund: he thee obeyes most readily.
Strike him: he whines and fals down at thy feet.
Call him: he leaues his game and comes to thee
With wagging taile, offring his seruice meeke.
In Summers heat he followes by thy pace:
In Winters cold he neuer leaueth thee:
In mountaines wild he by thee close doth trace;
In all thy feares and dangers true is he.
Thy friends he loues; and in thy presence liues
By day: by night he watcheth faithfully
That thou in peace mayst sleepe: he neuer giues
Good entertainment to thine enemie.
Course, hunt, in hills, in valleyes, or in plaines;
Hee ioyes to runne and stretch out euery lim:
To please but thee, he spareth for no paines:
His hurt (for thee) is greatest good to him.
Sometimes he doth present thee with a Hare,
Sometimes he hunts the Stag, the Fox, the Boare,
Another time he baits the Bull and Beare,
And all to make thee sport, and for no more.
If so thou wilt, a Collar he will weare;
And when thou list to take it off againe,
Vnto thy feet hee coucheth downe most faire,
As if thy will were all his good and gaine.
In fields abroad he lookes vnto thy flockes,
Keeping them safe from Wolues and other beasts:
And oftentimes hee beares away the knocks
Of some odde thiefe that many a fold infests.
And as he is the faithfull bodies guard,
So is he good within a fort or hold
Against a quicke surprise, to watch and ward;
And all his hire is bread mustie and old.
Canst thou then such a creature hate and spurne?
Or barre him from such poore and simple food?
Being so fit and faithfull for thy turne,
As no beast else can doe thee halfe such good?

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The white colour maketh Elephants fierce, and the red, Buls. The Elephant seemeth to be endued with Iudgement and Reason, as man is. Of the Elephants enemies.

IT is a thing well knowne, that in Italie, and namely in the parts about Naples, there feed in the medowes, fields and forrests, whole herds of Buffes. But as this beast and the name of it is held a new thing, and vnknowne to our elders: so I leaue the search to other men, whether the Buffe come of wild oxen, or of some other beasts. These Buffes once stirred and heated, are very dangerous; because, that albeit nature hath created them with hornes turned backward, so that they can doe no great hurt with them; yet with the force of their bodies which are strong and massie, they can easily ouerthrow all that commeth against them. They differ quite (in regard of their hornes) from those of the Lotophagi, which are constrained, though they goe forward, to feed backward, because their hornes stand so farre out, and hang so much down vpon their nose, as in feeding forwards they should sticke them in the ground: in all other points like to other oxen, but that they haue a thicker and harder skin. To come again to our Naples Buffs; men say, That when they haue once thrown any other beasts to the ground, they lie still vpon them vntill they haue smoothered them to death. My selfe, and some companions with me trauelling in those parts, were twice or thrice in very great danger of our liues, meeting with these Buffes being put into a heat; and once among the rest, could not saue our selues from them, but that by running we recouered certaine old walles, which we clambred vpon. There is nothing that maketh them so wild and furious, as the colour of red, and so likewise fareth it with the Buls of Germanie. Therefore one day as wee past the plain of Arpi, where the Buffes feed in great herds, tumbling in marishes and ditches to coole themselues, our guide (whom they call *Procache*) was carefull to giue warning betime, that all they that wore neuer so little red about them, should take heed (if they would passe safely) to hide the same so, that the Buffes might not perceiue any part of it. The Emperour *Iustinian* in his Institutions of the Ciuile Law obserueth, that *Plutarch* likewise maketh mention hereof in a Treatie of the fortune and vertue of *Alexander*, where he speaketh of the industries of men, and the propertie of certaine beasts. *The men* (saith he) *that will entrap any of the beasts, couer themselues with skinnes, and the fowlers decke themselues with certain feathers. They that wear any red clothes, take heed how they shew themselues before the Buls, as they that haue any white about them, shun the Elephants: because these colors prouoke these beasts to furie. Leuin Lemnius* proueth by the historie of the *Macchabees*, That Elephants cannot endure the colour of red, no more than Buls: For king *Antiochus* hauing brought two and thirtie Elephants to the fight; to make them the more fierce, caused certaine linnen clouts dyed in red to be displayed before them. He addeth, that the Elephants become more furious, and run more violently into the fight, when they are set into a heat with such a sight.

Herodot. lib. 4.

In the *Parag. Interdū de obligat. quæ ex delict. nasc.* in the first booke.

In the similitudes and parables of the Bible, *cap.* 35.

The working of nature is strange, that Buls should grow so fierce when they see any red, whereas otherwise though they be neuer so terrible, yet are they made calme and tame being tied to a fig-tree, as it is assured by many, and after other by *Michael Glycas*. Moreouer, *Hanniball* was not ignorant how violent the force and fearefull impetuositie of Bulles is when they are prouoked, seeing he vsed the seruice of them to disingage himselfe out of a streight whereinto he was driuen by the policie of *Fabius Maximus* that wise Roman Generall. It is a

In the first part of his Annals.

ſtorie well knowne, and of ancient record. But the ſtratagem of the people of the Terceres not many yeares agoe, is no leſſe memorable. They are Iſles, otherwiſe named Aſores, lying in the Weſt Ocean. After the ouerthrow of *Sebaſtian* the king of Portugall, in the battell againſt the king of Fez, and that *Don Antonio* was put to flight, driuen away, and depriued of all his claime to that kingdome, they that were in the Terceres refuſed to obey the Spaniard. Whereupon king *Philip* ſent thither an Armado, of which *Peter de Valdes* was Admirall, who had atchieued notable feats of war in the Low-Countries, in the duke of *Aluaes* time. This *Valdes* landed fiue hundred men in the Iſle, who tooke a hollow ſtraight among the mountaines, out of which they did much miſchiefe to the Iſlanders, and hard it was to driue them out of a place ſo ſtrong by nature. The inhabitants thereof deuiſed this pollicie: In the Iſle were many wild bulls running and feeding here and there, of the which, by force of dogs, of darts, and of torches they droue a great many into the narrow places where the Spaniards were incamped: the buls being wood with ſuch a driuing, ran violently and headlong vpon the whole garriſon, trampled to death one part of them, and forced the reſt to diſlodge, of whom the Iſlanders had an eaſie hand, cutting welnere all their throats.

Lipſius hath made a great collection hereof, in the 50 Letter of the firſt booke.

In the 2 booke of the Hieroglyph.

But let vs come againe to the elephant; and ſeeing we are entred into talke of this beaſt, which ſeemeth to be endued with iudgement and reaſon like to man, in ſo much as no other creature goeth before him in this regard (without touching that which the ancient and moderne writers report at large of the docilitie, faithfulneſſe, diligence, greatneſſe of courage, clemencie of theſe beaſts, yea and of their deuotion and religion, if I may ſo ſay, and of other their affections almoſt like to mens) I haue thought good for the preſent to ſtand vpon ſome memorable particularities knowne in our time, and will begin with the diſcourſe that *Pierius* maketh of an elephant called *Hanno*, which *Emanuel* king of Portugal preſented to Pope *Leo* the tenth. The king hauing determined to ſend him to the Pope, and the ſhip wherein he was to be carried, being readie to depart, they could not get *Hanno* for ſome daies to ſuffer himſelfe to be lead to the ſea-ſide, much leſſe to goe a ſhip-board; ſo greatly he ſeemed to miſdoubt that voiage. The king diſpleaſed at the delay, promiſeth a great reward to any man that could win *Hanno* to ſhip himſelfe, or that would vndertake to carrie him aboord. None offred to doe it: but at laſt the king was ſecretly enformed, That all this was done by the cunning of *Hannos* gouernor, who being in loue with a certaine wench, had no great deſire to leaue Portugall and to make a long voiage to Rome, and that therefore he had counſelled his ſcholler *Hanno* not to ſuffer himſelfe to be carried away, making him beleeue that he ſhould be tranſported into wild and terrible deſerts in the enemies countrey, where he ſhould be mocked and outraged of all, ill fed, badly lodged, badly tended; in a word, where he ſhould be deſtitute of all neceſſarie prouiſions; beſides, that the way was long, dangerous, and all by ſea, in ſo much as it were better for him to be preſently kil'd vpon the land where at that time he was, than by ſo many waies both painefull and perillous, to vndergoe a condition altogither moſt miſerable. The king informed of this wile, commandeth the maſter to be brought before him, who hauing diſcouered this his pollicie, was there enioyned by the king to prouide, That the elephant might be imbarked within three daies after; and that, if the ſame were not done by then, the maſter ſhould be ſurely hanged for an example to all thoſe that ſhould dally with their princes commandements. The maſter ſeeing the rope twiſted, and his head halfe in the nooſe,

nooſe, turneth ouer the leafe, and beginneth to teach his ſcholler a new leſſon, telling him, *That ſome enemies had gon about to deceiue him for enuie they bare to their felicitie, and to mooue rebellion againſt the king; that the matter was nothing ſo as they had ſaid; for they ſhould not go into any deſerts, but to the ladie-citie of all the world, ſeated in a place the pleaſanteſt that poſsibly could be, where was abundance of victuals, and of all delicates that one could wiſh; that there was a prince whom all the world worſhipped, with whom* Hanno *ſhould haue all the beſt ſport and pleaſure he could deſire: and therefore that he ſhould be merrie, and make himſelfe readie to goe cheerefully with his maſter a ſhip-boord, and ſhould aſſure himſelfe of a good and a pleaſant voiage. Hanno* changing aduice vpon his maſters new inſtruction, when the ſignall was giuen, went willingly towards the ſhip, ſhewing himſelfe all the way verie obedient and tractable.

I remember that at an Imperiall diet holden at Spire, my ſelfe and certaine friends ſaw an elephant which the good Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond had cauſed to be brought thither. This beaſt is rare in Germanie, albeit once the king of Perſia (among other exquiſit preſents wherewith his countrey abounded then) had ſent to *Charlemaigne* an elephant, named *Abulabaz*, as the hiſtories of Bauieres and of France witneſſe. We vnderſtood by the gouernor of *Maximilians* elephant many things of marueilous nature and docilitie. One of the companie at the ſame time mooued this queſtion, Whither the teeth wherwith the elephant is armed, and which come foorth of both ſides his throat, may be called Hornes, or no? many held for a thing reſolued that they ought to be called teeth, and not otherwiſe: whereupon ſome buſineſſe hapning betweene, the queſtion remained as then vndecided. But afterwards thinking more exactly thereupon, I found a place in *Plinie*, where it is ſaid, That king *Pyrrhus* being the firſt that brought elephants into Italy, which were ſeene in the countrey called Lucania, they were called Lucanian oxen: whereby it appeareth that they were taken for horned, ſeeing they were ſurnamed oxen. I haue alſo read in *Pierius*, that he attributeth to the elephant hornes, and that greater and fairer than any other beaſt hath. Which he prooueth by *Pauſanius*, who maketh the elephant horned, aſwell after the example of other beaſts, that haue their hornes growing either ouer their eies, or ouer their noſtrills: as alſo, becauſe the elephants hornes in certaine ſpaces of yeares, doe fall off, and others come in their place: Againe, becauſe theſe hornes grow ſoft with the fire, which the teeth doe not. And beſides, for that the roote of the ſame hornes is in the elephants skull. But we will leaue the ſearching out of theſe things to naturall Philoſophers, and preſent heere ſome ſtories.

Auentin. lib. 4.

Guagin. lib. 4. cap. 1.

Lib. 8.

In the 2 booke of the Hieroglyph.

The lord of Busbeck Ambaſſadour from the Imperiall maieſtie of the Turke writeth, That he ſaw a yong elephant exceeding pleaſant and frollike, who danced, and plaied at tennis. *I thinke* (ſaith he, writing to a friend of his) *you will ſcarce hold laughing, when you heare of a thing ſo ſtrange; and yet I thinke not, when you remember that elephant which* Terence *ſaith walked vpon a rope; and the other in* Plinie *that was learned in Greeke: yet heare how it is, that you ſay not I tell you old wiues fables. When he was bid to dance, he would ſo ſtir his feet keeping a round compaſſe, and mooue all his bodie with ſuch a grace, as yee would haue taken him for a dauncer of galliards. For tennis-play, he was ſo cunning at it, that he would nimbly with his trunke gather vp the ball that was throwne at him, and then would caſt it a great way, as we vſe to doe in that game.* We find in Authours three ſorts of elephants, namely, of mariſhes, of mountaines, and of fields. They that are borne and bred in mariſhes, haue more agilitie, and leſſe wit. The mountaniers are wicked and traitrous. They

In his voiage of Conſtantinople.

of the champaine countrey are easilieſt tamed, and apt to learne. The elephants of the Indies are the fierceſt of all other, ſo that it is a very hard matter to make them tame. They of Libya are the leaſt, which cannot abide the ſmell nor voice of man, and flie away before the elephants of India, as the euent ſhewed in that memorable battell that was fought betweene the kings *Ptolomeus* and *Antiochus*, neere to Raphia, deſcribed by *Polybius*: and which ſome thinke was foretold long before by the Prophet *Daniell*.

Lib. 5. Dan. chap. 11.

To grow to an end, we muſt not forget that the elephant, a beaſt ſo ſtrong and noble minded (in ſo much, as, beſides that he is the biggeſt and mightieſt of all earthly creatures; he is noted to be of ſuch vnderſtanding, ſo docile, and ſo conſiderat aboue all other beaſts, that he ſeemeth ſomewhat to participate with the reaſon of man) when he ſeeth two of the leaſt and vileſt creatures that be, to wit, a mouſe, and an emmot, he doth looſe by a certaine ſecret antipathie, not onely all his boldneſſe and force, but being taken with feare and fright, doth tremble and ſhake in euerie part of his bodie. A worthie leſſon to teach vs, what a vaine thing all the loftie and great ſhew of this world is: and how vpon the leaſt occaſion all force and greatneſſe vaniſheth to nothing. Beſides, nature hath oppoſed to the elephant, another enemy, fierce, mightie, and mortall, and that is the Rhinocerot: *This beaſt* (ſaith *Paulus Iouius*) *is of a lower pitch than the Elephant, but almoſt as long, comming neere the ſhape of a Buffe: for he hath his hoofes clouen, the skin of his back yellow, and ſo hard that a man cannot pierce it, ſo that it ſeemeth an armour made of ſcales: moreouer, he is armed with a verie hard and ſharpe horne of a foot long vpon the ſnout, with the which he is wont to ſtrike the Elephant into the belly, and to pierce him thorow, if he can auoide that the Elephant wring not his necke and ſtrangle him with his trunke. For they neuer encounter but the one of them is left dead vpon the place.* This maruellous antipathie appeared, when *Emanuell* the king of Portugall determined to ſend a Rhinocerot to Rome. The ſhip wherein this beaſt was carried, ſuffred ſhipwrack, and yet the Rhinocerot, faſt chained as he was, had ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming if he had had but a little part of the ſea to croſſe ouer: but in the end he was caſt vpon rocks neer the coaſt of Genes, and ſo periſhed. *Paulus Iouius* reporteth, That when they brought this Rhinocerot aliue out of the Indies, and had vnſhipt him vpon the key at Lisbon, the Elephant that was in the pallace diſcouering him by the ſent, was ſo afraid of him, that being not able to tarrie in the place, he brake with his ſhoulders the yron grates of his priſon, & being looſe, began to run ſo faſt and ſo far as he could from the Rhinocerot, caſting out ſtrange cries, roaring, foaming, and ouerturning all that he found before him. Let vs adde this one word more, That nature hath prouided thus for the Elephant, that when he is moſt mooued, and (as it were) ſtarke mad, hee ſtandeth ſtill, and is quiet, if one but ſhew him a ſheepe.

In the Elogie of Triſtram de Cugne a Portugais.

CHAP. VI.

Sea-water doth rather make fire burne faſter, than quench it. Certaine worthie particularities of Ships. Alſo of the names of the Citie of Rome, the true name whereof is vnknowne. And of the ſtrange ſuperſtition of the Pagans.

IN the yeare 1574, as I was at Ieina a citie of Saxonie, and at dinner with the moſt famous prince *Fredericke William*, who was then very yoong, I chanced to diſcourſe vnto him of the burning of the greateſt part of the Dukes pallace at Venice, which had hapned a little before. Thereupon his Highneſſe asked me, how the fire could make ſuch hauock, ſeeing there was no want

of

of water in such a citie as Venice is, built in the Adriaticke sea. I answered, that it had been often tried, That Sea-water hath not so much vertue to quench fire as fresh water hath: because of the saltnesse which fortifieth the heat, and increaseth the burning. By meanes whereof, both in former times, and in these dayes it was often seene, that whole fleets were consumed with fire in the maine sea. His Highnesse wondering at my answer, Doctor *Schroter*, one very skilfull in his profession of Phisicke, and of all naturall things, alleaged many good reasons, and discoursed learnedly of the properties of the Sea. *Dauid Vtenhoue*, a learned and well experienced gentleman, was of our opinion, and therewith added his owne also to very good purpose. These speeches gaue me occasion to consider more deeply therupon, when I was returned to my lodging. I called to remembrance what I had read in *Macrobius*, touching the fat of the sea-water, and that the same cast into the fire, in stead of quenching, inflameth it: and in *Procopius*, as also in *Sabellicus*, That water cast vpon Bitume and Brimstone, doth make them burne the faster. Whereupon *Sabellicus* writeth, That in the time of Duke *Mocenigo*, Venice receiued so much hurt by fire, as euer it had at any time before: for the fire hauing flowne from the Dukes pallace (as it were in an instant) and lighted vpon the guilded chappell of Saint *Marke* neere to the pallace, the fire increased with such furie, that all the lead wherewith the chappell was couered, melted, and there was nothing left but the bare wals. Hereupon I met with a place of *Dio*, where speaking of the battell by sea neere the Cape of Actium, he saith, *After the fight had continued a long while, and that it could not bee knowne who had the aduantage*, Augustus *not hauing resolued what to doe, commaunded some fire to bee brought from his campe being on the land, which hee would neuer vse till then, because he desired to saue the spoile for himselfe and for his souldiers; but seeing he could no otherwise carrie the victorie, hee had recourse to this, as to the last remedie. And then was there seene a new manner of fight: For the souldiers of* Augustus *enclosing* Marc Antonies *ships round about, flung into them fierie darts, burning torches, and store of pots full of fire and rozin.* Marc Antonies *souldiers defended themselues so well as possibly they could. When the fire had taken in some matter easie to burne, they in the ship quenched it with fresh water that they had left; which when it began to faile them, they drew vp sea water, and as long as they powred thereof in great quantitie, the fire went no further: But when they could not employ sufficient store euery where hauing not buckets ynow to draw with, and besides being not able (by reason of the amazement and the preasse) to fill those which they had, in stead of slaking the fire, they kindled it the more. For if one throw sea-water which is salt vpon fire in a small quantitie, it maketh the fire burne the faster.*

Lib. 7. *cap.* 14. *Lib.* 2. of the war of Persia, *Decad.* 2. *lib.* 9.

In the life of *Augustus.*

Paulus Iouius in his Histories reporteth, that in a sea-fight between the French and the English, two great English ships grapling with a French vessell of extraordinarie hugenesse, called the Cordiliere, after they had a long time battered one another with canon shot, and fought with fierie speares, and pots of wildfire; at the last (as it were in a moment) they were all three miserably consumed with fire: so that there were aboue two thousand men lost, either slaine, or drowned, and there were sunke in them almost two thousand pieces of ordnance great and small. *Hubert Velleius* hath set out this fight at large, and the losse of these vessels. The like hapned in our time, in that long war betweene the kings of Denmarke and Sweden, as I haue heard from a credible person who was in the same fight. All the fleet of Denmarke hauing inuested one ship of Sweden, the greatest vessell that euer was seene vpon that sea, called (if I be not deceiued) Magala, because of a great Giant that was once named so: this ship stored with valiant soldiers, and well furnished with ordnance and munition, defended her selfe courageously

Lib. 71.

In his Additions to the hist. of *Gaguin.*

ragiously a great while,and could neither be taken nor sunke. At last it hapned that some fire-workes being cast into her, they lighted in the roome where the powder lay, by which meanes this great vessell fell a fire, and was lost in the sea with all that was in her. The same partie affirmed,that this vessell was very like to a strong citadell: for she was so high built,and made of such exceeding pieces of timber,so well rig'd,stopt,and pitcht,that she was found cannon proofe: and as the Mariners said,if she had bin succoured, she might alwayes haue saued her selfe,but for this accident. *Ierom Osorius* describeth such another like vessell in his discourse of the sea-battell betweene the Portugals,and the Indians of Diu, seconded by the Mammelucks of Ægypt. *There remained* (saith he) *one ship whole, which was the tallest and best rigged among them all, clad round about with raw leather, to take away the commoditie of grasping it, and also to hinder the effects of all fire,either naturall or artificiall that might be hurled against her. She was full of well armed souldiers,and the best tried and resoluteſt of all the armie. She had her hatches and her sides so strong and so thick,that the cannon could hardly enter into them. After that the Portugall ships had plaied vpon and beaten her a good while,and with great furie,she began to take in water, so that they which had defended her, forsooke her, leaping into the sea to saue themselues by swimming: but they were followed by foists,and the most of them kild among the waues: the number of those that escaped being very small.* In another place he maketh mention of a ship of Iaua Maior,so tall, as her hind-castle was a great deale higher than the top-mast of the best ship in all Portugall. The Portugals were determined to batter her a farre off, wherein they did little good; for she was so strong and of such thicknesse, that the cannon bullets tooke no more hold of her, than if she had beene lin'd with flint.

*Lib.6.sect.*10. of the historie of Portugall.

Towards the end of the 8. booke *sect.*23.

We might place in the number of these ships, the great and wonderfull Carracke or Gallion of Venice, builded by the commandement of the Seigniorie with great cost,to bridle the courses of Pirats and Sea-rouers. She lying at anchor neere the citie,one euening there arose a marueilous whirling and violent wind that ouerturned and sunke her to the bottome, being ill builded (as it was said) by him that was her Wright,and it was not possible afterwards to hoise her vp either by force or cunning. The Seigniorie lost in her a huge number of cannons, and great store of munitions and prouisions,saith *Peter Iustinian*, who addeth a discourse of the rare engine that was made with great charges to draw vp this Carracke. For thus he writeth; *After that*,Bartholomew du Campe *a workeman of great cunning builded a Sea-engine full of rare inuention,to hoise vp the Gallion that a yeare before was sunke by a storme in the maine sea. The bodie was made of planks,a foot and a halfe, and two foot thicke,with a great many pumpes and deuices to draw & draine out water. It contained fiftie cubits in length,thirtie in height, and fifteene in bredth; the boards being naild and pind one neere another, which made the engine wonderfull strong. It was besides furnished with ropes and cables much greater than the ordinarie ones, with hookes, crampyrons, grapples,and strong anchors to hold the gallion diuers wayes,when he should bee raised from the bottome. The engine was towed by sea to the sides of the gallion. But all this cost was cast away: yet the excellent compacting and worke of this engine,shall preserue the memorie of the deuiser of it in honour, who had no want of happie inuention; but it pleased not God that such an enterprise should haue fulnesse of successe.* Thus saith *Iustinian*. To conclude, we may not forget that which *Lilius Gyraldus* writeth after *Theophrastus*,That wood rubbed with glew,burneth not. And that the woodden tower built at the hauen of Pyreus in Athens,being assaulted by *Sylla*,could not be hurt with fire, because *Archelaus* lieutenant to *Mithridates*, had plaistered it ouer with allume very thicke. The Ancients haue likewise thought the Larix,a tree of the

*Lib.*14. of the hist.of Venice.

kind

kind of a Pine, or Firre (which some call the Pitch tree) resisteth fire, and is not much hurt by it: yea and some among them are of opinion, that in a scar-fire, there should some boords of it bee cast into the fire to quench it. But in these dayes it hath been tried, that it will burne, yet after it hath a good while resisted the fire; for it maketh neither flame nor coale, and it lasteth a long while before it be consumed, because it hath little temperature of fire and aire. *Cæsar* tried this secret with much astonishment in the citie of Larignum (so named for the abundance of these Larix trees that grow there) when a tower (about which the fire burnt on euery side) remained standing, without receiuing any harme at all.

Now we proceed to the second part of our Meditation, concerning the names of the citie of Rome. It is a thing easie to be proued by receiued Historians, that the common sort doth not know at this day the true and proper name of the citie of Rome, and that it is not lawfull to pronounce or name it, though this citie hath been so much renowmed ouer all the world. For the ancient Romans haue been of opinion, that the euerlasting preseruation of their citie consisted in the suppression of her name, no lesse than in the secret keeping of the Palladium, and of the bucklers that fell from heauen, called Ancilia. This coniecture is verified because we haue not any *Synonima* or word answering in signification to that of Rome. And albeit I know, that *Annius* the Commenter vpon *Berosus* thought that the name of the citie of Rome was Romanessus, and that he gathered out of *Fabius Pictor* and *Varro* (as *Ortelius* saith in his Geographicall *Synonima*) that the same citie was distinguished into foure parts, euery part whereof had his name, to wit, Rome, Velia, Germal, and Forum; and that *Festus* saith, that the same was called at first Valencia, and Cephale: yet it is most certain, that the Romans (moued with a particular superstition) would haue the true name of their citie to remaine hid. Which *Plinie* sheweth in these words, where speaking of Rome hee saith, *Cuius nomen alterum dicere arcanis ceremoniarum nefas habetur*, The secret ceremonies forbid to tell the other (that is, the true and proper) name therof. And it is well knowne, that *Valerius Soranus* was put to death, because he had been so malepert as to publish this secret name; as *Pierius* mentioneth after *Varro* and *Solinus* in his Hieroglyphicks, where he thinketh that the Romans had the Image of the goddesse *Angerona* (which word the learned deriue from the greek *anchein*, which signifieth to represse) with a mouth shut and hid, to shew that it was a thing which ought not to be enquired after, vnder what gods the citie of Rome was protected, nor what her proper name was, for feare least the gods that were her patrons and guardians, should be called forth and caried away to some other place by charmes, coniurations, and secret ceremonies. Yet *Mussurius Sabinus* saith, That the Image of the goddesse *Angerona* had a muffler ouer her mouth, and was set vpon the altar of another goddesse called *Volupia*, to signifie, that they who suffer their troubles and sorrowes, doe come by the benefit of patience to an assured pleasure and ioy. *Erithræus* in his Index vpon *Virgil* (who is also alleaged by *Ortelius*) saith, That Rome had three names; one (saith he) is that common name that we ordinarily call her by: the other is secret; and *Virgill* in his first Eclogue hath touched it vnder the name of *Amarillis*, or of his Mistresse: the third was due and referred to the sacrifices, and it was giuen to the Florall pastimes. *Philelphus*, from whom we take these things, expresseth it in Greeke *Anthusa*, which is as much to say as Flora, or Flourishing, or Florence.

Lib. 36.

In fragment.

The cause why the Romans haue so carefully suppressed the ancient and proper name of their citie was (as I take it, and as hath beene said before) for feare least, by some ceremonies, according to the opinion wherewith their vnderstandings

ſtandings were led, their patron-gods, the guardians and keepers of the citie, might be called and tolled out of the ſame. For, the ancient Pagans (as *Macrobius* diſcourſeth at large) were of this opinion, That when they beſieged any citie, they would learne of the Sacrificers (if they could) to what Genius and to what Dæmons the ſame citie was recommended: If they could get to the knowledge thereof, they attempted thoſe Dæmons by ſacrifices; which being done, they promiſed to re-eſtabliſh the citie in her former eſtate and dignitie, if the Dæmons would depart out of it for a while. Therefore *Galeot Martius* diſcourſeth thus: The Genius hath a continuall care of that thing whereof he is protector. Which cannot be, except he know the proper name of the ſame, be it citie, prouince, or any thing elſe; for the ſpirits that are tied to her proper name, are neuer drawne away from thence, except they plainely vnderſtand the name. Now, that the enemies might not doe that againſt Rome, the proper name thereof hath beene alwaies moſt carefully concealed, ſo that no perſon durſt euer publiſh it, but preſent puniſhment followed thereupon. For, if the ſpirits that are the patrons of that great citie heard theſe names, Rome, Valence, Citie (which are not proper names, but appellatiues) they neuer ſtir'd, ſo that no man could euer call them out. Thus far *Galeot*. Now, as the Caball of the magicians implieth, That the ſpirits neuer ſtir, but when they heare the true and proper name of things: ſo haue they giuen certaine proper names to euerie one of thoſe ſpirits, by which they may be called foorth; and haue aſſigned ſome to gouerne this thing, others, that. The Pagans haue beene confirmed in this ſuperſtitious opinion by many examples, when they ſaw that the patron-gods abandoned the cities, and retired to the enemies thereof. *Lampridius* writeth in the life of *Commodus* the Emperour, That in the market place at Rome were ſeene the treadings of the gods, as if they had beene gone out of the citie. And *Plutarch* ſaith in his Problemes, That the Tyrians tied their gods with chaines, not that they thought that the Diuine Iuſtice goes ſlowly after the wicked to be reuenged on them; but they had another conſideration at that time, *Alexander* hauing then beſieged them. For, many Tyrians both bare themſelues in hand and others too, that *Apollo* had appeared vnto them in dreames, ſaying, That the manners of the citie diſpleaſed him ſo ſore that he would get him away to *Alexander*. Whereupon, they ſhackled the image of this god with ſtrong chaines (as they would haue kept a man faſt that meant to run away to the enemie) and tied it to his baſe with good great nailes, calling it *Alexandriſta*. *Quintus Curtius* maketh mention thereof after *Diodorus Siculus*, and addeth, That the Tyrians tied to *Hercules* his altar (their patron) a chaine, with the which they meant to ſtay *Apollo*. *Pauſanius* alſo reporteth, That in in his time there was a verie old image of *Mars* in the citie of Sparta tied by the feet: the citiſens perſuading themſelues that with ſuch bonds they ſtaied and held this warlike god, as the perpetuall guardian of their citie and common-wealth, ſo that he ſhould neuer leaue them. See how far the ſuperſtitious dreames and dottages of the Gentiles went, when they thought that by their fooleries they could ſtop the Deitie, as one would ſtay a ſlaue. The Spartans would ſhew an image of *Venus*, ſurnamed *Morpho*, chained by the feet; for which diuers reaſons are giuen. Among them alſo was the image of *Diana* worſhipped, which *Oreſtes* and *Iphigena* brought thither when they fled from *Tauris*, and that image was bound all about with oziers. Among the Caphiats a people of Arcadia, was ſeene the temple and image of *Diana* the ſtrangled: There alſo was ſhewed another *Minerua*, that had her thigh ſwadled; they making

Lib. 3. Saturnal. cap. 9.

In his Treatiſe of mingled doctrine, *cap. 1.*

Plutarch in the life of *Alex.*

Lib. 4.

In his Laconic.

making the world beleeue that the goddesse had beene hurt by *Teuthis*, collonell of the Arcadians, when she offred to withstand him, and to compell him to follow the partie of the Greekes, whom he had left by reason of a quarrell that fell betweene him and *Agamemnon*. The Arcadians worshipped this *Teuthis*, and had him in hie estimation, for that he had so roughly handled the *Minerua* of the Caphiats. *Apollodorus* writeth, That among a certaine kind of people *Saturn* was bound for the space of a yeare with certaine swadling-bonds of wooll, and that he was not vnbound but onely the euen before his feast, which fell in December: and that from thence the old prouerbe came, That the gods had feet of wooll. *Plato* writeth, That the images of *Dedalus* would haue run away, if they had not beene tied; but when they were kept tied, they neuer offred to stir. To mingle moderne stories with ancient, the same superstition possessed the West Indians discouered within these hundred yeares by the Spaniards. There was among them a Cacick called *Gamaret*, who had a Cemi or Idoll of cotton called *Corocot*, which vsed to come downe from the top of the house where he was tied, and walke in the likenesse of a Satire among the women of the citie belonging to that Cacick, and of the places thereabouts, with whom he would play in priuat, and feast, and haue carnall copulation. If the women prooued with child after such dealing, and were brought abed, their children were set foorth with a double crowne, or with some other marke of honour, euerie one thinking for certaine that they were begotten by *Corocot*. Sometimes this wicked spirit would hide himselfe away, making as if he were angrie, if the Cacick had forgotten to giue him his ordinarie worshippings seruices and ceremonies, the least point that might be. Historians write, That another Cacick had a Cemi of wood with foure feet called *Epilguanita*, who would euerie foot, vpon the least displeasure that was offred him, goe and hide himselfe in the forrests: So soone as the Cacick had any wind of it, he would send a number of people to seeke him of euerie side, who hauing found him, endeuored to appease him againe, and then would bring him home vpon their shoulders with great honour and reuerence. Thus we see how Satan plaid his parts among these poore people, vntill the Christians being arriued in those parts, he and all the other Cemies fled away, and were neuer found againe: which made the countrey-people say, That such a going away of the Cemies presaged a changing of the state, and the rule-bearing of a strange nation, as *P. Marty Milanois* reporteth.

In his Dialog. entit. *Menon.*

In the additions vpon the first booke of *Benzo, cap.* 26.

In his first Decad. *lib.* 9.

To end this Meditation; the charme which the ancient Pagans vsed to call out the gods from any citie when they besieged it, was this, as it is to be read in *Macrobius* (who hath taken it out of the fragments of *Sammonicus Serenus*, who had written a booke of hidden secrets:) *If it be a god, if it be a goddesse, that hath the people and citie of Carthage in his protection, and thou especially whosoeuer that art the patron of this citie and of this people, I humbly pray, beseech, and require you to abandon the people, citie, streets, temples, holy places, houses, and enclosures of Carthage, to come foorth from thence, to strike into the heart of that people feare, terror, and astonishment, and hauing left it, to come to Rome to me and mine: to haue the places, temples, ceremonies, and the citie agreeable and in good liking: to be pleased to be the heads of me, of the people of Rome, and of my souldiers, so as we may know and vnderstand it. If you so doe, I promise to build temples to you, and to ordaine feasts and sollemne sports in honour of you.* But not to stand any longer vpon these superstitious fopperies of the ancients, there is some likelihood that they are deriued from a further time, lying hauing obscured the truth of the Sacred Histories, wherein we find that Angels haue beene

Lib. 3. *Saturnal. cap.* 8.

eſtabliſhed gouernors not onely of whole nations, and diſtinguiſhed the one from the other; but alſo that euerie perſon fearing God hath had for inuincible guards a number of good Angels, ſpirits appointed and ſeruing for the good of all thoſe men and women that ought to obtaine the inheritance of ſaluation. The Author of the booke of *Iudith* maketh *Achior* the Ammonit to tell *Holofernes*, generall of the armie of the king of the Aſſyrians, that he could not make himſelfe maſter of Bethulia, except the God of the inhabitants thereof being angrie with them, ſhould firſt forſake them. The people of Iſrael were drawne out of Ægypt, paſſed the Red-ſea, ouercame the Canaanits, and poſſeſſed their Countries vnder the conduct of the Angel. *Baalac* king of the Moabits, a prince of Idolatrie, endeuoured to call foorth and win to himſelfe the God of Iſraell, by purchaſing and buying with money the curſings and imprecations of *Balaam*.

CHAP. VII.

Of danger not foreſeene. And of the death of ſome princes. Alſo, The benefit a man may make of his enemie.

I Haue oftentimes, when I was yong, heard my deceaſed father ſay, who was a perſonage vnreproouable and excellent many waies (for me thinketh it vnreaſonable to defraud him, who, next to God, hath brought me into the world, of the teſtimonie that wiſe and learned men giue of him) That the famous prince *Albert*, marqueſſe of Brandenbourg, the ſonne of *Caſimir*, when he was yet verie yong, returning from hunting, went into a chamber new plaſtred with lime, and being there with ſome gentlemen that accompanied him, they being verie drie fell to drinking carowſes, and afterwards lay and ſlept in that chamber. But in the morning they found themſelues all ſo ſicke, that ſome curious and ſuſpicious heads gaue out they were poiſoned, for that two of the companie had died ſuddenly of that drinking. Doctor *Maggebouch*, a famous Phiſition at that time in Nuremberg, was ſent for to the prince, who being come, and hauing made diligent ſearch, found out preſently the cauſe of their ſickneſſe, and the danger of the chamber: and therefore after the application of neceſſarie remedies, and among other, of ſalt extracted out of wormwood, he made the prince be carried into wholſomer places. He ſaid, That the ſickneſſe which the prince had, was ſo violent, that all the nailes of his fingers fell off, and the ioynts of his hands were ſo looſe, that they bent and bowed euerie way that one would haue them. The prince was reſtored and ſet on his feet againe; but with great care and diligence. The danger was ſo much the greater, for that we find other great men could neuer diſcouer the danger and poiſon hid in theſe wals newly plaſtered with lime, aboue all when they eate and drinke their bellies full in ſuch chambers, and therein make a fire of charcoale: in ſo much as many without euer thinking on it, and others, without making any reckoning of it, paſſing the night in ſuch chambers, haue beene choaked with the poiſon-full vapour.

Lib. 25. of his hiſt. towards the end.

Ammian Marcellinus is a witneſſe hereof, who ſpeaking of the death of the Emperor *Iouinian*, ſucceſſor to *Iulian* the Apoſtata, ſaith thus: *Immediatly after, reſolute death ſoone ended the life of* Iouinian. *For being come to Dadaſtana that bordreth Bithynia and Galatia, he was found ſtifled in the night, diuers opinions being giuen out touching his death. It is ſaid, that being not able to endure the venomous vapour of his chamber wall*

new

new plastered with lime, and his head being surcharged with such a vapour, increased by a fire of char-coale, or rather being surcharged with abundance of meat at his supper, he gaue vp the ghost the three and thirtieth yeare of his age. *Scipio* surnamed *Æmilian* died by the like accident: and yet we find not that there was any examination made of the cause of such death in either of them. But *Velleius Paterculus* writeth, That *Scipio* was in the morning found stiffe dead in his bed, and that about his necke were seene certaine marks which shewed he had been strangled. *Plinie* seemeth to confirme this opinion, where he saith, That *Scipio* being found suddenly dead in his house, was taken vp and caried to be buried with his head couered, that none might see the prints of the murder that appeared in his face. *Q. Catulus*, when he would preuent by voluntarie death the cruelties of *Marius* and *Cinna*, as the same *Paterculus* maketh mention in these words: *Q. Catulus, much renowmed for many vertues and great honour atchieued with* Marius *in the warre of the Cimbrians, perceiuing he was sought after to be slaine, shut himselfe within a chamber new couered with lime, and caused fire to be brought into it, to draw on so much the faster the venemous vapor, which choked him, more to his owne content, than to the liking of his enemies.*

In his histories

Lib. 2. of famous men, *Cap.* 58.

Concerning the second part of our Meditation, *viz.* The benefit a man makes of his enemie; *Suidas* saith, That wise men learne much of their enemies: That to stand vpon guard, is to stand sure: That a friend teacheth no such lesson, but an enemie will beat it into one, will he nill he. It is strange, that enemies who doe seeke our life, should maintaine vs in life: for, by fearing them wee aduance our preseruation: In a word, they make vs to comprehend many things which warne vs to lie close and well couered. They are enemies and not friends, that haue taught vs to build cities with high wals, and strong rampiers, to rig and arme fleets, to gather riches and treasure. And albeit the detractions and sophistries of the enemie doe sometimes grieue and seeme insupportable to many: yet noble and generous minds haue euermore scorned reuilings, reproaches, and bitter taunts. Contrariwise, they that are troubled and too much mooued therewith, haue been ranked among vile and contemptible persons: which *Ælian* did well obserue, saying; That nipping ieasts, and iniurious words haue beene esteemed ieasts of straw: For if they hit against a strong mind, they spatter abroad and doe nothing; but they may doe something against a weake and ignorant spirit, casting it into strange griefes, yea euen to death. For proofe, *Socrates* being taunted in a play before the people, laught at it: *Poliager*, on the contrarie, transpierced with impatience for being mocked, hangd himselfe. Hence it is, that the lesse confidence a man hath in himselfe, the more easily doth he sustaine the outrages and wrongs that are done him: but (contrariwise) then is the proud man out of his wits for anger, can neuer be appeased, must reuenge himselfe all manner of waies, thinking that the contempt which is made of him can neuer be sufficiently punished. Therfore *Gomezius* hath said very well, That couragious men, such as haue sufficient testimonie of their prowesse & vertue, contemne the barkings of these little curres, leauing the pleasure of reuenging griefes by outragious words, to men of no esteeme and worth. And then he applieth this saying to the Cardinall *Ximenes* in his time Viceroy of Spaine, who was wont to set light by the libels that were made and cast abroad against him. Pope *Adrian* the sixth shewed a great leuitie, in that he would haue had the statues of *Pasquill* and *Marforius* at Rome to be thrown into the Tyber, vpon which men vse to set vp sharp and pleasant inuectiues both in Rime and Prose against the Pope, the Cardinals, and others: Whereupon the Spanish Embassadour said vnto him, That if those Images were cast into the riuer, the frogs would sing foorth such ridiculous and

Lib. 8.

Lib. 7. of the hist. of France.

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» hatefull rimes. This nip gaue such a full stop to *Adrian*, that he neuer spake of it
» afterwards. Thus far *Gomezius*. Some say, that the Pope being not well pleased with the Embassadors answer, replied with choller, That they must then burne that log of wood called *Pasquill*: and that a Cardinall answered, That the ashes thereof would flie not onely throughout all the streets of Rome, but to manie places abroad, whereat *Pasquils* clients and seruants would take occasion to magnifie by their Poesies the memoriall of their Patron: so that after such an execution nothing else would ensue, but that the ashes of it would flie ouer all the world; which happily, if he left that piece of wood standing, might not so come to passe.

The Emperour *Sigismund*, recommended for his vertues, especially for his gentlenesse, wherein he imitated *Alexander* the great, was wont to say, That it was proper for a prince to doe well, and to be blamed. One made a complaint to him, for that he had giuen life and goods to the enemies vanquished, yea, and had receiued them into the number of his friends; Hee answered him, Thou thinkest that it is a great masterdome to kill an enimie; but I kill mine enemie by sauing his life, and make him my friend by aduancing him to dignitie. *Plutarch* hath written a tract of this subiect inserted into his Morals, where the Reader may supply himselfe of that which he findeth short here.

CHAP. VIII.

Why there bee no Wolues in England. A strange discourse of the Wall or Rampier of the Picts.

In his historie of England.

SIr *Philip Sydney*, sonne to the Lord Deputie of Ireland, a most worthie knight, discended of the noble house of the Earles of Warwicke, and called by *William Camden*, *The great hope of men, the liuely picture of vertue, the delights of learned men, who is euery day bewailed for hauing bin taken out of this world very young*: (for fighting in a battell neere vnto Zutphen in Guelderland, he receiued a hurt; the which although it was not very great, yet because there was not such care had of it as was fit, he died thereof soone after the yeare 1586.) He being sent Embassador by the most excellent Queene of England, to the Emperors maiestie, as one day he talked priuatly with me & some others, he entertained vs with very memorable discourses. And as we fell vpon the speech, Whether it were true (as the Ancients say, and the Moderne beleeue) that England cannot indure wolues, either bred in the country, or brought thither out of other places; and whether the same proceed of some hidden propertie and naturall antipathie, as we see some other countries cannot endure rats, mise, serpents, or other venemous beastes: he deliuered vnto vs the true reason thereof in good and proper termes, the which, because it is not (for ought I know) spoken of any where else, I haue thought good to deliuer in this chapter. *It is a meere tale* (said *Sidney*) *that the reason why our kingdome of England hath no wolues, proceedeth of some naturall and knowne propertie: for in diuers places of the countrey there are of them to bee seene in parks of great lords, who send for them out of Ireland and other places, to make a shew of them as of some rare beast: but it is forbidden vpon grieuous penalties to let them escape out of their enclosure. And as touching that England hath been cleane rid of them a long time since, and is so still at this day, the wisdome of our kings hath effected that. For it is well knowne, that this rauenous and cruell beast was in times past as common in England, as in Germanie and other neighbour countries, and did much harme to sheepe, which*

England

England aboundeth with, and of the great flocks whereof there be great reuenues made euery yeare: as appeareth by the good and great store of clothes that are made of their wooll, and that are so much spoken of among all nations. Now albeit that England is had in estimation for her dogs, which are strong and of a noble kind, and which being armed with their collars according to their custome, are not afraid of a whole herd of wolues, but doe brauely set vpon them, and if they kill them not, yet doe they giue them the chase: Notwithstanding, for all that euer could be done, this trecherous beast hath sometimes done much hurt to flockes of sheepe, both by night and by day, as well in their stalles, as abroad. Therefore there was an Ordinance made by the king a great while since, that such persons as not of set purpose, but vnwittingly had committed an offence deseruing any grieuous punishment (saue the forfeiture of their liues) should be thus punished; namely, That they should stand banisht and discredited vntill they had brought the tongues and heads of some wolues by them slaine, in a greater or lesse number, according to the sentence of the Iudges. This amends was imposed vpon them, and this tribute they payed for their heads. Which law hauing lasted a long space of time, the wickednesse of men, and the number of guilties alwayes increasing, the fugitiues betooke themselues to seeke so narrowly for wolues and for their young, that in the end there were more hunters than wolues: whereby it came, that there was neither brake, bush, nor any couert but was void of such harmefull beasts: so as at length the race of them was vtterly extinguished. And for that England is of all sides enuironed with the sea, saue where it bordereth vpon Scotland, and it was very sharply forbidden to bring or to fetch wolues from any other countries, that might store England againe with the vermin of which it had beene deliuered: there was neuer any feare of them since, so as after that time the kingdome was rid of them, whereupon ensued the rest and safetie of the cattell. And so now flocks of sheepe and other beasts feed in quiet without sheepherd, both day and night, here and there, both vpon hils, and in plaine fields. For which cause, the penaltie also inuented for the destruction of wolues (for as much as there are no more of them to be found, either in the mountaines, or in forrests, or in dennes) hath been abolished. For in latter ages, the Banditoes hunting in vaine after that which cannot be found, are forced to abide all their life in exile, which to them is a kind of death. Touching Scotland, it cannot be denied but it hath some wolues: but because it ioyneth to England by a little necke of land which is hemd in of each side with a continual ebbing and flowing of the Ocean, and with some deepe riuers that discharge themselues into the sea, and that this little between-space of land being the bounder of the two kingdoms, is kept by mightie garrisons in certaine strong places, where be great store of dogs: it is not to be feared that the wolues will hazard to passe out of Scotland into England, and we haue no opinion of any such thing.

This discourse of *Sidneys*, accompanied with other memorable speeches touching Ireland, where his father gouerned; and of Saint *Patricks* Hole, much esteemed when time was (at this day little set by) was verie pleasing to the companie that sate at table with him, and no man would make any question thereof, especially when we saw it approued by *Hubert Languet*, a man of most exquisit iudgment, and exceeding wel trauelled in the knowledge of things, and in the affairs of the world. For my part I began a while after to consider of it more diligently, and viewed the Maps of England and of Scotland, and withall the Historiographers, especially *Camden* and *Buchanan*, who are had in more esteeme than the rest: and then I found that euery thing answered and agreed with *Sidneys* discourse. That Scotland is infested with wolues, we may gather by that which *Buchanan* reporteth, how *Herchard* the foure and fiftieth king, being at a hunting hurt by a wolfe, and a feuer striking to it, died soone after. That the Ocean sea shutteth in of each side the necke of land which serueth for a bounder between England and Scotland, appeareth, because the Emperor *Seuerus*, when he would

Lib. 5. of his historie of Scotland.

defend Brittaine (which is England) against the rodes of the enemies, caused a great trench to be digged in the firme land, & a good rampier to be cast vp fortified with a great number of towers, the length of twentie miles, from one part of the sea to the other. In like manner the Emperour *Adrian*, hauing caused a great ditch and a hie banke of earth to be made betweene the Tine and the Esck (riuers of the same frontiers) foure score miles long, guarded England against the courses of the enemies, as *Buchanan* prooueth at large in his historie of Scotland, by the testimonies of *Beda*, *Spartian*, and other Historians. For the rest, *Camden* seemeth to confirme that which we haue set downe out of *Sydneis* relation touching the destruction of wolues, in the description of Ordwic, or of the villages of Montgommeri, although he propound another meane than that aforesaid: *There be* (saith he) *many flocks of sheepe in these mountaines, where they feed without feare of wolues, which were destroied all ouer England when* Edgar *a West-Saxon impосed an yearely tribute of three hundred wolues vpon* Luduall *a lord of those countries.* The same Author saith, That the Isle of Ireland being neere England aboundeth with wolues, in so much as the Islanders honour them, and take them for god-fathers, which they call *Charichrist*, praying for them, and wishing them good luck: Whereby they beare themselues in hand, that these beasts will doe them no manner of harme. Therefore we ought not to thinke that incredible which *Aristotle* writeth, That in the Meotian Fens the wolues come to the fishermen, and breake their nets that are layd abroad to drie, if the fishermen doe not giue them part of the fishes they haue taken.

In his historie of England.

Vis. Saxon.

Lib 9. of the historie of Beasts. cap. 36.

Touching the strange Wall, or rampier of the Picts, which was long since with great industrie and wisdome built by the Romans, to strengthen England reduced into a prouince, against the rodes of the Barbarians; the same *Camden* maketh a verie good and large description thereof. Among other things he saith, That there are yet to be seene in many places some old ruins and markes of this wall, which at euerie miles end had a bulwarke or tower with square foundatitons, and watch-towers or sentinell-houses betweene, in which were souldiers lying in guard to repell the enemie: There were also resting-places for the Areans, which were men appointed by the Ancients (saith *Ammian Marcellinus*) to serue as foot-poasts, to run (as occurrents fell) betweene the captaines and commanders, and carrie them word of the least stirring that was. Moreouer, the inhabitants of the countrey say, that the builders had placed so ingeniously within the wall, a pipe of casten-mettall (made of pieces set togither) betweene the towers and the sentinell houses, that so soone as a man had set his mouth to this pipe, they would heare through all the sentinell the warning giuen from that place where the enemies were expected. *Xiphilin* after *Dio* reporteth the same wonder of the towers of Bizantium. *Camden* addeth a little after; *I omit the pleasant tales told by the common people touching this wall: but I will not conceale from the reader one thing which I haue heard of credible persons. It is beleeued yet at this day, by tradition deliuered from hand to hand, among the most part of the people dwelling round about, that the souldiers disposed in garrison for the guarding of this rampier, had planted in those places diuers medicinall herbes good for the healing of wounds: in so much as euerie yeare (about the beginning of sommer) the Empirick-surgions of Scotland come thither in troupes to gather the simples and rootes, the vertue of which they greatly extoll by the proofes they haue made of them, affirming and maintaining that they yeeld most certaine remedies.* Thus saith *Camden*. Touching these casten-pipes, we haue at this day the fashion of them (as I take it) in the duke of Mantuas palace, before Saint *Sebastians* gate, in a certaine vaulted chamber, where, by the helpe of such pipes, couered with

In the life of *Seuerus.*

with a picture of the giants warring against the gods, a man sitting in a corner of the chamber may talke with him that shalbe in the other corner ouer against him, and yet they that sit by them shall heare nothing of that they say, but may perceiue it easily by laying their care against the wall; which my companions and I had good sport at. So then, that which is written of the industrie of the Romans ought not to be accounted fabulous, albeit there be some censuring fellowes that reiect all that is said thereof.

CHAP. IX.

Great and sudden sorrow sometimes hindreth and keepeth backe teares.

IOsephus writeth, That *Ptolemeus Philadelphus* king of Ægypt, when he receiued the Bible written in letters of gold, wept exceedingly for ioy. Now although it fared so with him, as it doth with many other, who sometimes vpon ioyfull newes brought them, cannot hold from weeping: yet the sheading of teares is much more vsuall, when some great sorrow and heauinesse hapneth. The example of these two affections may be seene in the booke of *Ezra:* where we read, That after the temple began to be built againe, the Iewes wept, but their teares proceeded from a diuers cause. Some lamented, that the now building had no correspondencie with the beautie of the first temple: others (contrariwise) reioyced to see the house of God rising, which had lien on the ground so many yeares togither. We haue another example to this purpose in *Alexander* the great, vpon the safe comming home of *Nearchus* his Admirall, from a long and vnknowne voiage when he was little looked for: for the king fell a weeping at the prosperous returne of his friend, and of a number of old souldiers which he held for lost, and of the ships which they brought home with them. Such teares flowing from abundance of ioy, were shed by *Iohn Vayuode* of Valachia, when he came to meet and receiue the Cossakes, or Polonian souldiers that came to succour and helpe him: for, hauing spoken two or three words vnto them, the great ioy that tooke him being interfalcked with sighes, which serued for an out-let to a torrent of teares, made that he could speake no more, but taking their commanders by the hands, he made signe to all the rest that they should follow him vnto his pauilions. Now there is another kind of teares whose source and originall is called wrath and desire of reuenge: Such were the teares of *Mahomet* Sultan of the Turkes, when newes was brought him of the death of *Iohn Coruin*, the father of *Mathias* king of Hungarie; for they say that he suddenly cast downe his eyes to the ground, and beginning to weepe, said, That there was neuer prince since the beginning of the world that had such cause to weepe as he had, being depriued of all meanes to reuenge himselfe of the great shame which *Iohn* had wrought him, in winning so many battels from him.

There be certaine other teares which are fained to deceiue men, put foorth by cunning or false show: whence came the ancient prouerbe, The teares of Megara; because about that place there grew abundance of garlike. The Greekes applied this prouerbe to people that faigned to weepe, but laught in their heart. Of this number were the women called Præficæ, who had money giuen them to weepe and roare at the burials of the dead, whose praises they repeated, and incited the companie to weepe: a thing yet practised in some countries of the world. In that *Bodin* and others write, That it hath beene found true by expe-

Lib. 12. *Antiquit. cap.* 2.

Cap. 3. 12, 13.

Arrian. in the booke of the affaires of the Indies.

Leonard Gorecius.

Bonfin. lib. 8.

Suidas.

In his *Dæmonom. lib.* 4. *c.* 1.

rience, that witches neuer weepe; and that from thence there is gathered a ſtrong preſumption that they are witches; this is a ſtrange thing: They giue for reaſon, that a woman will ſigh and weepe vpon euerie occaſion, and oftentimes without occaſion. *Bodin* ſaith further, That *Paul Grilland* and *Sprangier* (Inquiſitors) doe write, that they could neuer draw ſo much as a teare out of any witch. But the opinion of theſe men is not approoued of all: for as much as (according to an ancient rule in the law) that thing, to which it hapneth to be abſent, prooueth not that it is preſent. Oftentimes the greatneſſe of the griefe reſtraines teares, yea dries them vp altogither as we haue alreadie prooued by examples. A man might bring other reaſons why witches keepe in their teares: namely, that dulneſſe, obſtinacie, wilfulneſſe, deſpite, ſtaies them back and hinders ſuch an effect. So we oftentimes ſee that ſome yoong children vnder thirteene yeeres of age (in whom otherwiſe weeping is a naturall and profitable thing) cannot be made to yeeld one teare, though they be whipt till the blood follow. But though ſadneſſe and ioy doe oftentimes ſend foorth abundance of teares, yet it falleth out likewiſe in the great and vnaccuſtomed paſſions of the ſoule, that teares reſtrained through amazement, appeare not: whereas in miſeries that are but meane, they cannot be ſtopped. Of this exceſſiue ſadneſſe without teares, we ſee the effect in *Phædra*, who plaines her ſelfe, ſaying, that

Seneca in the tragedie of Hippolytus.

Small griefes bewray themſelues with vehemencie,
But great are ſmoothred vp in ſecrecie.

For teares are as the blood of the ſpirit that is troubled and afflicted: in as much as the ſpirit ouerwhelmed with ſorrow, and carried ſo far as to the filme of the braine, and there finding moiſtneſſe, ſometimes it keepeth it in, and ſometimes it ſendeth it foorth. Therefore ſome haue thought this moiſtneſſe to haue been called of the Latiniſts *Lacryma*, as who would ſay *Lacerrima*, becauſe that of this laceration or tearing of the ſpirit,* teares are bred. *Seneca* thinketh that the blow of ſorrow ſtriketh and ſhaketh all the bodie, and conſequently the eies, out of which the humour may come foorth which is neere vnto them. Others (of which number is *Plutarch*) thinke that weeping is a kind of ſweating. Whatſoeuer it be, experience witneſſeth, That as well ioy as griefe doth oftentimes make perſons weepe.

* By like reaſon we may etimologiſe our word teares, from tearing. In his 101 Letter to *Lucilius*.

Moreouer there be other paſſions, compounded both of griefe and gladneſſe, that do make vs weepe: as, extreame diſpite and vehement anger in a perſon that ſeeth himſelfe deſpiſed, and who therewithall mingleth ſome pleaſure in his practiſing of reuenge as if it were alreadie executed. Compaſſion alſo procureth teares, when we are mooued and troubled with others miſeries, and deſire to relieue the afflicted. A violent deſire, and a vehement indignation doth alſo wring teares out of the eies: Whence it commeth, that ſome ſeeing the horrible miſdemeanors of the wicked, doe weepe rather than laugh; that befell our Sauiour Chriſt, who (as we read) wept ſometimes, but that he euer laughed, it appeareth not. Now we will not ſay that our affections ought in any ſort to be compared with his; for all motions in him were iuſt and perfect, and neuer exceeded a whit the limits of Gods will: there was not any defect in them, and yet he was ſubiect to ſuch things, for our ſakes. But our affections are impure, flowing from infirmitie; thoſe of our Sauiour proceeded from power, ſaith Saint *Auguſtin*. He was able to enlarge his when and as much as he pleaſed: ours riſe vp in deſpite of vs, and we cannot bridle them: therefore are they groſſe and vnſetled, but our Sauiours were cleane and pure. We reade that our Sauiour Chriſt wept three times: Firſt, when he came neere to *Lazarus* his graue; Secondly,

Ioh. 11. 35.

Secondly, when he beheld the citie of Ieruſalem, ſome few daies before his death; Thirdly, a little before he gaue vp the ghoſt vpon the croſſe. The holy Euangeliſts make mention in diuers places of his ſighings and gronings, which (queſtionleſſe) proceeded out of his vnmeaſurable loue towards vs, and out of the griefs he tooke for the hardning of ſinners. There be many cauſes thereof ſet downe in the writings of Diuines. He groaned and ſighed: Firſt, becauſe of ſinne, the root of all euils in the world: Secondly, becauſe of the tirrannie of the deuill, the ſworne enemie of mankind, againſt which he was to fight: Thirdly, becauſe of the curſe of the Law, which he tooke vpon himſelfe; bearing that inſupportable burden, to diſcharge vs thereof, and ſo to acquit vs of the fault, and the euerlaſting puniſhment: Fourthly, becauſe of the moſt bitter death which he was to ſuffer for our ſaluation: Fifthly, becauſe of the horrible ingratitude of the moſt part of the world; for, he foreſaw that many would wilfully and wickedly reiect this benefit of redemption, and many would not care for it. *Luc.* 19. 41. *Hebr.* 5. 7. &c.

But leaue wee theſe cauſes of teares in our Sauiour, the meditation whereof might ſerue to draw teares in abundance from our eyes: and let vs proceed to ſhew, that albeit weeping much proceedeth from true reaſonable affections belonging properly to man; yet teares are attributed alſo by ſome Authors to the brute beaſts; witneſſe *Virgill*, ſpeaking of *Æthon*, *Pallarets* horſe, which wept at his maſters funerals, *Æneid. lib.* 9.

Poſt bellator Equus, poſitis inſignibus, Æthon
It lachrymans, guttiſq; humectat grandibus ora.

If it be obiected, that this is but a poeticall amplification and libertie, it is apparant, that the naturaliſts attribute teares to Stags, and to Crocodiles. But I will heare adioyne a freſh teſtimonie, and which may ſeeme receiuable. *Quinqueran* writeth, That he hauing purſued on horſeback a bird called a Byſtard more than a league, he ouertooke her at length pearched vpon a low ſhrub being not able to flie any longer, and holding her wings abroad: the bird then turning her head towards him, as it were, to beſeech him, he perceiued teares trickling in abundance from her eyes. But his hounds fell vpon her for all he could doe to ſtay them, and hurt her in many places, whereupon the teares followed on the faſter. The cauſe of thoſe teares cauſeth his diſcourſe. It is to be coniectured, that the bird feeling her euill, wept, as griefe drawes teares out of mens eyes. *Lib. laudum Prouinciæ.*

But not to digreſſe too far: teares are vſually more common in women, becauſe they are of a more tender nature. And in the opinion of *Pythagoras*, there are in womens eyes two ſorts of teares: the one ſort of griefe, the other of deceit: whereunto we may adde the third, which ſerues them for praiers: or, (as *Vlpian* the lawyer ſaith) Teares are womens weapons. Surely our nature (both of men and women) is ſuch, that teares ſeeme ſometimes to recreate and eaſe the afflicted mind, as an ancient Latin Poet witneſſeth, namely where he ſaith, *L. 1. §. hoc autẽ, circa med. F. de Lenatuſc. Syll.*

It is an eaſe for one to weepe,
And Teares that trickle downe the cheeke,
Are ſuch a ſoueraigne helpe for griefe,
As they thereto yeeld great reliefe.

The Poet *Menander* holdeth teares for vnprofitable, and yet confeſſeth that ſorrow beareth them, as a tree doth her fruit; His verſes are thus tranſlated,

To weepe ſo much doth little good:
But as a Tree her fruit beares,
So ſorrow bringeth foorth teares,
And will be drownd in ſuch a flood.

To

To returne to our purpose, namely, That griefe is sharpe, and woundeth the soule more when teares are held backe in some great affliction; we haue hereof a memorable example in *Psammenitus* king of Ægypt. He (as *Herodotus* writeth, albeit Expositors are of opinion it was *Amasis*) being put besides his kingdome by *Cambyses* the sonne of *Cyrus*, and held prisoner, seeing his daughter apparelled like a slaue, and sent among other damsels drest as she was, to draw water (to the end that the sight of them might the more torment their fathers that were prisoners) did no more but cast downe his eyes. A while after, *Cambyses* commanded that *Psammenitus* his sonne should be brought forth with many of the same age, hauing a wyth about his necke, and a bit in his mouth, to keepe him from speaking; *Psammenitus* for all this shed not one teare: But after this, espying one of his domesticks, who was brought to extreame pouertie, and seeing him beg his bread here and there, that sight did so mooue him, that he began to beat his head with his hands after the Ægyptian manner, and to weepe bitterly, calling the poore man his friend, & bewailing his miserable condition. The newes hereof comming to *Cambyses*, he sent to aske him, What he meant that in the affliction of his children he had said nothing; and that he had so taken on at the pouertie of an vnknowne old man? His answere was this, *Son of* Cyrus, *domesticall euils are so great, that there be no teares sufficient to bewaile them: but I could not chuse but haue compasion of a friend, who of most rich that he once was, is become thus poore now at his pits-brinke.* *Aristotle* alleageth this storie, where he propoundeth nine sorts of people that we vse to haue compassion of; of which number are our familiars, who yet are not so straitly ioyned to vs in friendship as some others are. It was a miserable thing to espie his friend begging: but to see his own sonne led to execution, that was such a grieuous spectacle as might easily drie vp all teares, & driue compassion far off; as *Anthonie Riccobon* learnedly sheweth vpon that chapter of *Aristotle*.

In the book of his historie.

In his *Rhetoric. Lib. 2. cap. 7.*

In his Paraphrase.

Timanthes the Painter meant as much in the picture he drew with such singular workmanship, setting out the sacrificing of *Iphigenia*: For he represented the Sooth-sayer *Calchas* sad, *Vlisses* more sad, and *Menelaus* so sorrowfull as could not possibly be more: and being not able with his penfill to set forth a greater sorrow, he couered the face of *Agamemnon* the virgins father, as if he had beene hid behind a curtaine, to the end the beholders might vnderstand that the fathers mourning was extreame. We see also, that in accidents not fore-thought, it is harder to forbeare weeping, than in those against which our thoughts are fortified and armed aforehand. We haue an example hereof in *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, who rauished all the world with wonder, for that, without shedding a teare, or shewing any sorrow, she rehearsed the deportments and death of her two sons (that had been put to death) as she would haue done a storie of some men in old time. *Homer* seemeth to haue taught the same, by a notable example which *Plutarch* alleageth; for *Vlysses* being returned home from a very long voiage, wept for the sudden death of his dog, and shewed no signe of being mooued at the teares of his wife that sate by his side: The reason is, for that as he drew homeward, he had figured out in his mind his wiues teares, and considered that such affection might be able also to shake him, therefore had he hardned himselfe betimes against it, that so he might master the same; wheras he found himselfe surprised suddenly with the death of his dogge, and was troubled thereat, not hauing time in so sudden an accident to bridle his passion. But for the rest, if wee will runne ouer with our eye, and behold more neerely all the course of mans life, from his cradle to his extreame age, what shall wee see there but a sea of teares both secret and manifest? so that our entrance, abiding,

Plin. li. 10. ca. 35

Plutarch in the life of *C. Gracchus.*

In his booke of the contentment of the mind.

and

and departure is nothing else but a continuall sighing represented by certaine greeke and latin verses, the sence whereof is this;

Weeping I came into the world, and weeping thence remooue,
Men, through the course of all their life nothing but weeping prooue.

Now, as the wise Ancients meant to teach thus much, when they faigned that *Prometheus* wrought the clay wherewith he made man, with teares: so likewise a certaine learned man hath shewed the truth of this fiction in a latin Epigram, which we haue expressed in our vulgar tongue, thus, be it better or worse:

In Teares we first are borne, in Teares our life we spend;
In Teares and sharpe assaults death strikes vs in the end.
Heere nought but Teares are found; but God aboue, one day
From all his childrens eyes all Teares shall wipe away.

CHAP. X.

The miraculous preseruation and deliuerance of Princes. Subiects for no cause how great soeuer, may take armes against their Prince.

THey will shew you at Rome vpon the top of the Temple of *Pantheon*, which *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* caused to bee built with great charge (a marueilous worke, and the soundest, as I take it, of all the ancient buildings that are standing) a place from whence a certaine Italian, mooued with desire of reuenge, or with a furious longing to make himselfe immortall, or transported with a secret malice, or some other passion, had resolued (they say) to throw downe headlong out of a window which is in the highest part thereof, the Emperour *Charles* the fift, who would one day ascend vp thither to see this building: But being amazed at the port and maiestie of the Emperour, he held himselfe from doing that mischieuous act, of which (before hee died) he made confession to his curate, discouering vnto him his wicked purpose; although I thinke, if hee had meant such a villanie, it was almost impossible for him to haue effected it in such sort as hee purposed: For, where there is any not onely feare, but likelihood of ambushes, none are or should be suffered to come neere so great a prince (especially in a place of daunger) but such as are knowne to be well affected to him. We read also, that *Gabrin Fondulo* lord of Cremona, confessed before his death, that hee had once resolued with himselfe, to throw downe head-long from the high tower of Cremona, the Emperour *Sigismund*, Pope *Iohn* the XXIII, and *Mocenigo* Embassador of Venice, who were gone vp thither to see the citie, and the country therabouts: but that his conscience being frighted, kept him from going forward in his enterprise. In the histories of Italie.

This diuine protection appeared also in *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, destined to ruin Ierusalem, and to subdue and punish the Iewes. *Iosephus* writeth, that before he had besieged the citie, as he went about to discouer, he fell into an ambuscado of the enemies. At which time, if euer, it was known that God disposeth of the moments of war, and of the liues of princes. For though *Titus* had neither helmet on his head, nor corslet on his backe (because he went not to fight, but to discouer) of an infinite number of arrowes that were shot at him, not one lighted on him, but all seemed to fall a good way from him; for such as past along by his sides, he beat them downe with his sword; and for those that fell at his horses feet, he made his horse trample on them. The Iewes seeing his resolution, gaue a shout, encouraging one another to sally out vpon him, to charge & recharge him which *Lib. 6. cap. 2. de Bello Iudæorum*

which way soeuer he turned him. *Bodin* speaking of a certain complot contriued against king *Francis* the first, writeth these words; *He that hath had in his thought to assault the life of his soueraigne prince, is adiudged guiltie of death, though he haue neuer so much repented it. And indeed there was a gentleman of Normandie, who confessing himselfe to a Frier, said, That he would haue killed king* Francis, *and repented himselfe of that wicked will. The Frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterwards acquainted the king therewith, who sent the gentleman to the Parliament of Paris, to proceed in triall against him; where he was by decree condemned to die, and after executed. It may not be said, That the Court did it for feare, seeing it hath oftentimes refused to verifie and confirme the kings Edicts and Letters patents, notwithstanding any messages or commandements from the king. And albeit there was one, a man senseless and vtterly furious (called* Caboche*) at Paris, who drew his sword vpon* Henrie *the second, without any violence or other effect offred; yet was he adiudged to die without all respect of his madnesse, though the law excuseth any murther or wickednesse done by a mad-man that is sore tormented with his euill.*

De Repub. lib. 2. cap. 5.

L. Illicit. de Offic. præsid.

To returne to our point of the preseruations of princes, let vs ascend back to ancient histories. *Suetonius* saith, That the Emperour *Augustus* escaped once the like danger: For he writeth that one of the chiefe men among the Gaules confessed to some of his friends that he had fully resolued to make as if he would haue parled with *Augustus* in his passage ouer the Alpes, & that at his comming within him he would haue throwne him downe; but that *Augustus* both when he spake & when he was silent, shewed such an amiableneſse both in his face and in his voice, that he relented, and was held back from executing of his purpose. *Valerius Mazimus* maketh mention of such or the like treason meant to *Augustus*, and maketh a bitter inuectiue against this manner of wilfull murthering. *Tiberius* the successor of *Augustus* was in the same danger, as the same *Suetonius* writeth: for it failed little that he had not beene kild by a Rutter (so was the German souldier called then, who for pay did seruice a horsbacke to strangers, and the Romans called such souldiers *Ruteri*; others read in *Suetonius Bruchteri*, others *Rhuteni*) who among other men had gotten neere his person. So *Alexander* the great had like to haue beene kild in the citie of Tauris by a souldier that had laid himselfe to his feet.

In the life of *Augustus.*

Lib. 9. cap. 11.

In the life of *Tiberius*, *cap. 19.*

Arrian. in the hist. of *Alex.*

The histories of the voiage of the Christians to the parts beyond-sea, for the winning of Ierusalem, and the Holy-land (as it is called) say, That some princes of France and of England were kild there, and others in great danger to be kild, by suborned murtherers: For there liued at that time in the East, a kind of men called Assassins or Beduins, dwelling vpon certaine woodie mountaines, vnder the subiection of a lord, that had no other name but the *Old*, or *Great* of the mountaine. This lord (by the skilfull making of a fooles paradise of carnall delights and pleasures wherewith he held his subiects bewitched) had gotten such a hand of them being verie many in number, that they made him a sollemne promise to kill all the princes that were aduersaries to their religion; and it was prooued that in that long beyond-sea-war the Christian princes were not so much annoied with any enemies, as with those. They slue traiterously the earle of Tripoli, and a while after, *Edward* the king of Englands sonne was suddenly set vpon by them, and sore wounded in his chamber. *Philip* sonne to the French king, vnderstanding of some snares these Assassins had laid for him, was forced to come home againe. And *Lewis*, surnamed the *Holy*, father to *Philip*, had the most adoe that could be, to saue himselfe out of the hands of these desperate cut-throats. Therefore the Italians and French haue euer since (for their sakes) called all those that wilfully attempt or execute any murther, Assassins.

sassins. The Circumcellions, of the faction of the Donatists, were carried with the same furie. For, vnder pretence of zeale to maintaine their sect and beleefe, they sallied foorth of their caues and holes where they liued sollitarily in the fields, and fell on a sudden vpon the Orthodoxans or other passengers, whom they cruelly massacred. At first they felled them downe with clubs, after they vsed swords and daggers, wherewith they thrust them thorow, and hewed them in pieces, without respect of sex, age, or dignitie: so that in Saint *Augustins* time the Orthodoxall and true Christian bishops were forced to complaine to the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius* against these murtherers. Whereupon commandement was giuen to the gouernors of Africa, to leuie sufficient forces to rid the countrey of such plagues. Here we may not forget the diuine protection and miraculous deliuerance of *Iames* the sixt late king of Scotland, and now king of great Brittaine, vpon the fift of August 1600. This prince giuing credit to the words and protestations of *Alexander* brother to the Earle *Gowrie*, fell into an ambush laid for him, by these two brothers and other their confederates, in a secret chamber: where being assaulted (vnarmed) by two that were set to murther him, he so defended himselfe for a while by his royall port and and by his forcible speech, as they had not the power to bind him, his maiestie telling them, That he was borne free, and in that estate would die; till some of his seruants by diuers waies brake in vpon this prince, and rescued him, after they had slaine some of the traitors, and dispersed the rest. The king freed from so great a danger, fell downe humbly vpon his knees to the ground, yeelding most heartie thankes to Almightie God who had so miraculously preserued him, and defeated his enemies, and euerie Tuesday acknowledgeth the same by thanks-giuing to God in publike praiers, and by deuout hearing of a sermon.

Experience witnesseth, That such murtherers and Assassins either hired to kill princes for money, or seduced by other meanes, when they are vpon the point of giuing the stroake, are so stricken themselues by their wicked conscience, that they haue neither heart, arme, nor leg to effect any thing. Contrariwise, they that remaine within the limits of their calling, and stand vpon the defence of their prince, find themselues (besides their ordinarie force) supplied with new courage and might proceeding from a good conscience, which fortifieth them, and from the goodnesse of the cause which they defend. This appeareth in the storie we last touched: For, *Andrew Hunderson* appointed to be the murtherer that should stab king *Iames*, seeing *Alexander* the earles brother holding the naked poyniard in his hand wherewith he threatned to kill the king, was attached with such horror and feare, that he seemed fitter to receiue the stroake than to giue it. I could adde to this many other examples of deliurances, as of *Henrie* the fourth, the late king of France and Nauarre; but especially of *Elizabeth* the late Queene of England, whom the hand of God did miraculously protect in many and great dangers and conspiracies raised against her both by forraine enemies and domesticall traitors; all which notwithstanding, like the good king *Dauid*, she died in a good age, full of daies, riches, and honour, and was laid with her fathers in peace. But becaufe such magnificall deliuerances, are knowne to all, I will no longer stand vpon them. *Isaac Causabon* a most learned man, hath a good obseruation touching this point: For speaking of those that had conspired against *Cæsar*, he saith that they all slew themselues with the same poyniards wherewith they had stabbed *Cæsar*. *Such a death* (saith he) *may all they haue who so wickedly and disloially enterprise vpon the liues of Princes.*

In his animaduersions vpon *Suetonius lib.* 1.

Let

Let vs now see what Diuinitie saith to this matter. *The most learned Diuines* (saith *Bodin*) *are of opinion, That so far is it off that it can be lawfull for subiects to kill their princes, vnder colour of tyrannie, that they are expresly forbidden to speake ill of them.* To which purpose a learned man said, That *Dauid* made no doubt but *Saul* was a tyrant, yet he abstained from killing him: for he saw he might not lawfully doe it, not he, who was by Gods commandement, and the ministerie of *Samuel* annointed to be king after him; And surely few tyrant-killers had euer good successe. But if any man be sure that he is commanded by God to kill a tyrant, as *Iehu* was, I say nothing of him; but surely, out of priuat counsell it is a thing meerely vnlawfull. Could there be a worse prince than *Nero?* yet the Apostles Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* are so far from aduising the Christians to conspire against him, as they command them to yeeld obedience to him, and that not for feare onely, but also for conscience sake. *Chrysostom* in an epistle to the Thessalonians, saith that *Theodosius* the Emperour destroied Thessalonica, and spared neither sex nor age: he tooke vpon him (saith he) so much as he lifted: so great an euill is high and absolute power. But yet howsoeuer, *parendum est, Obedience must be giuen.* The horse, to chase the stag, receiued the man to ride him; but when his enemie was chased away he could not shake off his rider. But how if the king be an idolater, and command his subiects to worship idolls? In this case the rule of the Apostles is to be followed, *We must rather obey God, than men.* Yet we must not take armes against him, but follow the examples of the holy Saints and Martyrs of God, rather suffer death than offer resistance: and whatsoeuer become of our bodies, possesse our soules in patience. But what if he be an Heretike, and maintaine heresie? yet we must not rise against him, but with the weapons of praier: we must pray God to conuert him, we must pray God to hold vs in his true seruice, religion and feare. The Christians followed the Emperour *Constantius* an Arrian, and likewise *Iulian* the Apostata in their wars and expeditions, though neuer so far. But my purpose is not to dispute, but to write of Historicall Meditations; and therefore let vs returne to our point, and shew by some other stories how miraculously princes haue beene preserued. The Emperour *Frederick Barberousse* was strangely freed from a great danger, set downe by *Albert Crantz*. His troupes being lodged neere a riuer, and his enemies on the other side; as he was walking alone with onely one seruant, thinking vpon some stratagem, a certaine fellow rusht out of an ambuscado, and fell vpon the Emperour, labouring with all his might to traile him into the riuer: which he had done but for his seruant, who with his sword drawne ran vpon the enemie, and rescued his master; the other throwing himselfe nimbly into the water, by swimming saued himselfe, and recouered his fellowes. The Emperour *Henrie* the third, escaped likewise a great danger, when he was trauelling toward Hungarie vpon the riuer Danubius, *Richilda* the widow of *Albert* Earle of Ebersberg entertaining and lodging him verie sumptuously: For euen as she was making her supplication to the Emperour, that Bosenbourg, and some other lands in the earles possession might be giuen to her Nephew *Welpho*, and the Emperour in token of yeelding reached her his hand, the chamber-floore suddenly brake vnder them. The Emperour fell into a bathing-vessell that was in the hot-house vnderneath the same roome, and had no harme. But *Bruno* the bishop of Virtzbourg (cosin to the Emperour, and after canonised,) *Alemanus* the bishop of Euersberg, and *Richilda*, lighting vpon the brinkes of the vessell were so sore hurt and brused that they died some few daies after, saith *Auentin*; who likewise writeth, That a little before there appeared to *Bruno* as he was aboord a barque

Lib. 2. *cap.* 5. *de Repub.*

P. Martyr. in 2. *Sam. cap.* 26.

Lib 7. of the hist. of Saxony.

Lib. 5. of the Annals of Bauieres.

barque with the Emperor, a certaine ghost like a Moore, vpon an high rock, who hauing called *Bruno*, vanished away. The same *Auentin* writeth, That the Emperor *Henrie* the fourth escaped a very great danger neere to Spira: For hauing bin (by the plotting of *Hanno* Archbishop of Colen) brought into a sumptuous boat, trimmed and prouided to carrie him away prisoner, and seeing some vnhappie turne was meant him, he cast himselfe into the Rhine, where he had been drowned but for his cousin *Ecbert*, who by his cunning set him a shore. The same Emperour was miraculously preserued from a terrible trap that was set for him at Rome, of which we will speake more at large hereafter.

See after, *Lib.5.cap.18.*

CHAP. XI.

Cicero was very eloquent, and very rich withall. The price of his head. His Tombe.

I Tooke great pleasure in seeing of a Couent within the the territorie of Rome, which the Italians call *La Grotta Ferrata*, appointed for a place of abiding for some Greeke Monks vtterly ignorant in the latin tongue, and in the Antiquities of the Romans, as I gathered by their speeches. For it is thought verily that there was *Ciceros* Tusculanum, who was born (as some write) in a little citie called Arpi, the yeare of the world, 3855. of his mother *Heluia*; his father being of the order of the Knights, issued from the blood royall of the *Volsci*: which Tusculanum was builded by him at his great charge, as *Salust* laieth in his dish in a certaine Oration. The places vnder ground, the ruins, and the inclosure, with the scituation very pleasant, are witnesses of the magnificence of the place. *Cicero* himselfe saith in a letter to *Atticus*, that the building of his Tusculanum, was valued at no lesse than fiue hundred sestercies, which according to the computation of *Budæus*, amount to twelue thousand and fiue hundred crownes. It appeareth also, that *Cicero* paid fiftie thousand crownes for the purchase of *Publius Crassus* his house, and that he was much discredited among the Romans, because of such vanitie, saith *Gellius*, whose words are these following. Cicero *desirous to buy a house in the pallace, and hauing not at that time money in his purse, borrowed in secret of* Pub. Sylla *(then bound ouer to answere a criminall matter) the summe of two hundred thousand francs. But before he bought it, all his practise was discouered, and he hit in the teeth, That to buy an house, he had receaued money of one accused.* Cicero *netled with this vnexpected reproch, denied the receiuing of the money, or that he would buy the house: And when I shall (saith he) buy the house, it shall bee true that I shall haue receiued the money. But afterwards hauing past further, and his enemies charging him in the Senat-house with his double dealing, he began to laugh, saying vnto them, Know you not that a wise and prouident husband will not be seene to buy that which he purposeth to buy, because of some competitors in the bargaine?* *Blondus* writeth, That hee had obserued out of *Ciceroes* Epistles, that he had eighteene Farmes, of which the principall were Tusculan, Formian, Arpinate, Ancan, and Pompeian. But *Budeus* denieth that hee had them in possession all at one time, and *Blondus* doth not affirme it. Howsoeuer it be, *Cicero* confesseth that he had in lands so much as was worth three hundred thousand crownes and more. It appeareth then (for all the opinion of *Salust* to the contrarie) that *Cicero* by the handling of causes, and by his reuenues was growne very rich; in a word, that his eloquence had been fruitfull vnto him, and that he had the golden tongue. Which may also bee gathered by this (to omit

Lib.9. of Rome triumphing.

In the 2. *Philippick.*

other aduantages) that is written of the notable bountie of *Pomponius Atticus* towards him: for hauing shewed himselfe a very faithfull friend of *Ciceros* in all his troubles, when hee fled out of Rome, he gaue him a present besides of six thousand two hundred and fiftie crownes.

But the more firme and sincere that the loue of *Atticus* was toward *Cicero*, the greater and more violent was the hatred that *Marc Antonie* his mortall enemie bare to him, and namely in this, that at the time of the proscription, *Ciceros* head was set at a higher rate by ten times, than the heads of all the rest: for *Appian* reporteth, that *Marc Antonie* gaue fiue and twentie thousand crownes to *Popilius Lenas* for the head of *Cicero*, the father of Roman Eloquence. Which mooued *Velleius Paterculus*, bewailing the vnworthie death of so great a man, to exclaime thus against *Marc Antonie*; *Thou hast done nothing*, Marc Antonie, *thou hast done nothing, (I am forced of meere hatred to make this digression) by buying so excellent a head, and a tongue more than humane, and by a mournefull reward to hasten the death of that great Consull, once the great preseruer of the Commonwealth. Thou hast taken away from* Cicero *the loathsome light, old age, and a life more miserable vnder thy tyrannie, than death vnder the Triumuirate. But in stead of quenching the glorious fame of the doings and sayings of* Cicero, *thou hast kindled it the more. For he liueth and shall liue in the memorie of all men for euer. And as long as this vniuerse, created and established in what sort soeuer, (knowne and contemplated by* Cicero *more than by any other Romane, and made cleere by his eloquence) shall stand and continue, it shall carrie* Ciceros *praise with it for companie: all posterities shall admire the Orations he hath written against thee, and abhorre that which thou hast done against him.* *Plutarch* saith, that *Marc Antonie* caused *Ciceros* head to be brought before him, and the hand wherewith he had written the *Philippicks*, which he beheld with a gladsome eye, and laughed hartily at the sight: and hauing glutted himselfe therewith, he commaunded one to sticke them vp in the highest place of the Tribunall, thereby to trample (as it were) vpon a dead man, or rather, to shew how his passion carried him to abuse his fortune, and to make his power villanous.

Lib. 4. of the ciuill warres.

In his Fragments of the Roman hist.

In the life of *M. Antonius.*

Now, although it may appeare plainely, with what kind of death this light of eloquence was put out: yet Authors doe not agree of the place where his Monument should be. Some thinke it was found in the yeare 1544, the first of December, in the Isle of Zacynthus or Zanthus, belonging to the Venetians, with this Inscription:

M. TVLLI CICERO
HAVE.
ET TV TERTIA
ANTONIA.

There were likewise found two Vrnes or pots; one very little, which was the pot for the teares: and the great one, wherein were the ashes, and at the bottome of it these words, AVE MAR. TVL. *Andrew Theuet* in his French Cosmographie describeth and depainteth that which he saith hee had there seene. In the inscriptions of Arragon, collected by *Lewis du Pont*, there bee two of them, which I would not omit.

M. TVLLIO CICERONI M. F.
ROMANÆ FACVND. PRINCIPI.
QVÆST. ÆDI. COS. PROCOS.
IMPERATORI PP. ARPINATES.

The

The other.

M. T. CICERONEM OB EIVS EXIMIAM VIRTVTEM ET EGREGIAS ANIMI SVI DOTES PER VNIVERSVM ORBEM TERRARVM SALVVM ESSE IVBEO.

C. I. CÆSAR.

CHAP. XII.

The common good ought to bee distinguished from the priuate, and to bee preferred before it.

WHen the Commonwealth of the Romans staied it selfe vpon the manners and customs it had receiued of her Ancestors; the magistrats and men of authoritie therein, aymed alwayes at this marke, To distinguish and separate the common profit from the particular, and to preferre that before this. In that time, saith *Valerius Maximus*, the spirits of men and women flourished within Rome, and by the goods of the mind was the honor and reputation in all matters weighed. Such goods purchased to their possessors the managing of armes, contracted mariages, had all the credit in the Senat, out of the Senat, and in priuate houses: for euery man was carefull to procure the common good, not his owne; and chose rather to liue poore in a rich Commonwealth, than rich in a poore citie. Such an excellent intention had this for honorable recompense, that it was vnlawfull to buy for money any thing due to vertue; and the necessitie of worthie men was relieued. Many notable examples there be of this happines among histories; particularly in *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Titus Liuius*, *Iustin*, and others make ample mention. For being passed ouer into Africa to treat alliance with king *Syphax*, it fell out that *Asdrubal* the captaine of Carthage (who was long before driuen out of Spain by *Scipio*) met him there. The king taking it as a great honor that the Embassadors of the two mightiest commonwealths in the world, should in one day come to seeke peace and friendship at his hands, would lodge them both together, and assaied to make them talke one with another, to take away all enmitie and rancor: But *Scipio* would not intend it, saying, *That for his owne particular hee had no businesse with* Asdrubal, *nor was it needfull they should for that regard haue any enteruiew: for the publike, he could not haue conference with an enemie to the people of Rome, without commaundement or leaue of the Senat.* We may ioyne to this another memorable example of the same *Scipio*. When the Embassadors of king *Antiochus* demanded peace of the Consul *Publius Scipio*, brother to *Scipio Africanus*, bringing with them (to compasse it the better) a present which they thought would be very welcome to *Africanus*, to wit, a sonne of his, before that time taken prisoner by the king, as the gentleman was passing a strait in a frigat: *Africanus*, lieutenant to his brother in the name of the Senat & people of Rome, made them this answere, *That priuat benefits were distinguished from publike; that the duties of a father differed from the duties of the countrey, which ought to be preferred before children, yea and before our liues: therfore he esteemed much of the present which they made him of his sonne, and that to his power he would acknowledge this liberalitie of the kings; but for war and peace, he could not gratifie him in that, nor diminish in any thing the right of the Commonwealth: that he neuer had spoken of the ransomming of that his sonne, but when the Senat had giuen him leaue: and that for his part he would assay by armes to recouer his sonne, as the honour of his name required.*

Lib. 4. cap. 4.

The like courage appeared in *Publius Popilius*. For hee being sent from the

Plutarch in his Apophthegms.

Senat and people of Rome to king *Antiochus*, to forbid him to make any enterprise vpon Ægypt; and to command him to depart away, if he were entred into it: at his comming the king offred to embrace and welcome him (because they were friends euer since the time that *Antiochus* had beene hostage at Rome:) but *Popilius* gaue back, saying, That particular friendship was at that time to be laid aside, when the publike commission marched before: and hauing deliuered into his hand the Senats commandement, because the king delaied to answere, demanding some time to aduise thereof with his friends; *Popilius* began with a wand which he carried about him, to marke out a circle somewhat spacious about the chaire of *Antiochus*, saying vnto him, Sir, call hither what friends you will to resolue with them of this negociation within this round that you see, and thinke not to goe out from thence, but with a declaration either of war or peace betweene the people of Rome and you. This seuere resolution abated the pride of *Antiochus*, who presently made answere, That he would obey the Senat. We reade such another example, and no lesse memorable in *Valerius Maximus*. There was a law among the Romans, That no man on horsbacke should come neere the Consul, but so soone as he descried him a far off, he should for maners sake alight, and salute him vpon the ground: Now as *Q. Fabius Maximus* was sent by the Senat about some important businesse to his sonne being Consul, and at that time at Suessa; and this Consul spying his father comming towards him a horsback, had sent vnto him by one of his Sergeants of the mase, to require him that he should alight and come vnto him after the accustomed order: *Fabius* quickly got downe from his horse, and comming to the Consul, said vnto him; *Sonne, I did not despise your dignitie, but would hereby proue if you knew what it was to be a Consul.* I must yet annex hereunto that which *Iustin* the Historian writeth of *Pharnaces* king of the Parthians. He putting by his sonnes (whereof he had a great number) gaue the kingdome to his brother *Mithridates* an excellent prince, *Because he held himselfe more tied to the publike good, than to his priuat family; and that it was necessary to prouide rather for the whole kingdome than for his owne children.*

Lib. 2. cap. 2.

Lib. 41.

Thomas Fazel in the second Decad of his hist. of Sicilia, *lib. 9.*

We haue a notable and a moderne example of this wisdome in *Ferdinand* king of Arragon and Sicilia. For he being desired of all to be their king, in the place of *Iohn* sonne to *Henrie* his brother deceased (to whom the crowne of right deuolued) and he refusing it; the princes summoned a Parliament, and *Ferdinand* was enion'd to be there: Who foreseeing what would follow, made his Nephew being yet a little child, to be apparelled in royall roabes, and hiding him vnder his garment, went and sate among the assembly. *Ferdinand*, by a generall voice and mutuall consent, was chosen king of Arragon, without any one word spoken in behalfe of the child: Which hee seeing, taketh foorth from vnder his garment the little prince *Iohn*, and lifting him vp vpon his shoulder, begins to crie to the people, *See, ô yee Arragonians your king; see, this is our king; let vs keepe faith with him, according to the custome of the Spanish nation.* Which hauing said, he embraceth the child, placeth him in the royall throne, and throwing himselfe first of all to the ground, doth him humble homage, and draweth (by his example) all the rest to doe the same; and so hauing yeelded and procured the kingdome to his Nephew, shewed, that he loued rather to liue in his former state than vsurp vpon anothers crowne. I haue described this storie out of *Thomas Fazelus*, because I hold it worthie to be remembred aboue many other. This good prince *Ferdinand* would not dishonour his nation so far, as to suffer that by the il-ordred fauour of the nobilitie and people, the lawfull successor should

come

come to be had in contempt,and the crowne be giuen to him that would prefer his priuate profit before the common good.

But to come againe to Rome, let vs heare the praise that *Velleius Paterculus* giueth of *Publius Scipio*,surnamed *Nasica.Then*(saith he)Pub.Scipio Nasica,*grand-child to him that by the Senate was called a good man, sonne to him who during his Censorship made galleries in the Capitoll, sonne to the grand-child of* Cn.Scipio, *an excellent man,vncle to* Africanus *(whilst he liued in priuate,and after he was in publike charge) and cousin german to* Tiberius Gracchus, *still preferred the common good before his owne particular: and holding for a forraine thing, and out of his care whatsoeuer serued not for the publike weale,he was (because of such vertues) first chosen soueraigne bishop in his absence,at such time as , hauing stretched out with his left hand the lap of his gowne from the highest step of the Capitoll where he was firmely set, he cried, That all they that wished the prosperitie of the commonwealth, should follow him. Then the chiefe men, the Senate, the greater and better part of the knights,with those of the people that were not yet infected with pernicious counsell,fell vpon* Gracchus, *who was in the market place with his troupes, where he would haue put all Italy welneere in a hurly-burly. He flying, and seeking to saue himselfe at the going vp into the Capitoll, was striken to the ground with a blow of a broken stoole, so that he died soone after, though he might haue liued a long time in great honour.* Vpon this occasion *Valerius Maximus* calleth him a citisen of a doubtfull praise and fame,because he exercised the charges that were imposed vpon him, not of good will,but because he was commanded thereunto. For that which is done by constraint,ought more to be attributed to him that commandeth it,than to him that executeth it. Now so long as the Romans had the thoughts of *Nasica*, their domination florished, extending it selfe far and wide. *Paulus Æmylius Veronian* obserueth this of the Tholousans, That they hauing vpon a time begun of themselues to lay their citie-wals smooth-field, by which meanes they had exposed themselues to the spoile and slaughter of euerie enemie; to remedie the same, they made a great ceassement of money, which was gathered and leuied, but with great difficultie. Whereupon he addeth; *It is strange to see, that commonly euerie man is more toucht with his owne priuate losse,than with the publike damage: and there is nothing that nettles vs so much as when we must put our hand into our purse. They that threw downe the walls of their citie,could not abide to haue their coffers and bags stirred.*

In the Fragments of the Rom.historie.

*Lib.*2.

*Lib.*6.of the historie of France.

This was it that *Anniball* said (or reproached rather) to those of Carthage; who,when they had beene ouercome,and the Romans as conquerors had imposed a tribute vpon them, the first paiment whereof seemed vneasie,for that the war had exhausted the common treasure, and therefore all the Towne-house was in mourning and in a sorrowfull taking; *Annibal*, being at the same time there with the other Senators, hapned to laugh: *Asdruball*, surnamed *Hædus*, chiding him for that he laught when all others wept,he,that was the cause of so many teares: he answered him, *If you could see my heart as well as my face, you should soone see, that the laughter which you wonder at,and reprooue so bitterly, proceedeth not but from a heart transpierced with dispaire in our miseries. And yet this laughing is not to so little purpose, as your sorrowing is absurd and altogither boot-lesse: You should then haue wept,when our armes were taken away,when our ships were burnt,when we were forbidden to goe foorth to the war; This was our deaths-wound.Thinke not that the Romans haue determined this against you, onely because they hate you; a great state cannot long continue quiet; If it haue no enemie abroad,it will find one at home: euen as heauie and strong bodies that seeme defended against heate, cold, and other apparant euills, are loaden, and at length ouerwhelmed with their owne weight. We feele the publike ill, so far as it extendeth and approacheth*

Tit.Liuius in the last booke of the 3 Decad.

proacheth to our owne particular: and there is nothing that in the consideration thereof presseth vs so much, as the feare of losing that which is ours. Hence it came, that not one so much as sighed when vanquished Carthage was spoiled, and when you saw her disarmed, stripped, and left destitute among so many armed nations of Africa: but now because euerie man must contribute of his particular, you weepe, as if all were lost, and the citie were going to be buried. I feare, I feare you will feele ere it be long, that you haue wept now for a verie light occasion! To this *Robert Gaguin* had also relation, saying these words: *It hath beene seene sometimes in France that the common-wealth hath receiued more hurt, when a priest hath taken vpon him to manage affaires of state, than when they haue beene committed to some lord of noble descent being a wise and discreet man. The priest, transported with an insatiable desire to get, and to make himselfe great, draweth all to himselfe: the noble lord hauing pitie of the people, and reckoning all mens losse his owne, prouideth for the common good to the vttermost of his power: the one measuring his expense and riot, by his credit, heapeth and hoordeth vp wealth vpon wealth, fearing no check, because he is couered with his Ecclesiasticall exemption and freedome; the other (contrariwise) knowing verie well that his meanes are ioyned with those of the common-wealth, foreseeth that in the discommoditie of all, his particular is infallibly comprehended. For who so measureth his affaires by the consideration of the affaires of the common-wealth, cannot but see, that if the greater sinke, the lesser cannot stand vpright.* *Iohn du Tillet* alleageth a place of *Demosthenes* saying; *The more their wealth increaseth that beare pubike charge, the more the common good decreaseth. If the particular wealth doe not hinder the common, it is great reason, that the wealth of the particulars, that doe further the increasing of the common-wealth, should be augmented, and that they be partakers of that increase.*

Lib. 9. of the hist. of France chap. 3.

Lib. 2. of the affaires of France.

In the life of *Alexander.*

Plutarch writeth, That when *Alexander* the great made his preparations for the Asian war, he gaue commission to *Perdiccas* to leauie certaine moneies in Macedonia: But when *Perdiccas* heard *Alexander* say, That he set vp his rest vpon the hope and assurance he had in his Counsell; he quitted the gift which the king had bestowed vpon him, saying, That he also would haue his part of that hope. His example made many moe to doe the like; which fell out well for them. *Cornelius Tacitus* glanced at this, when he writeth of the ancient English, *In times past* (saith he) *they liued vnder a Monarchie: now that they are subiect to diuers masters, one can see nothing but factions and diuisions among them. There is nothing better for vs, or that may maintaine vs so much against so many warlike nations, as this, That they may not consult togither. If any danger be threatned, two or three cities meet, but seldome to deuise or take counsell; and euerie one willing to fight apart, they are all of them ouercome.* Surely all good and vertuous men should aime at this marke, and doe their best, that euerie one may haue more care of the common good than of his owne particular. The Ciuilians likewise haue had an eie to this matter. Which if it be little regarded, that will come of it which we read befell the members of the bodie, who in disdaine, and to bring themselues in better liking, withdrew from the stomake his ordinarie food, from whence yet they drew their vigour and maintenance: but they found at last to their cost how foolishly they had conspired against themselues. We see that the societie of mankind is like a bodie, in the which if euerie member haue this thought, to care no more but for it owne profit and particular aduantage, not caring for others; and if all the members doe not loue one another, doe not hold one with another, doe not doe one for another, it commeth to passe within a while that the whole bodie is weakened, dissolued, and brought to nothing. If the liuer, the head, the heart respect onely their particular commoditie, and not maintaine the harmonie of the whole bodie; that is to say, If the members haue not this consent and agreement

In the life of *Iul. Agricola.*

C. licet quibusdam. § Illa semper. ext. de regul. & transf. ad relig. Auth. Res quæ, in fin. Comm. de Leg.

agreement betweene them; that they may be assisted one of another, it must needs follow that all the body must perish, and this harmony vanish quite away. The Commonwealth of Rome felt in the end the truth of this saying. For, hauing subdued all the world where she made the clattering of her armour to bee heard, she neuer left, till by quarrels, factions and ciuill warres, she had ouercome and destroyed her selfe with her owne hands:

That she might nothing leaue vnconquered in the world;

And that could neuer bee done before such time as the Romans preferred their particular good before the common; from whence grew partialities, and enmities, and at last the counsels of light and giddie heads made an end of all. For the old counsellers who had past through many dangers, and ouercome many difficulties being all gone; certaine yoong gallants, froward, ignorant, that knew nothing of that was past, comming to gouerne, turned all vpside downe. This inward sickneſſe ouerwhelmed at last (saith *Cicero*) the commonwealth of Rome, so firmely established, that there was no forraine enemie or power of man that was able to shake it. *Polyb. lib. 2.* In his dialogue *De Senectute.*

We wil here (for conclusion) adioyn a few examples, wherby we may see, that whē men for their priuat respect or benefit wil appropriat & (as it were) engrosse to themselues those blessings which the diuine prouidence sends to be communicated with all those that stand in need therof, the same blessings are taken away miraculously, both from the one sort & the other. In some places of Germanie it pleased God, that out of the earth (not many yeares since) certaine waters that were medicinall, did breake forth; vpon which, when as some would haue raised a tribute, the same waters dried vp: and as soone as that vniust tribute was taken away, and that all who had need thereof for their health might haue free vse of it, the same water began to issue foorth in great abundance as before. This makes me remember a passage in *Athenæus*, who writeth, that the same thing hapned in a marish in the time of *Alexander* king of Albania: to wit, that Ægyptian beanes grew and prospered there in great abundance for the space of two yeares; at the end of which time *Alexander* placed a guard vpon the marish, to keepe any from comming into it, which thereupon grew quite drie, and neuer brought foorth any thing. The same Author reporteth another such like thing that befell in a place called Edapsus: A certaine cold water differing from all other waters began to spring forth in a place not farre from the sea shore, wherof when such as were sicke had drunke, they felt a great ease; which made many to flocke thither from far countries: The Lieutenants to king *Antigonus* would make spare of this water, commaunding that such as came thither should haue other water giuen them to drinke: but presently the spring dried vp. Likewise in Troas, some time before that, there was found great abundance of salt, which vanished away so soone as *Lysimachus* offered to impose a tribute vpon it: Being amazed at the accident, he released the tribute, & the salt came againe as before. To come to neerer examples, *Iames Meier* writes of a thing that hapned at Sluse in the yere 1441, A new tribute (saith he) being imposed vpon the Musles, there was not any more seene or fished for; which euerie man esteemed a miracle: for so soone as the tribute was abolished, they came againe as plentifully as before. The poore folke doe liue there vpon this kind of shell-fish. To this we may adde that which *Peter Quinqueran* taketh out of a booke of the simples of *Brasauola*, a Physitian of Ferrara, where he treateth of Manna. The kings of Naples (saith he) hauing inclosed a certaine place with wals, where Manna did distill from heauen in great plentie, thereby to hinder the poore from gathering of it, except they would *Lib. 3. capit.* In his Annals of Flanders. *Lib. 19.* *Lib. 1. de laud. Prouinciæ.*

would pay a certaine tribute; the Manna left falling downe: But the incloſure being opened, it fell from the skie as it had vſed to doe. The place was ſtopped vp againe the ſecond time, and the third time, and alwayes it came ſo to paſſe. In a word, if the place were ſhut vp, heauen was ſhut vp: and it was open, if the paſſage were open and free to all. To conclude our Meditation; *Lactantius* hath ſaid very well, That God diuideth the light of the day alike to all, makes the fountaines and riuers flow to all, giueth food and gracious reſt to all.

Lib.5.cap.14.

CHAP. XIII.

Particular affections ought to be baniſhed from publike Counſels.

THe magnificall lords of Venice (as it is reported) haue a commendable cuſtome among them, when they meet in counſell about the affaires of the Common-wealth: For they doffe and lay aſide in Saint *Markes* church all particular enmities and quarrels, that they may the clearlier and freelier giue their opinions vpon the difficulties that ſhall be offered. I could wiſh the like were practiſed among vs Germans, when conſultation is had about the maintaining of the Empire, and of the Common-wealth: it may be we ſhould haue more reſt, more aſſurance, and proſperitie. This wiſe courſe of the Venetians helpeth them greatly for the preſeruation of their common-wealth, which hath been a foot more than theſe thouſand yeares, and ſince her firſt foundation was neuer taken by enemies, although ſhee hath had ſometimes verie great and terrible ones. I doe not thinke we haue the like example of any citie or common-wealth, how famous, mightie, or ſtrong ſoeuer it be. And therefore they doe not glorie for nought, that *Venice is ſtill a virgin*, in as much as ſince her firſt beginning no enemy did euer force or defile her. To returne to our purpoſe, there is to be ſeen at the going into the Counſell chamber of Reinſpourg, a table of marble containing in golden letters this good and ſacred inſcription following:

QVISQVIS SENATOR CVRIAM OFFICII CAVSA INGREDERIS, ANTE HOC OSTIVM PRIVATOS AFFECTVS OMNES ABIICITO: IRAM, VIM, ODIVM, AMICITIAM, ADVLATIONEM. REIPVB. PERSONAM ET CVRAM SVBIICITO. NAM VT ALIIS ÆQVVS AVT INIQVVS FVERIS: ITA QVOQVE DEI IVDICIVM EXPECTABIS, ET SVSTINEBIS.

That is to ſay, *Whoſoeuer thou bee, Counſellor, that in regard of thy Office, goeſt into the Counſell-chamber, put off, and leaue before this doore all priuat affections; anger, violence, hatred, friendſhip, or flatterie. Submit thy perſon and care to the Common-wealth. For as thou ſhalt doe right or wrong to others, ſo expect and bee ſure to feele the iudgement of God.*

Ant. de Palerm. in his hiſtorie.

The good king of Arragon, *Alphonſus*, had this ſame laudable cuſtom: for he was wont to ſay, That if he had bin borne when the common-wealth of Rome flouriſhed, he would haue builded hard by the Senat-hall, a Temple to *Iupiter Poſitorius*, within the which the Senators ſhould haue gone, & there haue doft and laid away all particular paſſions and affections of hatred, friendſhip, &c. *Ariſtides* teacheth vs this: for although *Themiſtocles* was the chiefe author of his baniſhment, yet ſeeing all Greece in danger to be ouer-run, he laid aſide all quarels, and comming to *Themiſtocles*, before-time his enemie, ſaith thus vnto him; *We muſt fight at all times, not for our priuate enmities and grudges, but to ſee which of vs two can doe beſt good and ſeruice to his countrey.* With like wiſedome *Narſes*, being to ioyne battell with the Gothes, began the oration which he made to *Beliſarius* and the other captaines of the armie, with theſe words: *My friends, when the common profit is in queſtion,*

Herodot. lib. 8.

L. d' Aret. lib. 2. of the war of the Goths.

queſtion, I am of opinion that wee ſhould wholly and altogether reſt vpon it, without ſhaking the ſame by hatred, friendſhip, or other priuat reſpects, &c. The Romans are much eſteemed for this: For ſo long as the Counſell-chamber was faithfull and ſecret vnto them; was armed and bulwarked with vnvanquiſhable ſilence, and that all at their going into it, did off their priuat reſpects, to put on the publike; they were ſafe from all attempts and violence of the enemie, which ſhal the better appeare by the oath which the Senators or Counſellors tooke, being this:

Iuro per Iouem Olympium & Conſiliarium, & per Veſtam Conſultricem, & per Iouem Maritalem, & Iunonem Maritalem, & Mineruam Prouidam, & Victoriam, & Venerem, & Amicitiam, & Concordiam, & Ius atque Fas & bonam Fortunam, alioſque Vniuerſos Deos ac Deas, me ſententiam velle dicere ſecundum leges & conſulta a Ciuitate approbata, & ſecundum decreta Romanorum & leges quibus Reſpubl. noſtra adminiſtratur, in reſpectu vtilitatis patriæ, pro viribus meis non aliter quam is fecit, qui Senator fuit laudatiſs. patriæ ſuæ vel Romanæ vel Græcæ ciuitatis. Neque gratiæ, neque odio, neque muneribus patiar ſeruire iudicium conſultumue meum. Neque priuato addicam ſententiam meam, neque me vlli parti aut homini adiugam, ſed tantùm communi vtilitati, aucturus pro viribus Rempub. ita vt Dij & boni viri volunt. Mihi quidem ſanctè iurato benè ſit, & Dij atque Dæmones faueant itemq; meis omnibus cùm amicis tùm vniuerſo generi & familiæ. In periurio verò ne deprehendar vnquam.

That is to ſay, *I ſweare by* Iupiter *Olympian and Counſeller, and by* Veſta *the Conſultreſſe, and by* Iupiter *the Marier, and by* Iuno *the Maried, and* Minerua *the Prouident, and Victorie, and* Venus, *and Amitie, and Concord, and Right, and Equitie, and good Fortune, and by all the other Gods and Goddeſſes, that I haue reſolued to ſpeake my opinion according to the lawes and ordinances approoued by the citie, and according to the Decrees and Edicts of the Romans, by the which our Common-wealth is gouerned, hauing reſpect to the profit of my countrey, with all my power, no otherwiſe than ſuch a one N. hath done, being an honourable Counſellor to his countrey, of a citie Roman, or Grecian. I ſhall not ſuffer that my Iudgement or Counſell ſhall be ſubiect to fauour, hatred, guifts or preſents. I ſhall not frame my ſentence to the will of any particular, nor ioyne my ſelfe to any man, or partie, but onely to the common benefit; that I may to the vttermoſt of my power encreaſe the Common-wealth, as the gods and good men wiſh and meane. This ſolemne oath turne to my good, and the gods and demie-gods be fauourable to me, and to all mine, my friends, my whole race and familie. But neuer let me be found periur'd.*

He named then ſuch a Grecian or Roman as he thought good, & of the moſt famous before time, in prudence and vprightneſſe.

I will (for concluſion) adde the example of *M. Attilius Regulus*, who knowing certainly, that if he returned into Africa, hee ſhould be put to death with moſt grieuous torments, neuertheleſſe deſpiſing his life, and careleſſe of his family, he reſpected that onely which he ought to the common-wealth: For being to giue his opinion in the Senat, he deemed that there ought to be no exchange made of the priſoners; and to perſuade the ſame, he declared plainely that the Carthaginians had poiſoned him with a drug that had ſlow operation, that he might but liue till the priſoners were reſtored of either part; and that ſoone after the poiſon would come to his heart, ſo as he counted himſelfe but a dead man. Being returned to Carthage, he was ſhut into a hole where he ſaw not a whinke, and a long time after brought of a ſudden into the market place, and laid right againſt the beames of the ſcorching ſunne, his eye-lids, both the vpper and the vnder, being

Cic. lib. 1. Offic. Val. Max. lib. 9. cap. 2.

Fannius in his Fragments.

being turned, yea and tied so fast that he could not shut his eies, but held them staring against the sunne, the tormentors keeping him in that case, and neuer letting him sleepe, till he had ended his daies in that miserable torment. The newes of his death being brought to Rome, the gentlemen of Cartharge, prisoners, were by the commandement of the Senate deliuered into the hands of the sonnes of *Regulus*, who shut them into a presse set all ouer with long and sharp-pointed nailes, where they were neuer suffred to sleepe, but ended their daies with that cruell punishment, as *Gellius* writeth, after another ancient Author, called *Tuditanus*.

Lib.6.cap.1.

CHAP. XIV.

The Pagans haue beene more modest in their Bathes and Stoaues than many Christians.

I Haue often wondred why in our time there are seene still in many places, bathes, stoaues, and common washing-places, where men and women, boies and maides meet all togither, without any difference or regard had either of sex or age: contrarie to the modest vse of the ancient Pagans, who were carefull to maintaine some pietie and honestie among them. For though vnder the rule of *Heliogabalus*, the bathes of Rome were open both to men and women indifferently; yet, before and since, it was a thing forbidden by the lawes of the Romans. But no maruell if the subiects of such a monster did follow their master, he being so giuen ouer to infinite villanies, that all his practises tended to none other end but this, to make euerie one exceed, not only his fellow, but also himselfe in all sorts of abhominable vices. And for the contrarie lawes, there is one made by *Romulus* the first king of the Romans, who for the honour of women ordained, *That the man that should suffer himselfe to be seene naked by a woman, should be condemned to die.* *Plutarch* speaking of the modestie of *M. Cato*, writeth, *That in old time fathers were ashamed to wash themselues with their children, and the father in law, with their sonnes in law.* And he addeth, *that* Cato *had as great shame to cast out a dishoneste word in his sonnes presence, as in the presence of the Vestall Virgins: that they neuer bath'd togither; and thinketh it was the good manners of all the Romans in those daies. For the sonnes in law* (saith he) *hauing shame to vncouer their bodies, neuer met in bathes or common stoaues with their fathers in law.* To this we may annex the speech of *Cyrus* to his sonnes, a little before his death. *If any of you* (saith he) *desire to take me by the hand, or to see my eies, let him come so long as I breathe: But after I am dead, and shalbe couered, I require you, my sonnes, That my bodie be not vncouered, nor looked on, either of you, or of any other bodie.* I haue heard by credible persons, That the Emperour *Maximilian*, the first of that name, a prince of honourable memorie, forbad expressely that his naked bodie should bee seene after he was dead: whither his accustomed modestie was the cause thereof, or some other consideration, I know not.

Aelius Lampridius in his life.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* and of *M. Cato.*

Xenoph.lib.8.

But let vs come againe to the baths and stoaues of men and of women. It is written that the Emperour *Adrian* made a law, That men should haue their baths apart and seuerall from those of women: which law was confirmed by *Alexander Seuerus*, and followed at last by *Iustinian*. Moreouer the ancient Canons could not endure this ignominie: for in them it is forbidden that men should bathe and wash with women, because the verie Pagans were against it. And the Emperor *Iustinian* ordained, That if a married man entred into the Bath where a strange woman should wash her selfe, he should loose the donation

Dion in his life.

L.vlt.C.de repud. Dist.81.c.non oportuit & ibi. gl. In d.l. Vltima.

giuen

giuen him by his own wife in fauor of the marriage: as should also the wife, that was found bathing her selfe with any other man than her husband. Which gaue occasion to *Ludouicus Viues* to crie out with iust griefe, *What auaileth it to inueigh against this barbarous custome of some people, among whom both men and women wash themselues in one bath? I will speake no more of it being a beastly not a human fashion.* Of this opinion was *Poge* the Florentine, who describeth the order that was vsed in his time in the baths of Baden in Swisserland. His epistle, written to *Leonard Aretine*, is found among the epistles of *Æneas Syluius*, vnder this title, *Poggius, de schola Epicureæ factionis, quæ regnat in Teutonia, in balneo naturali dominorum de Baden.* The Turkes yet at this day doe condemne this libertie, among whom it is a capitall offence for a man to be found or seene in the stoaues where women wash themselues: yea, and the Turkish women are not suffred to goe in the street with open face, nor to talke with a man there. For this cause, the libertie of *Lycurgus* allowing the maides of Sparta to weare short garments, and to vse publike exercises with lads, hath beene taxed of a great many, as being the enflamer of fornication: and among others, by the Poet *Euripides*, as his verses of this tenor witnesse:

Those maides scarce dwell in sure and good aboade,
That leaue their fathers house and friske abroade:
When laying care of honour cleane aside,
They neuer haue their minions from their side.
Shewing their thighes as naked as ones hand
Of each side of their coates that open stand.
Running and wrastling in vnseemely sort
With lads, in publike places where they sport:
And yet you wonder, saying 'tis great pittie,
To haue dishonest women in your citie.

For this cause *Plato* is censured by *Eusebius* and other ancient Diuines, for that (following the lawes of *Lycurgus*) he will haue women, both yong and old, wrestle in the parkes of exercises, with men: and maides run naked both a foot and on horsback, and in the solemne feasts dance naked with yong-men. This mad disorder made Saint *Ignatius* to say thus to Sathan: *Why condemnest thou the secret part not corrupted, and tearmest the members defiled, which in times past thou vncoueredst in thy feasts, commanding that men should strip themselues naked before women, and that the women should doe the like, the more to inflame the vnchast desire of the men? Now thou changest thy minde, and counterfeiting the honest man (thou vncleane spirit) saist that the members of mans bodie are defiled.* *Lactantius* speaking of the plaies called *Floralia*, saith the same thing in these words: *Such plaies are made with all dissolution, and correspond fitly with the remembrance of the infamous harlot that erected them. For besides the licentiousnesse of words, in the which all villany ouerfloweth, at the request of the people the common strumpets are stript starke naked, and brought vpon the stage, where in open view they shew foorth all the gestures and motions of their trade, vntill the beholders haue glutted their eies with such shewes.* Which is the cause, that many doe wonder what mooued *Franciscus Aretine* a famous Ciuilian, to offer to prooue, that *Francis Sforce* the duke of Milan had reason to require that *Dorothea* daughter to *Lewis* Marquesse of Mantua, affied to *Galeas* the dukes sonne, should be viewed naked by certaine Physicians which he had sent for that purpose, to the end it might be seene if she had any deformitie about her: and that the Marquesse (contrariwise) was in the wrong to refuse such an inspection, offring only to shew his daughter vnto them couered with the coate which *Galeas* her husband had

Lib. 2. of a Christ. woman.

Epist. 425.

See *Plutarch* in the comparison of *Romulus* and of *Lycurgus*.

In his bookes of the Common-wealth, and of the lawes.
In the Epistle of the *Philippians*.

Lib. 1. of his *Institut.* cap. 20.

had sent her. Many other examples (besides this) are reported by the learned *Tiraqueau* in his fourth Connubiall law, conteining these words translated out of the Latin: *Let the husband reueale to the wife, his deformitie; and the wife hers, to the husband: but for all that, let not the wife (at any hand) strip her selfe naked.* It is not therefore without cause that *Gyges* saith in *Herodotus*, *That a woman doffeth her shame with her smock.* And worthily are the Babilonian women taxed, who meeting at banquets appeare there modestly apparelled, but presently they take and put off one piece after another, and by little and little profane their shamefastnesse. At the last they strip themselues starke naked. And this is practised not by the common queanes, but by matrons, and by men also; who call this prostitution of their bodies, good behauiour and ciuilitie.

In his worke touching Marriages, *lib.* 1.

Q. Curtius, lib. 5. of the doings of *Alex.*

I doe not meane to infer (by representing these things) that the nakednesse of the bodie is a thing shamefull of it selfe. For I know that the ancients haue alwaies painted Vertue naked. And indeed she desireth no riches, nor pompe, but immortall fame, praise, and glorie: as appeareth by a very ancient toombe, with this inscription; VIRTVS NVDO HOMINE CONTENTA EST: that is, *Vertue is content with a naked man.* For this reason, the Pagans, after they had canonised and put *Hercules* into the number of their gods, to shew his vertue they painted him naked, couered onely with a lions skin, and a club in his hand, as is to be seene in old pictures and worke of Imagerie, carefully collected and represented by *William du Choul.* We know also, that the first man, when he was in the state of innocencie and perfection, was created naked, and his wife also, and yet they held it for no shame: for indeed shame proceedeth of sinne. But I thinke that nakednesse grew full of shame and infamie after that impure desires were ioyned to nature, corrupted by the fall of *Adam* and *Eue.* Therefore Saint *Ignatius* holding on his speech against Sathan, saith; *Thou knowest not that a thing is impure, when we defile it by sin; but no action ought to be taken for foule or naught, but very good when it hath no sin in it.* And Saint *Augustin* saith, *That the parts seruing for the vse of generation were created honest and seemely by the Creator: but by the sin of man they are become dishonest, so that we couer them now, as* Adam *also couered them after his sinne, because of the dishonestie he felt in their mooving.* He concludeth, the priuie parts of man and woman are couered, not that there is in them any fault of the workemans part, which is God; but of mans part. And he saith well, For as *Chrysostom* witnesseth, *God hath created the soule and the bodie of man, not onely for vse, but also for honor and glorie.* *Pierius* aimed at that, when he saith, That as the ancients were lesse vicious, so did they reason more simply and more openly of euerie thing: nothing being then in mans bodie, whereof the sight or name might be thought shamefull or dishonest. But when corrupt manners began to grow, it behooued to declare that there were many things filthie to say and to doe, to the end that those men and women that know not how to keepe neither rule nor measure in their liues, might be turned aside from euill words, and impure workes by the infamie of the name. The same hath mooued *Iohn de Lery* to shew by pregnant reasons, That the naked American women (among whom they must necessarily conuerse that trauell into those remote countries, and who are no lesse faire than woman of these parts) doe not so much incite to libidinous desire any that behold them, but that they are more excusable in their simple and naturall nakednesse, and are lesse lasciuious and dishonest than a many of the wiues and maids of our countries, that make such strange countenances and gestures in their gate, with their garments and dressings of such sundrie stuffes and fashions.

In his booke of the ancient religions of the Romans.

In the Epistle to the Philippians.

Against *Iulian, cap.* 16.

Lib. 34. of his Hieroglyph.

In the descrip. tion of America.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Right hand is a signe either of peace, or of enmitie.

THe Emperour *Albert*, the second of that name, had this saying often in his mouth, and vsed it for his deuice; *Make not a friend vnaduisedly; hauing made one, reiect him not rashly:* It may haue been borrowed from *Solon*, who said in his time, *Get not friends in haste; and yet cast not off those that thou hast gotten. Pythagoras* was of the same opinion in his darke sayings; *Offer not* (saith he) *thy right hand to euery one:* signifying thereby, that a man should not rashly receiue the first commer into the league of friendship and familiaritie. Now, as our Ancestors in saluting did put forth the right hand to the saluted, because all their honour consisted in the force and valour of their right hand: so is it the vse now of princes and great lords, not to giue the hand but to those whom they will welcome and honour with some speciall grace. Likewise, as to take by the hand is a token of agreement: so to strike with the palme of the hand against the open hand of the enemie, signifieth peace, and forgiuing of iniurie. In this manner *Titus Liuius* writeth in the third Decad of the Roman historie, That certain citizens shewed their right hands open, to witnesse that they would yeeld themselues, and that they were friends. And the Spartans entrapped by the Athenians strucke with their hands, in token that they demaunded peace. Therefore, flatly to refuse, or vpon aduise to draw backe the hand, in stead of reaching it to him that looketh for it, is most commonly an euident signe of manifest hatred and enmitie. *Iames Meyer* offereth vs an example hereof in *Philip* Duke of Burgundie, the father of *Charles* slaine in the battell of Nancie. *Charles* hauing absented himselfe from his father for some faults, and his father falling very sicke in the citie of Bruges, so that his speech failed him; *Charles* hearing of it, came from Gant in post to Bruges, and falling on his knees before his father, did with warme teares beg humble pardon for all the griefes he had put him too, and besought him with lowly reuerence, that he would vouchsafe him his fatherly blessing. His Confessour hauing told him in his eare, that if hee could not speake, he should (at least) giue his sonne some token and testimonie of his good will towards him: the good prince opened his eyes, and taking his sonne by the right hand, clasped it within his owne so hard as he could; a signe of loue and forgiuenesse.

Gloss. in Leg. 1. De consti. Ioan in l. 1. col. 3. de pact.

Lib. 8.

Thucid. lib. 4.

Lib. 16. of the Annals of France.

Ammian Marcellinus saith the same of one *Nebridius*, who was the only man that refused to conspire with others against *Constantius*, & therfore he (to saue himself from the furie of the souldiers, who had drawne their swords vpon him) flying with all the speed he could make, to *Iulian*, besought him that for assurance hee would vouchsafe to giue him his right hand: Whereunto *Iulian* made answere, *What good shall I leaue for my friends, if I should giue thee my right hand?* Let vs refer to this that which the learned *Lipsius* obserueth vpon the fifteenth booke of the Annals of *Cornelius Tacitus*, That the king of Persia saued *Mentors* life by reaching him his right hand; which is taken and alleaged out of *Geniste Plethon*. Hence is it also, that *Alexander* of Alexandria saith, that there is a certain religion in right hands: *For we reach it out* (saith he) *as offering to assure, that what wee haue promised shall be performed. Numa Pompilius* would that Faith should be consecrated in the hand, and he builded a chappell to Faith, commaunding that the Priests or Flamins should be carried in solemne procession within a chariot couered all ouer, hauing their fingers enter-folded together: A notable testimonie that *Numa* held Faith for holy and sacred after touching of the hand, and therefore that it

Lib. 21.

Lib. 2. of the expl. of the Greeke.

Lib. 2. of the gen. daies, *c.* 29

ought by no meanes to bee violated. *Gobrias* confirmeth the ſame in *Xenophon*, praiſing the right hand of *Cyrus*: for what he promiſeth, he performeth. Wherupon my late father alleageth in his Annotations a place of *Homer*, ſhewing that the right hand is a ſigne of fidelitie; and addeth, that Faith is ſtrengthened by this ceremonie of reaching the right hand: and the king of Perſia commanded his Embaſſadors to offer and reach it in his name. In the ſelfe ſame manner the ancient Emperors and Kings of Germanie were wont to ſend their great men to conclude a peace, and to determine affaires, when they could not go themſelues. It appeareth alſo, that there is in the right hand (as it were) the marke of the authoritie and maieſtie of man: for if there happen to be any tumult, we repreſſe the multitude with the right hand, we get audience, and ſignifie by ſtretching forth the hand, that we bring peace. Whereunto *Virgil* had relation, when he maketh king *Latinus* to ſay thus of *Æneas*:

Lib.6. of the inſtitution of Cyrus.

Lib. intit. Jus vel Speculum Saxonium.

Lib.7. Æneid.

It is a pawne of peace both for my realme and me,
To touch this Princes hand ſo valiant and ſo free.

We haue moreouer for witneſſe hereof, the ancient pictures of the Emperors and other great men of the world, whom (for the moſt part) we ſee to hold out the right hand. And *Plutarch* writeth of *Marius*, (while he contemned his maſſacres at Rome, and that his guards were cutting the throats of all thoſe they met in their way, without reſpect of any) that when he would ſaue any mans life, he reached him his hand. For concluſion, we read in the holy bookes, that the right hand ſignifieth the place of dignitie and happineſſe; the left hand, contrariwiſe, of miſerie and wretchedneſſe: of which, as the one many times ſheweth the life that is happie for euer; the other, eternall damnation: ſo in diuers places, by Gods right hand is meant euerlaſting glorie; and by his left, perpetuall reproach and puniſhment.

In his life.

Math.25.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Beard, and the Haire.

AMong the French, the ſubiects were ſhauen in token of Vaſſalage, but the princes wore long haire for a marke of ruling. They cheriſhed this haire from their child-hood the moſt carefully they could, ſo that their haires hung downe behind their necke and played vpon their ſhoulders: before, they parted them, and made them hang downe of both ſides the temples and cheekes, curling, braiding, and perfuming them; as one may ſee by their pictures in the churches of Saint *Denys* in France, and Saint *Germain des prez*. *Agathias* obſerueth this difference in the hiſtorie of the Goths, and ſaith, That the Burgundians ſlew in a battell *Clodomir*, ſon to *Clouis* the firſt chriſtian king of France, hauing known him by his long haire. *Gregorie de Tours* and *Aimon* write, That *Clotarius* the firſt, would not acknowledge *Gondebaut*: by meanes whereof, and for a ſigne that hee reiected him, he gaue order to haue him often pol'd. The ſame *Gregorie* writeth, That the bodie of *Clouis* ſonne to king *Chilpericke*, ſlaine at the commandement of *Fredegonda* his ſtep-mother, and after caſt into the riuer of Marne, was caught in a fiſhermans net, and being drawne aſhore, was knowne by his curled lockes. The kings of the line of the *Carlouingians* wore not their haire long nor ſo braided and curled as the *Merouingians* did, who had brought the faſhion out of other countries; although the ſonnes of the *Carlouingian* kings continued to claime their ſhares in the title of the kingdome.

Iohn du Tillet lib.2. of the affairs of France

Lib.6.cap.24. Lib.3.cap.61. Lib.8.cap.10.

This

This discourse may be enriched with the memorable example of the Queene *Chrotilda*, mother to the kings *Childebert* and *Clotarius*, as it is reported by Doctor *Hottoman*. *There raigned once* (saith he) *a Queene called* Chrotilda, *who ouercome with a marueilous downe-weighing affection towards the sonnes of her sonne* Clodomia, *deceased, did her vttermost endeauor to aduance them, and to crosse her two other sonnes to whom the kingdome of right belonged: therefore was shee very carefull to nourish their haire according to the custome. The kings her sonnes vnderstanding the truth of the matter, sent one* Arcadius *vnto her with a naked sword, and a paire of sheeres, giuing her the choice, either to see her grand-sonnes heads or haire cut off. But she transported with anger, especially seeing the naked sword, and the sharpe sheeres, answered out of the extreame bitternesse of her soule; If they may not be kings, I had rather see them dead than clipt.* So that (as *Gregorie de Tours* writeth) her two grand-sons were kild there before her eyes. Thus reporteth Doctor *Hottoman*, with many other notable things in that chapter touching the prerogatiue of the royall haire.

In his *Francogaule. cap.* 19.

This manner and custome was once obserued in Greece, and welneere in all the East, where, to shaue the head and the beard, was held for a great punishment. For they vse to cherish and maintaine their beards very carefully; and if a man did pluck but a haire from them against their wils, they thought themselues highly iniuried. In many places the punishment of fornication was, That the fornicator should haue his beard chopt off openly with a keene axe, and so be sent away; which to him was a mark of infamy. Contrariwise, for a man to sweare by his beard, it was esteemed a holy and religious oath. It was not without cause therefore, that lawes were made long since against such audacious fellows as should this way trouble the common peace and tranquilitie, which appeareth by the ordinance of the Emperour *Frederick*, touching the keeping of the peace, and the breakers thereof; where these words are among other, *If any man stay and lay hold of another, and (albeit he shed no blood) beat him with a cudgell, or pluck off the hairs of his head or beard, let him forfeit ten pounds to the partie offended, and twentie pounds for satisfaction of Iustice.* We read likewise among the ancient lawes of the Germans made in the time of *Clotarius*, one law hauing this Title, *De eo qui alium contra legem totonderit*, where it is said, *If any cut off the haires of a free man against his will, let him pay him twelue shillings for amends: and six shillings if he make his beard bee shauen.* The law *Salicke* setteth a fine vpon them that shall shaue young boyes or maids. And *N. Boyer* saith (as *Cornelius Tacitus* also writeth, speaking of the Germans) That it was the custome in France, that the wife accused and conuicted of adulterie by her husband, should be shauen, and that her clothes should be clipt off round about her, and of a good height; and that she should be carried in that manner throughout the townes and villages, to be seene of euery one. So *Gandinus* reporteth, That in Lombardie the theeues and fierers of forrests, were, according to some cases and circumstances, pold for the first time, for the second time they had all their haires of their head snipt off. Let vs adde hereunto that which *Theuet* affirmeth, how yet at this day it is a kind of punishment in the Isle of Candie, to cut a mans beard. So in times past among the Indians the king made him to be pold that had committed some great offence, as a marke of extreame reproch. Therefore was it not vnproperly said by a certaine Ancient, That it was as ilfauoured a sight for men to be without beards, as for horses and lions to bee without haires. *Plutarch* speaking of the custome of the Cicilians saith, That the conquerers were mounted vpon horses crowned with Bayes, and the prisoners poled, and so led in triumph. *Thomas Hazel* saith the like. Not without cause therefore did the Italians wonder at the strange sight in the

De malefic. in tract. pæn. nu. 56

In his Cosmographie.

In the life of *Timoleon.*

In the hist. of Sicilia, *Decad.* 1. *lib.* 4.

German armie which the Emperour *Maximilian* the first brought against the Venetians, where a great many horses had their maines clipt, and their tailes cut, not considering, that the same was done (according to the opinion of the Germans of that time) to this end that their horses might thereby be the more nimble and strong. We read also in *Marc. Paulus Venetian*, that the custome of the Tartars Carariamites was, to take from their horses (of which they haue a number of lustie and couragious ones) two or three ioynts of the taile-bone, to the end that the horse may not offend his master, nor swing with his taile, which they hold for a kind of shame.

Lib.2.cap.40. of his historie.

Let vs alleage some examples to this purpose; *Paradin* writes that a certaine yong gentleman, who followed the Earle of Sauoy, had the haire of his beard, which was newly budded out, shauen off by a Barber in the market place at Constantinople with a great many ceremonies, for a punishment, because he had forced a certaine damosell, his hosts daughter: And after his beard was so trim'd, the damosels father who had preferred a grieuous complaint against the gentleman, made declaration that he was well satisfied. But the Earle thinking this chastisement but a matter of sport, for as much as the fault deserued death, would not yet for that time be thought more rigorous than the priuat law of that place, towards his houshold seruant, a man otherwise valiant and faithfull: But he added this threatning caueat, That if from thence-foorth, that gentleman, or any other of his followers, should presume to attempt so great an offence, he, who professed himself a prince carefull of the honor of ladies, would seuerely punish the offenders according to the Iustice of Sauoy, and not according to that of Greece. In former times the Turkes were wont to let the haire of their head and beard grow long: For we read in their Histories published by *Leonclauius*, that to cut the beard with cizzers was not a thing in vse. The Counsellors and Bassas of the Sultan wore verie long beards. If the Sultan were displeased with any man, he caused his beard to be cut, for a punishment and shame. The same *Leonclauius* reporteth, That the Sultan *Emir Suleyman* being prouoked to anger with certaine ouer-rude speeches giuen him by a captaine of the Ianissaries, called *Chassan*, caused his beard to be cut off in reproach, according to the custome of Turkie: Which thing *Chassan* esteemed so great a shame vnto him, that he went ouer to the enemies, and handled the matter so, that *Emir Suleyman* being forsaken of his Counsellors and souldiers, was presently entrapped and strangled. Which hapned in the yeare 1512.

In his Chronicle of Sauoy. *lib.2.cap.155.*

I allow of their opinion who thinke, that the Germans and other people began a little to take downe their long beards, after experience had taught them that it was not best to keepe the haire so long by reason of the inconueniences that followed of it, both in the wars, and in the hurts as well of the head as of the face; as also, for health-sake, long haire feeding the defluxions of the braine. Whereunto (happily) *Charlemaigne* had respect in the priuiledge which he gaue to the Frisons, within the pallace of Lateran at Rome, in the yeare 802. in the which these words among other, are contained: *We ordaine, That the Frisons that will goe to war, and are of abilitie, be clipt round about to the top of their eares, and weare cassocks laced with gold: that thereby they may make shew of the libertie which we haue graunted vnto them.* Contrariwise, *Claud*, or *Clodion* surnamed the Hairie, second king of the French, hauing by continuall wars happily driuen the Romans welneere out of all France; commanded his souldiers and subiects to weare long haire and long beards in token of libertie: because in former times the Romans by the Emperours Edicts made the Gaules be poled, for a witnesse of seruitude.

tude. This Ordinance of *Clodion* was made about the yeare of Grace 443. This custome was after a sort practised in the citie of Athens. For the yong boies were neuer pol'd till they were fourteene yeeres of age: and then they were brought by their parents to those of their kin, that in their presence their bush might be clipt off. The manner of the Greekes and Romans for the most part was, to consecrate this first maiden-head of their haire to some Idoll, so as making profession to nourish it in honour of that Idoll, they would come to be pol'd in the chappell of that Idoll, and there leaue their fleece in some eminent place; the proofe whereof may be seene in many ancient Authors.

To returne to our purpose, we must not forget, that *Alexander* the great being readie to ioyne battell, gaue expresse commandement to the Macedonians to shaue their beards. They say, That vpon a time when they were all readie to close with the enemie, the captaines asked him, if he would command them ought? Nothing (quoth he) but that I would haue the Macedonians to shaue their beards: meaning, that they were to coape and grapple with the enemie, and that long beards are not then best, but rather easie to be taken hold by. The Sarasins of India were not ignorant of this fashion: For *Ierom Osorius* writeth, That the Portugalls offring to land in Panane neere Calecut, were set vpon by thirtie Moores hauing their heads and beards shauen in token of a vow, whereby they had sworne with horrible execrations to die rather than to quit their place: Now, as it was knowne afterwards, there was at that time a great number of these vow-makers, vpon whom this necessitie was laid either to be kild, or to returne Conquerors. *Alexander* of Alexandria writeth, That the Abantes a people of Arabia, and the Mysians haue noted the same let and hinderance in long haire: for, they shaued all the forepart of their heads, that they might not giue the enemies any hold when they should goe togither by the eares. The Curetes (that is to say *Clipped*, of the Greeke word *Coura*, which signifieth a clipping) and the Ætolians did the like; for, hauing had before-time much haire vpon their forehead, and the enemie taking occasion thereby to lay hold of them the more easily, they shaued themselues before, and kept their haire long behind. The like doe the Americans at this day, and the other West-Indians. But *Lycurgus* (as *Plutarch* writeth) willed that the Lacedemonians should preserue their great locks, adding the reason, for that it made the faire men seeme fairer; and the foule, more fierce and terrible.

Lib. 5. of the historie of Portugal. *sect.* 7.

Lib. 5. of his gen. daies *cap.* 18.

In the life of *Lysander.*

But some of the wisest haue taxed and spoken against this fashion; and the Lacedemonians themselues did not vse it alwaies. For, as the same Authour writeth, the custome of the yong men was, that when they came to full age they went and shaued their haires in Delphos. The excellent captaines of war would haue their souldiers shauen, and so it should seeme was the Romans vse. Saint *Paul* followed this rule, as most conformable to wisedome and reason, when he saith, *That it is a dishonour to the man to weare long haire*, and addeth, *That nature teacheth so.* *Chrysippus* maintaineth, that the shauing of the chin and beard was found out in the time of *Alexander:* which *Athenæus* reporteth, bringing in the Poet *Alexis*, who saith;

In the life of *Theseus.*

1. *Cor.* 11. 14.

Lib. 13. *cap.* 6.

Do'st thou see any fellow pol'd and shauen,
And aske'st me from whence the cause should come?
He goes vnto the wars to filch and rauen,
And play such prankes he cannot doe at home:
Such prankes become not those that beards doe weare;
And what harme is it if long beards we beare?

For so it is apparant to be seene
That we are men, not women, by our chin.

It is a hundred and fiftie yeares agoe or thereabout, since the wearing of long locks began to be left, in France, Germanie, and other countries, and that by the meanes of *Philip* the Good, Duke of Burgundie (as many thinke) in the yeare 1460. This duke (as *Pontus Heuterus* reporteth) hauing beene troubled with a verie long and vnknowne sickenesse, was told by his Physitions, that he should find ease if he would haue his haire cut (it being then the custome of great lords to haue speciall care of keeping their haire long:) Which hauing done; and perceiuing that the strangenesse of the thing made him much laught at of his court, and others that came to doe their duties to him, he commanded by an Edict that all they of his court, and other gentlemen his vassals, should be poled, as he was: so in one day there was a fall of fiue hundred bushes of haire in the citie of Brussels: the rest were constrained to obey, the commission of forcing them thereunto being granted to a gentleman called *Peter de Vacquenbac:* in so much as at Brussels, and in all the other cities, townes, and villages, there was nought else seene but shauen men, whereat the common people laughed till they were like to burst.

Lib. 4. of the historie of Burgundie.

It hapned afterwards (as *Bodin* witnesseth) that king *Francis* the first being hurt in the head, made himselfe be poled to be the sooner healed. Whereupon followed the poling of the princes, lords, gentlemen, officers of justice, merchants, artisans, and paisants, throughout all France: and if any man wore his haire long after the old fashion, he was hooted at of all. The same also befell the Greekes. For *Theophylus* the Emperour hauing by nature a thin and short haire, and being indeed bald, commanded by an Edict that all should poll themselues, and not let their haire grow lower than to their neck, vpon paine of whipping; saying, That he would bring vp againe the ancient vertue of the Romans, as his Imperiall constitutions testifie. This fashion afterwards by little and little grew into a custome all Europe ouer. To close vp this chapter, I will here annex a merrie storie which fell out vpon occasion of the beard, mentioned in *Nicephorus* his Chronologie. *Baldwin* prince of Edessa, and husband of *Morphia* daughter to an Armenian called *Gabriel*, prince of Mitylene, being taken prisoner neere to Carras, and put to a great ransom, was after fiue yeares imprisonment released. And being in want of money, whereof his wiues father had great abundance, he tooke this course to get some; Comming to his father in law, he tooke order with his horsemen (to whom he ought a great pay) to follow him, and presently vpon their comming to require they might be satisfied, or to haue the pawne and assurance of their due. They were no sooner come in place, but they begin to grumble and to demand their money, making such a stur, that *Gabriel* heares it and runs out to know what the matter was. Hauing heard their demand, he asketh what the pawne was they required. *Baldwin* standing stone-still, as if shame had stopt his mouth; he that was the spokes-man in the name of the rest begins to say, Your sonne in lawes beard is bound to vs for payment, the time prefixed is now past, therefore let vs either haue our money, or his beard. *Gabriel* amased and verie angrie, asked his sonne in law, if that were true. *Baldwin* making as if he were much grieued answered plainely, yea. *Gabriell* mooued more than before, asketh him what necessitie had so neere driuen him to engage a thing so great, so precious, and which was to be so carefully preserued? Because (answers *Baldwin*) these people pressed me to pay them, and I could not giue them a better pawne than my beard. *Gabriel* mistrusting no deceit,

In his Common-wealth. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 6.

deceit, redeemed the extreame ignominie his ſon was like to receiue by loſſe of his beard, and furniſhed ſo much money as paid the ſouldiers, and ſent *Baldwyn* away with his beard.

I may not yet forget this one thing, that, as in times paſt, ſo now likewiſe, among ſuperſtitious people it is held for an ill ſigne, when one dreameth that his haire is cut off. There is an Epiſtle touching this opinion, of *Plinie* the younger to *Sura*, where the Commenter alleageth *Suidas*, who is of opinion, that as to clip the tuft of haire on the crowne of the head ſignifieth loſſe of goods, ſo to dreame that one is pold, bodeth ſome great danger. *Pierius* ſaith, That the poling of the right ſide of the head in dreaming, ſignifieth the death of kinsfolkes: If the dreamer haue none, yet hee ſhould feare ſome other heauie chance. If it ſeeme that the left ſide is poled, that ſignifieth to him that dreameth it, that his neere kinsfolks ſhall die: if he haue none, ſome other miſchance ſhall befall him. But leaue we theſe friuolous conſultations to expounders of dreames. The holy Scriptures teach vs, that *all the haires of our head are numbred; and that not one of them falleth away without the will of our heauenly Father.* And we know, that ſuperſtitious diuining by dreames is condemned of Chriſtians, and repreſſed and puniſhed by the Roman lawes. God by his Prophet *Ieremie* deteſteth falſe and idle dreames. Touching the diuine viſions recommended by him, they haue another conſideration. *Eccleſiaſticus* warneth vs not to giue credit to dreames, *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *the mind that is occupied with fantaſies, ſuffreth like a woman in trauell: whereas ſuch viſions are not ſent vnto thee from the Higheſt to trie thee, ſet not thine heart vpon them: For dreames haue deceiued many, and they haue ſtumbled that haue put their truſt in them.*

Lib.7.Epiſt.27.

In his *Hieroglyph.lib.32.*

Math.10.30.

L.Etſi excepta C.de maleſic. & Mathemat.

Cap.23.v.28. Cap.34.v.5.6.7.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the wonderfull recompence of Nature.

THat foreſight and care which the Creator of all things hath giuen to Nature, as to a good mother, is ſtrange and to be wondred at: for ſhee doth impart day by day, according to her manner, ſuch force and dexteritie to liuing creatures that haue their members crooked, ſhort, ſhrunke together, weake, or meerly defectiue, that the other members which are whole & perfect, doe diuers things beyond their ordinarie function, ſo as one might ſay, that perfection conſiſteth not in the diſtinction of the members, but in the continuall vſe of them. My ſelfe and ſome others being once at Combourg in the houſe of *Eraſmus Neuſteter* a wiſe and vertuous gentleman of Germanie, he entertained vs with the greateſt kindneſſe that could be deuiſed, and ſent to a place not very farre from them for one *Thomas Schweiker*, a young man of one and thirtie yeres of age, deſcended of a worſhipfull houſe, and borne without euer an arme, who did with his feet all that a readie man could doe with his hands, ſo that himſelfe affirmed he was recompenced of one gift in ſtead of another. Hauing ſet himſelfe in a place equall with the height of the table wheron the meat was placed, he tooke a knife with his feet, begins to cut bread, and to cut meat, which he carried with his feet to his mouth, and likewiſe his cup, as eaſily as another would haue done with his hands. After dinner, he begins to write examples in Latin and German letters, ſo ſtraight and ſo faire, as euery one of vs deſired to haue ſome of them to keepe as a ſpeciall monument. Being requeſted, he did with a penknife make pennes, very good to write with, which he gaue vs. While he was thus a doing, I marked diligently the making of his feet, & ſaw that his toes were long, fit to take hold of

of things; and to behold them a farre off, one would take them for fingers: for his thighs and legs, he kept them mannerly couered with his cloake. This sight (which we had neuer seene before) was no lesse pleasing then strange to vs; as it was also at another time to the Emperor *Maximilian* the second, who passing that way, desired to see the man, and hauing noted in him (not without wonderment) the strange recompence of Nature, he dismissed him with a rich gift. Of late there hath been seene a man without armes going about in Germanie, who had learned by custome turned into art, to handle a sword, and to flourish it about his necke; to fling halberds, and to doe other strange things so nimbly, and so surely withall, that he would most commonly hit the marke; and all other duties of the hands, he did them with his feet. But the end of his life shewed that hee was a deceiuer and a wicked person: for he was broken vpon the wheele for his robberies and murders.

We haue at Nuremberg a young man and a young maid, borne of one father and mother, of a good house, and well knowne, that are endued with a singular quicke conceit: for although they be deafe and dumbe by nature, yet can both of them read very well, write, cypher, and cast account. The young man conceiueth at first by signes that are made him, what he is required to doe. If his pen be wanting, by his countenance he sheweth his thoughts, being the quickest and cunningest at all games both at cards and dice, that one can find among the Germans; although there they vse great aduisement, and be marueilous readie and quicke. His sister passeth all other maids for working with her needle all kinds of seamstrie, tapistrie, embroideric, &c. But among all the other wonderful recompences of nature, this is remarkable in them, that most commonly as soone as they see ones lips stir, they vnderstand his meaning. They are oftentimes at Sermons, and a man would say that they draw & conceiue with their eyes the words of the Preachers, as others vse to doe with their eares: for, they will oftentimes (no bodie euer teaching them, or setting them any letters or copies) write the Lords praier and other godly praiers, know by heart the texts of the Gospels that are read vpon holy dayes, and write them readily. When in the Sermons the Preacher maketh mention of the name of *Iesus*, the young man is readie before any of the hearers, to take off his hat, & to bow his knee with all reuerence; So carefull is nature, like a good mother, to make amends for a fault, that none should accuse her to be a step-mother: for, what she taketh away in some of the sences, she alloweth in the rest, as appeareth by *Didymus Alexandrinus*, of whom *Ruffinus* writeth, That he being blind, after he had humbly recommended himselfe to God, spent all his time in hearing, insomuch as by his diligent attention he attained to that which others obtaine by reading, and by the direction of the holy Spirit, became so skilfull in diuine and humane learning, that he was excellent among the Diuines of his time. Moreouer, our Ancestors haue seene *Iohn Ferdinand*, a Fleming, a blind and poore soule, a Spaniards son, who ouercame so happily these two difficulties (very crosse to all, especially to learned men) that he became not onely a very learned Poet and Philosopher, but also so excellent a Musician, that he plaied vpon diuers kinds of Instruments, to the great pleasure of the hearers; and besides, hee made good songs and full of musicke, of many parts. Another named *Nicasius* of Werd, borne at Macklin, excelled him: for falling blind when he was three yeares old, and not being able before to learne any one letter, he so profited in the knowledge of Philosophie, both humane and diuine, that all men were rauished with him. Hauing proceeded Master of Arts at Louain, and afterwards being made Principall of Macklin colledge, where he discharged

Lib. 2. of the Eccles. histories, *Cap.* 7.

discharged his dutie passing well; hee ascended a while after to the degree of Licenciat in Theologie, and though he were blind, he read, and preached openly. Furthermore, being made Doctor of the Lawes in the Vniuersitie of Colen, he read there, and expounded the Ciuile and Canon Law, repeating by heart the texts which he had neuer read, and at last died at Colen in the yeare 1492.

We will conclude this chapter with an example of one borne blind, in whom nature made supplie of that defect with a marueilous recompence otherwayes. The storie is mentioned by *Antonius de Palermo* thus: I learnt (saith he) of king *Alphonsus*, that there was a Sicilian borne blind, liuing still at that time in the citie Gergento, called in old time Agrigentum, who had followed him oftentimes a hunting, shewing to the Hunts-men (who had their sights well ynough) the retraits and repairing places of the wild beasts. Hee added further touching the industrie of this blind man, that hauing by his sparing and scraping gotten together about fiue hundred crownes, which put him to a great deale of care, he resolued (at last) to hide them in a field. As he was making a hole in the ground to that end, a gossip of his being his neighbour, espied him, who so soone as the blind man was gone, searched in the earth, found the money, and caried it cleane away. Two or three dayes after, the blind man returning thither to visit his cash, and finding nought there, like one altogether forlorne, he frets & torments himselfe, and after much debating and discoursing concludes, that no man but his gossip could haue plaied him such a tricke. Whereupon finding him out, he thus began to say vnto him; Gossip, I am come to you to haue your opinion: I haue a thousand crownes, and the one halfe of them I haue hid in a safe place; and for the other halfe I know not what to doe with them, hauing not my sight, and being very vnfit to keepe any such thing, therefore what thinke you? might I not hide this other halfe with the rest, in the same place of safetie? The gossip approoued and commended his resolution, and going speedily to the place, carried backe againe the fiue hundred crownes that he had taken away before, hoping that he should haue all the whole thousand together. A while after the blind man goes to his hole, and finding there his crownes againe, tooke them vp, & comming home, calleth for his gossip, saying vnto him with a cheerfull voice; Gossip, the blind man hath seene better than he that hath two eyes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Beares that eat men. And the strange crueltie of some men that will bee thought Christians.

MAny strange things are reported by men of credit, and as many things written of the life and manners of *Iohn Basilides* great duke of Muscouia. Among other things it is said, that this prince kept alwaies hard by his chamber doore, certaine great Beares, to whom hee would cause those to be cast that he would haue made away, most of them without any conuiction, hauing no respect to their nobilitie and ranke. This *Basilides* exceeded in violence and crueltie all the tyrants that euer were before him. *Paul Oderborn* writeth, That this prince inuiting oftentimes his father in law *Michael Temrucow* to come and banquet with him in his castle, would (when his cruell humor came vpon him) cause the old man to be stript starke naked, and so would send him away through the deepe snowes home to his owne house a great way from thence: Sometimes he would keepe him shut vp close in his house, and driue him, for want of meat and drinke

In the life of *Iohn Basilides.*

drinke, almost to despaire. For, by the commandement of the duke, there were tied at the entring in of the gate of the said house foure great beares, to keepe that no person should carrie any meat to this poore prisoner. Moreouer his custome was to let loose such cruell beasts among a great assembly of people, especially at such time as they were going to the churches. And if any one were spoiled by those beares, he would couer such mad parts with some jest and laughing deuise, saying, That his sonnes had taken great delight in such a sight; that they might thinke themselues happie, whom the great dukes beares had tugd and kild, considering also that he himselfe tooke singular pleasure in such pastimes.

Lib. 29. of his historie.

Ammian Marcellinus writeth almost the same of the Emperour *Valentinian*: His words are these; *But it is not fit we should forget or ouer-passe this one thing, that he, hauing two cruell beares liuing by mans flesh, the one named* Mica aurea, *the other* Innocentia, *was verie carefull to haue them lodged neere his chamber doore, and appointed men to keepe them. After he had beene serued a long while of* Innocentia, *who had torne and eaten a number of men, to recompense her seruices he set her loose, and sent her away into the woods.* Now although *Caligula* and other Emperours, or rather tyrants, tooke great pleasure in casting both men and women to beasts, to be by them throtled and rent, yea and sometimes made them be hid and sowed in beasts skins, to make their pastime the greater: (which could not let, but that the power of God saued a great many from such punishment, brideling and taming the fierce nature of the wild beasts, as *Eusebius* maketh mention) yet this which *Suetonius* writeth of *Nero* exceedeth for crueltie all that is said before: *We haue heard* (saith he) *that* Nero *determined, That a certaine Ægyptian, the greatest rauener in the world, should haue these men, and teare & eat them all raw.* This Ægyptian was one that swallowed raw flesh, and all that was set before him. *P. Iustinian* reporteth, That *Aladin* king of the Hassians in the Isle of Sumatra, sent (not many yeares agoe) to *Solyman* the Emperour of the Turkes, among diuers presents, a Moore that liued by mans flesh. *Paulus Iouius* writeth touching *Amidas* the king of Tunis, That he was wont not onely to cause dead bodies to be cast to the dogs to feed them, but also to let loose hungrie dogs vpon liue bodies, to teare them the more furiously. If the Pagans and Turkes haue beene taxed (and that worthily) because of such cruelty; who can say, that they, who wilbe thought Christians are not infamous, execrable, and altogither vnexcusable for hauing followed such examples? And (indeed) who can read without astonishment, that which *Sabellicus* writeth, how it was reported, That *Francis Carrera*, prince of Padua, kept great mastiues by which he caused his subiects to be strangled and deuowred. The said *Paul Iouius* witnesseth, That *Iohn Maria* duke of Milan was possessed with this beastly furie. This cruell prince (saith he) after he had caused a number of the friends of his deceassed father to be beheaded, deuised a new punishment, the cruellest that could be inuented. One called *Gyran* kept (by his commandement) certaine great curs exceeding rauenous, the which at first deuoured offenders, but at last this *Gyran* threw to them those whom the duke hated, that they might throttle, and teare in peeces, and afterwards eat them, to the incredible horror and pittifull waymenting of the people amased to see such sights.

Lib. 8. cap. 7. of the *Eccle-siast.* historie.

Lib. 15. of the hist. of *Venice*.

Lib. 44.

Lib. 8. Decad. 2. of the historie of *Venice*.

Lib. 2. of famous men.

But what should let vs to tell here that which histories report touching the Conquerors of the New-world, who haue not beene much gentler to the West Indians, than the aforesaid princes to others of their time: Especially after they made themselues masters of the citie of Cusco, where they committed (as in all the

the countrey besides) most horrible rauages and massacres. For *Benzo* and others write, That there were some Spaniards who hauing passed away the time with cutting a many poore Indians into pieces, like flesh for the butcherie, gaue the pieces when they had done, for meat to their dogs. *Ouiedus* reporteth a pleasant storie, which I will here set downe. *Diego Salazar*, famous for hauing beene one of the Conquerors of Saint *Iohns* Island, had a great dog, verie cruell, and well flesht vpon the Indians, which dog was called *Bezerillo*. The night after that day wherein the Spaniards had ouerthrowne in battell the Cacick *Maboromaca*, *Salazar* was minded to set his dog vpon an old Indian woman, that was a prisoner: now, that he might doe it the more handsomly, he giueth this old woman a letter to carrie to the gouernour being then a league off, meaning, so soone as she should be gon a little way, to let loose his dog after her. The poore soule going on merrily, in hope of deliuerance by the meane of that letter, was not gone a bow-shoot on her way, before *Salazar* sent his dog after, who ouertakes her presently. She seeing the raging cur running after her with open mouth, sits her downe vpon the ground, and begins to say to him in her language; *Signior dogge, signior dogge, I carrie these letters (therewith shewing him the letters sealed) to the gouernour.* And then adding, *Signior dog, doe not hurt me. Bezerillo* lesse dogged than his lord *Salazar*, being (as it were) mooued with the humble and abiect praiers of the poore old woman, made a full stop, and lifting vp his leg, pisseth against the woman, as it had beene against a wall. The Spaniards that knew the currish and cruell nature of *Bezerillo*, made a miracle of the accident, and were ashamed to kill a woman whom such a dog had spared aliue. This sheweth the truth of that saying of *Aristotle, That anger groweth calme towards those that stir not*, as appeareth in dogs that neuer bite persons laid along vpon the ground. We read also, That the West Indians in *Peru*, being not able to find gold inough to satisfie the couetousnesse of the Spaniards who applied diuers kinds of tortures vnto them, hid themselues in the woods; but the Spaniards going thither a hunting with their dogs, and thereby discouering the Indians, made them be set vpon, strangled, and torne in pieces: they that were left aliue being driuen into despaire, to be rid at once out of so many miseries hung themselues with their owne hands. A Spaniard, a Iacobin frier, and after a bishop, called *Bartlemew de las Casas*, confirmeth these things, as hauing seene them; for, describing the affaires of *Peru*, he deploreth withall the vnhappinesse of the Indians; *But I must needs* (saith he) *recount an other deuillish act, and I know not if it agree not more with the most cruell beasts, than with men. The Spaniards keepe of purpose certaine furious and bloodie curs, with which they vse to bite, throttle, and teare the Indians in pieces. For my part I thinke not that good and right Christians, and they that will be thought to be so (but are not so indeed) can say, That they euer heard tell of the like*, to wit, That the Spaniards carrie about with them whersoeuer they goe, a great number of Indians chained, as if it were heards of swine. They kill them, cut them into pieces, and keepe a shambles of mans flesh. You shall oft-times heare one of them say to another, Lend me a quarter of flesh of thy viliaco (that is to say vilaine, for so in outragious disdaine they call euerie Indian) to giue to my dogs; I will giue thee the like when I shall kill one of my viliacos: behauing themselues in that, as if they pleasured one another with quarters of mutton, or with legs of porck. Some of them when they goe a hunting (as they doe ordinarily) being asked at their comming home, if they had good fortune? Yea (say they) for with my dogs I haue puld downe and kild so many and so many viliacos. If it be not to the number of fifteene or twentie, they thinke they haue not

In the historie of the New-world. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 5.

In his booke of the destruction of the Indians by the Spaniards.

not made a good hunting. This Spanish bishop writeth of these and many other such beastly furious parts in the Spanish booke printed at Seuill *Anno* 1552. since translated into French, and published. Moreouer, *Anthonie le Pois*, in a certaine discourse, alleageth out of the histories of India, how that, by the commandement of *Veluoa* a Spanish captaine, *Pancras* a great Indian Cacick, and many other great followers of his, were throwne to dogs, which did throttle and eat them. He addeth, That in this voiage a Spanish souldier had such a terrible dog which he carried with him, that in bickerings he would strike more feare into the Indians, than the Spaniards themselues could doe; whereby his master receiued a double pay euerie moneth, one for himselfe, another for his dog. At the last, in a conflict, the Indians with arrowes killed this foure-footed Spaniard, at which they reioiced more than if they had feld a great number of two-footed enemies. This dog called *Leonino*, had this singular qualitie, that if any Indian prisoner did saue himselfe by running, and the souldier would command the dog to run after, and bring him back againe; *Leonino* would follow the footing of the prisoner, and though he had hid himselfe among a thousand Indians, the dog would know him againe, and by his leapings at him giue him warning to come back againe: If he obeied, the dog would doe him no hurt; but if he resisted, *Leonino* would teare him in pieces. Touching the tortures and hunting with dogs practised by the Spaniards against the West Indians, *Anthonie Arnauld* saith these words: In Peru they haue publike tortures in the market places, where they may put a thousand men at once, and there the souldiers and their boies torment these poore soules to make them confesse where their treasure lies. When they can make an escape, they goe and hang themselues in the mountaines, and by them their wiues, and their little children at their feet. These monsters of tyrannie goe a hunting men, as they doe heere hunt stags. They send them out to seeke for hunnie and wax, and send their dogs after them to rent and deuoure them. *Peter Martyr Milannois* saith the same, where he reporteth that the Indians burned certaine bodies which the dogs had torne in pieces. And after, he hath discourse at large of the ragingnesse of the dogs vpon the poore, and naked, and vnarmed Indians; Neuertheless (saith he) the businesse fell out otherwise in the encounters betweene the Spaniards, and the Caribes and Caramarians: For these people being fierce and fitter for the war than any other, shoote with a great suddennesse poisoned arrowes, wherewith they kill the dogs that come any thing neere them.

In his plea against the Iesuits.

Lib. 2. Decad. 3.

CHAP. XIX.

The crueltie of the Pagans against the amiable name of Christian.

THe deuill hath euermore so deadly hated the Christians (called so at first in Antioch, when Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* erected the Church there; for before that the beleeuers were called Disciples) that he hath neuer left blinding, and setting on his followers to execute all sorts of cruelties against the members of Iesus Christ. The vncleane spirits and damned (as *Lactantius* saith) enemies to the truth, when they cannot of themselues annoy the Christians, make them to be set vpon and ouer-run by wicked men, who cannot away with them that stand so much in their way; and therefore they poure out all their malice against them, either to force them by torments to wauer, or altogither leaue the true religion; or (at the least) to sweep them from the earth, to the

Lib. 5. cap. 21.

end

end there may not so much as one be found that may represse or reprooue their wickednesse. Thence it commeth, that these lying and murdring spirits, that desire nothing else but the shedding of innocent blood, haue borne their ministers and executioners in hand, That the Christians were the cause of al the miseries in the world; and haue gone so farre with their false accusation, that when they had no other thing to say against a man, it was ynough to crie, *Hee is a Christian:* for that very name was more than a capitall offence. Thence came foorth the Edict of *Nero*, in the fourteenth yeare of his empire, *Whosoeuer hee bee that confesseth and auoweth himselfe to be a Christian, let him without further examination be put to death, as a conuicted enemie of mankind.* True it is, that vnder the raigne of *Commodus*, whose rule began in the yeare of Christ, CLXXX. it was enacted, that who so should accuse the Christians, should die, saith *Eusebius*, who writeth how that the informer against *Apollonius* the Martyr, had his thighs broken. The Ordinance of *Antoninus* the Debonaire was plainly made in honour of the Christians. *Vlpian* hath it reported and registred in these words: *Eis qui Iudaicam superstitionem sequuntur, DD.* Verus *&* Antoninus *honores adipisci permiserunt*: that is, The Emperors *Verus* and *Antoninus* haue giuen permission to those that professe the Iewish superstition, to exercise publike offices. *Vlpian* meaneth not the Iewes (as *Accursius* and others think) but speaketh of the Christians, who were thought to make profession of Iudaisme, because the beginnings of their doctrine appeared first among the Iewes. The learned *Lipsius*, speaking of *Pomponia Græcina* accused of strange superstition, noteth that, saying, *I hold that this woman was accused of being a Christian, or a Ieweesse; for then these two professions were thought but one, and were confounded together among the Pagans.* *Antoninus* had great reason to fauour the Christians, hauing been by their praiers saued with all his armie in the warre against the Sarmatians, whom he ouercame in a set battell, and triumphed ouer them. In requitall of which good receiued, the legion of the Christian souldiers in the armie of *Antoninus*, was surnamed Thundring, as *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Paulus Diaconus* witnesse. From that time forwards the Gouernours of the prouinces did oft times shew themselues more gentle towards the Christians, and supported them, as harmeles and peaceable people: yea and respected them, considering (and that wisely and discreetly) that it is no lesse impietie to condemne the innocent, than to absolue the guiltie.

Lib. 5. cap. 19.

In l. generaliter §. finali. F. De decurionibus.

Vpon the 13. booke of the Annals of *Corn. Tacitus.*

Now notwithstanding that things went so, yet the accusers and aduersaries of the Christians, caried away with enuie, and with malice, and with deuillish furie, gnashed with their teeth so much the more, and when they could not doe worse, they stirred vp the mad and raging multitude to crie out, that the Christians were enemies to the state, and seditious perturbers of the common peace; they accused them to the gouernors of the prouinces as pernicious and wicked men, that were in no case to be borne with. Finally, this furie grew so hot, that (as *Lactantius* complaineth) the Idolaters (whom hee calleth fooliish-religious) were of opinion, That to giue audience to the Christians yeelding a reason of their faith, was to pollute themselues with an vnexpiable fault, and to be so tied, that they might neuer be loosed againe. *For they feare* (saith he) *that being ouercome by vs, they should at last be forced to submit themselues to the truth. Therefore they crie and vse craftie reasons that they may not heare, and shut their eyes, that they may not see the light which wee offer vnto them: wherein they shew the mistrust they haue of their bad cause, seeing they dare not know that which wee speake, nor enter into conference, because they know the victorie is on our side: And therefore turning their backe to all peaceable conference, as an Ancient said,*

Lib. 5. of Inst.

They baniſh wiſedome farre from hence,
And all is done by violence.

And becauſe they endeuour to condemne for guiltie thoſe that they know to be innocent, they will not haue that innocencie ſhould be known; as if, forſooth, it were a greater fault to condemne innocencie prooued, than not heard. But they feare that they ſhall not bee able to condemne vs after they haue heard vs: and therefore doe they racke and torture the ſeruants of the high God, that is, the good men, whom they kill, and take out of the world; theſe vnreconciliable hate-bearers being not able to yeeld any cauſe or reaſon of their hatred. Becauſe they are out of the way, they burſt with anger, and can neither ſee nor ſuffer thoſe that follow the right way: inſtead of relenting and amending, they heape vpon their errors, cruelties; defile themſelues with the blood of innocents; and torment the ſoules that are conſecrated to God, by plucking the entrails out of their bodies. We offer yet to enter into conference and communication with ſuch people, and to draw them out of fooliſh ſuperſtition to the truth, that had rather drinke the blood of the Iuſt, than hearken to their words. Beſides this witneſſe, *Tertullian* is another. *If the Tiber ouerflow* (ſaith he) *if the Nylus do not ſwell ſufficiently to water the countrey, if it raine not, if the earth doe quake, if there be famine or peſtilence, preſently they crie, That the Chriſtians muſt be caſt to the Lyons.* The ſame Author writeth, *That the Idolatrous people called the Chriſtians* Sarmenticij, *and* Semiſſij, *becauſe they were tied to woodden ſtakes that coſt but halfe an As* (which maketh not a halfe-penie) *where they were burnt, with ſticks & branches of trees called Sarmenta.* And yet he ſaith in another place, *We call vpon God eternall, true, and liuing, for the ſafetie of the Emperors, who themſelues deſire that this God aboue all other ſhould bee fauourable vnto them: wee pray this God that he would giue to the Emperours long life, a ſetled empire, a laſting houſe, mightie armies, a faithfull counſell, good ſubiects, and a peaceable world.* *Arnobius* complain'd likewiſe in this manner; *What haue our writings done to bee burnt? and our Temples to bee ſo furiouſly beaten downe? ſeeing in them wee pray to the great God, whoſe peace and grace we wiſh to all, as well magiſtrats, ſouldiers, kings, princes, friends, and enemies, as to thoſe that are yet aliue, and that liue no more vpon the earth. There is nothing heard in theſe Temples, but exhortations to gentleneſſe, meekeneſſe, ſhamefaſtneſſe, puritie, chaſtitie, friendſhip, liberalitie, almes, and brotherly fellowſhip. But thus it is, becauſe you Idolaters haue the ſword in your hand, and are the ſtronger in fire and fagot, you thinke likewiſe to goe before others in the knowledge of the truth.*

In his Apolog.

In his worke againſt the Gentiles.

The wiſe and modeſt Gouernors of the prouinces were not able to repreſſe this furie of the people, accuſtomed to ouerwhelme with falſe reports thoſe it iudgeth to be guiltie, albeit euen then they had a notable leſſon giuen them by the Emperours, inſerted ſince in the Code of *Iuſtinian*, importing, *That they ought not to make account of the reports of the fooliſh multitude, nor giue credit to the exclamations of thoſe that will haue the guiltie acquitted, or the innocent condemned.* For (as *Saluſt* ſaith) the common people is vnconſtant, ſeditious, mutinous, deſirous of innouations, turbulent, and an enemie to reſt. The Pagans attributed the change and decay of the empire, to the exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion: therefore they maintained with tooth and naile, that they ought to continue the ſacrifices, and lay aſide the outward profeſſion of Chriſtianitie, wherof ſo many and ſo great euils proceeded and grew. This is to be ſeen in the oration of *Symmachus* Lieutenant of Rome, aſſigned Embaſſador from the Senat to the Emperors, *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius*, and *Arcadius*, whom he laboured to perſuade for the reeſtabliſhing of the outward exerciſe of Paganiſme. For, to obtaine the more eaſily that the altar of Victorie, which the Chriſtian Emperors had cauſed to be taken out of the court, might be ſuffered to be ſet vp againe, he alleaged the antiquitie of Rome, and the long continuance of the ſeruice of the gods; adding, that all things had ſucceeded

ded happily during the ancient religion: that contrariwise, so soone as Christianitie was receiued, all began to grow worse; the grounds were become barren, famine, war, and many other miseries were come on. But Saint *Ambrose*, and the Poet *Prudentius* confuted (and that soundly) the cauils of this orator. Let vs here insert that which happened in the ruine of the temple of *Serapis*, worshipped in Alexandria vnder the reigne of *Theodosius*. It was the custome of the Ægyptians, to carrie to the temple of this idoll the measure of the rising of Nilus, as though *Serapis* had been the author of the increasing of the waters. When the image of this false god was throwne downe and burnt, all the Ægyptians vaunted, that *Serapis* would be reuenged of such an outrage, and that the water should grow no more: But God (willing to show that this *Serapis*, much younger than Nilus, was not he that made this riuer swell and rise, when the season was for it; but he the onely true God) caused, that then, and from that time forwards, Nilus grew and spread it selfe much more ouer all Ægypt, than it had euer done before. Whereupon they began then to carrie into the temple of the Christians, to the true Lord, the wand or measure of the rising of Nilus. Which being reported to *Theodosius*, a religious prince, he lifted vp both his hands stretched towards heauen, and with a cheerfull and smiling face, said, *O Christ, I thanke thee, for that so old an errour hath beene taken away, without the ruinating of this so great a citie wherein it raign'd.* In the time that *Radagisus* the Scythian came into Italie with an innumerable armie, as he drew toward Rome the head citie of the empire, and no likelihood of reliefe appeared in *Honorius* the Emperour; many Pagans that were left in the citie, and ouer all Italie, where they made no profession of Christianitie, began to raise the creast, and to say alowd, That this good successe did worthily follow the Scythians, because they had the gods fauourable to them, and that they still worshipped them after the maner of the old time. Thereupon they cursed the Christian religion, saying it was hated of her owne God, and maintaining that Rome was abandoned, for that shee had abandoned the gods and their worship, which if it were set vp againe, no doubt but they should see an end of their miseries and dangers. The like was done, when *Alaricus* brought an armie of Goths into Italie, & straitly besieged the citie of Rome: for then all hope of mans helpe failing, they had recourse to the false gods, imploring reliefe of them who had often succoured and saued them, as they said. *Pompeianus*, Lieutenant of Rome strengthened their confidence (saith *Sigonius*) who reporteth, that he heard certaine Thuscans say, that not long before, by the meanes of some sacrifices, they had saued the citie of Narnia from an imminent danger, and repulsed the enemies farre from the walles: Which when *Innocent*, Bishop of Rome heard of *Pompeianus* (if we may beleeue *Zozimus* a Pagan that reporteth it) he answered, Doe what you shall thinke is most profitable for the common-wealth. But for all that, the people abhorred the Senat that were busied in sacrificing to the Capitoll, calling it sacrilege, not sacrifice. We read in the holy Scripture, that the king of Iudea hauing the armie of the Assyrians comming against him, left the true God, to sacrifice to their idols, thinking hee had been ouercome by babies, and that the enemies prospered vnder such superstition. But the historie saith expressely, that these condemned sacrifices drew a curse and an vtter ruine vpon the king and his house, and euen vpon the whole kingdome. Instead of taking heed by such chastisements, it hath fallen out in our time, saith *Paulus Iouius*, that a Grecian called *Demetrius*, sacrificed within Rome in the Amphitheater, after the manner of the Pagans, a Bull to make the pestilence cease. This sacrificing of a beast was esteemed a thing of great vertue

Ruffin. lib. 2. of the Eccles. hist. *cap.* 20.

In the historie of the West empire.

2. *Chron.* 28. 20, 23.

Lib. 21. of his Histories.

by the people, becauſe within a while after, the ſickneſſe, neere her period, had begun to decreaſe.

In his hiſtorie.

Not to goe too far from our purpoſe, *Cedrenus* a Greeke hiſtorian writeth, That in the time of *Diocleſian* (vnder whom the Chriſtians ſuffred a tenth perſecution, longer and crueller than the reſt aforegoing; *Euſebius* reporteth that himſelfe had ſeene in Phrygia a Chriſtian citie, all the inhabitants, men, women and children, put to the ſpoile, and all their houſes burnt by the commandement of *Diocleſian* and of *Maximian* Emperors, becauſe theſe Martyrs had refuſed to be preſent at the ſacrifices of the idols) an Oracle pronounced, That the Roman Empire ſhould thorowly proſper, if all the Chriſtians were maſſacred and put to death. The like befell vnder *Maximinus*, at which time by the ſleights of *Theotecnus* treaſurer of Antioch (a man of great credit, as *Euſebius* writeth, yet an enchanter, and an egregious villaine, for being detected afterwards of certaine foule and heinous matters, he was executed togither with his complices, by the commandement of *Licinius*) for the rooting out of the Chriſtians it was put into the Emperours head, how that God (that is to ſay the idoll of Iupiter, who by the enchantments of *Theotecnus* was made to ſpeake) had commanded that the Chriſtians his enemies ſhould be baniſhed out of Antioch, and from about the territories thereof. But it fell out far otherwiſe ſaith *Cedrenus*, than theſe furies had proiected: For the famine, peſtilence, drouth (with certaine biles and ſoares alſo by report of *Euſebius*) did ſo moleſt and afflict all thoſe of the countrey, that many thouſands of perſons thereby loſt their ſight. *Cedrenus* addeth, That the tyrant himſelfe (whither he meaneth *Theotecnus*, or ſome other then gouernour of Antioch, I know not) attached with grieuous ſickneſſe, and falne blind, caſt out at his mouth abundance of wormes; and a little before he died, cried out *Wo vnto me wretch, for now I receiue the iuſt reward of my wicked practiſes againſt the Chriſtians.* The like befell *Maximinus*, as *Euſebius* and *Pomponius Lætus* report: For he fell into a ſickneſſe, during the which a certaine ſoareneſſe tooke him in his priuie parts, which thereby were eaten and gnawne; all that part of his bodie being rotten and dead, there came crawling foorth ſuch a multitude of wormes that all remedies failed, and the Phyſitions had no more hope in him. In this torment, *Maximinus* feared that this puniſhment was inflicted vpon him for his crueltie againſt the Chriſtians: therefore he reuoked his decrees, and ordained that the Chriſtians ſhould be called home againe, and put in their former eſtate, to the end they might pray for the health and recouerie of the prince. But the praiers made for this blood-ſucker and mutherer were not heard. If he had recouered, his crueltie would haue beene greater than euer it was. So within a while after he was taken out of the world, being a man renoumed (otherwiſe) for his valour in war, but branded for his deſperat furie againſt the Chriſtians, which was the cauſe of his wretched end. This end of his, *Euſebius* deſcribeth in another place, as followeth; *Hauing ſtaied in the houſe, while his armie was abroad, and hiding himſelfe in his priuie chambers and cloſets, he was ſticken thorow all his bodie with a ſudden and vnknowne diſeaſe, a worthie puniſhment for his miſchieuous deeds, ſo that he threw himſelfe to the ground tranſpierced with griefes, vexed with a cruell twinge of torment, and ouerwhelmed with a woluiſh hunger that could neuer be ſatisfied. All his fleſh taken with a ſecret fire ſent from heauen, was (as it were) burnt, ſo that comming by little and little to be turned into aſhes, there was no more any ſhape of a man to be ſeene in him, nothing being left but a carcaſe of bones all drie and (as it were) broiled: in ſo much as they that attended on him in that caſe gaue out, That his bodie was (as it were) a Sepulcher in which ſtincking carcaſe the ſoule was buried: The heat increaſing within the marrow, his eies,*

Lib. 8. cap. 11. of his Eccleſ. hiſt.

Lib. 9. cap. 2. & 3. of the ſame hiſt.

Lib. 9. cap. 7, & 8.

Lib. 8. cap. 28.

Lib. 9. cap. 8.

cies, fell out of his head, so that he vtterly lost his sight. Being in this miserable state, he confest himselfe taken; and calling for death, and acknowledging that it was the iust recompense of his furie and insolence against Christ, he draue his soule out of that infected den wherein it was deteined. We may adde hereunto the storie of *Iulian*, vncle to the Apostata, mentioned by *Sozomenus*, and that likewise of *Antiochus Epiphanes* or *Epimanes* (that is to say, noble, or mad) set foorth in the historie of the *Machabees*. *Lib.5.cap.7.* *Lib.2.cap.9.*

But that it may be knowne how much *Diocletian* and *Maximian* hated the Christians, whose memorie they laboured to extinguish vtterly; I will here represent two ancient inscriptions, found in certaines pillars in the kingdome of Spaine, and registred in the booke of the pictures of *Adolphus Occo*, a learned Physition, and a most excellent Antiquarie.

DIOCLETIAN. IOVIVS MAXIMIAN. HERCVLEVS CÆSS. AVG. AMPLIFICATO PER ORIENTEM ET OCCIDENTEM IMPERIO ROM. ET NOMINE CHRISTIANORVM DELETO QVIA REMP. EVERTEBAT.

The other is this.

DIOCLETIANO CÆS. AVG. GALERIO IN ORIENTE ADOPT. SVPERSTITIONE CHRISTI VBIQVE DELETA ET CVLTV DEORVM PROPAGATO.

Although it be like inough, that the flatterers of the court (as it commonly falleth out) did set vp these inscriptions to flatter the Emperours; yet so much doth it lack that by their horrible persecutions and furious massacres the name of Christian hath beene abolished, that (contrarie wise) *Constantius Chlorus* their successor, adopted by *Maximian*, aduanced the Christians to great dignities, and after him againe his sonne *Constantine* the great made himselfe a Christian. By meanes whereof Historians write, That *Diocletian* (too weake to kick against the prick) lost his sense, after he saw that he could not raze out the name of Christ, as he had imagined to himselfe; and that the Christians, with the proofe of an inuincible constancie in death, increased in number euerie day. He retired himselfe to a place neere Saloua a citie of Dalmatia, spending his time in childish exercises, and there liu'd vnto himselfe ten full yeares, after he had resigned the Empire: but he did nothing but languish and pine away the most part of that time, fearing euerie minute some thunder-clap, saith *Constantine* himselfe in *Eusebius*, where he addeth these words; Nicomedia *speakes of it, They that haue seene it with their eies cannot conceale it; of which number I am one. Certainely the pallace and lodging of* Diocletian *was ruin'd with thunder and fire from heauen that deuoured it. The Sages had foretold that such euils would come: For they held not their peace, neither hid they the sorrow that pressed them, for the cruelties executed so vniustly vpon the Christians, but they talked thereof among themselues openly and freely. What a madnesse is it, what a tyrannie, that men should take vpon them to war against God, and with a brutish courage rise in armes against the true and holy religion, and without triall of the cause, resolue the death of an infinit multitude of good men?* Behold how the Truth, although it were pressed downe, could yet neuer be oppressed, nor vtterly ouerwhelmed: but rather, as spices yeeld a greater smell beaten and brused, than left whole; so the more that the Truth is stamped and trampled vpon by afflictions, the more her brightnesse being set free and vnmasked doth shew it selfe: so as it was well said, *That the blood of the Martyrs, is the seed of the Church.* In his oration of the Synode, *cap.25.*

Now *Eusebius* writeth, That this long and cruell persecution of the Christians vnder *Diocletian*, proceeded of the pride, auarice, enuie and hatred of the bishops, banded one against another, euerie one seeking to be master, and accusing one *Lib.8.cap.1.* of his Eccles. historie.

In his Annals of Bauier, *li.* 2.

another of hereſie: Which *Auentinus* confirmeth after *Euſebius*. For the Emperors being mooued with theſe troubles, and ſeeing that the biſhops and gouernors of the Chriſtian churches were in continual pikes the one againſt the other, made account that all their profeſſion was nought elſe but feigning and diſſembling, and therefore reſolued to wipe away the name and remembrance of the Chriſtians out of the world. But as faſt as the perſecution increaſed, the number of the faithfull increaſed alſo. Now when the Emperours themſelues had embraced the true religion, then (as Saint *Ierom* writeth) the biſhops increaſed in worldly riches, and decreaſed in ſpirituall gifts. It had beene ſaid of them before, *A golden biſhop, and a woodden croſier*: but then it was to be ſaid contrariwiſe, *A golden croſier, and a woodden biſhop*. *Thomas Aquinas* ſeemeth to haue borne that in his remembrance, as *Iohn Baptiſta Gelli*, an Academian of Florence reporteth of him: For comming before Pope *Innocent* the third (in whoſe preſence they were telling at that time a great ſum of money) and the Pope ſaying vnto him, *Thou ſeeſt*, Thomas, *that the church needeth to ſay no more, as ſhe did at her beginning, ſiluer and gold haue I none*: (for *Innocent* was not ſuch an innocent and ſimple fellow, but he knew verie well, as *Hubert Folietta* bringeth in the Venetian Ambaſſador ſpeaking, That there is no reuenue, tribute, nor toll in the world ſo great as the Popes pen, one ſimple touch whereof bringeth in as much money as he will haue) *Thomas* anſwered him without any ſtudying, *You ſay true, holy father; nor can the church ſay now as the ancient church ſaid to the ſame Criple, Riſe vp, walke, and be whole*.

In his 5 Dialog.

Lib. 2. of the Holy League.

The church hath beene euermore in danger becauſe of two euills, Ambition, and Couetouſneſſe; to the which when deſire of reuenge and crueltie are ioyned, it is time that the beſt and greateſt doe looke to themſelues. Touching that which we haue ſaid, how in times paſt it was inough to ſay, *This is a Chriſtian*, to make a man be laid hold on and drawne to his execution (for the Pagans could lay no other thing to the charge of the Chriſtians but that; ſeeing there was not any conſpiracie among them ſo great as that of the Mileſians, who had ſaid, *Let euerie one of vs play the knaue*: but contrariwiſe the firſt article of their holy communion contained this, *Let there not be among vs any wicked and profane perſon*) as *Tertullian* witneſſeth, ſaying, That the tablet of their condemnation contained but three or foure words; *Such a one is a Chriſtian worthie of death*. And *Plinie* the yonger writeth thus to *Traian*, *I asked them if they were Chriſtians; and they auowing it, I asked them the ſame twice againe, threatning to ſend them to their puniſhment: and ſeeing they did perſeuer, I haue cauſed them to be led vnto it*. This is prooued by two memorable examples of *Attalus* and of *Polycarpus*: For as they made *Attalus* to walke about the lions Amphitheatre, there was a little tablet borne before him, wherein theſe foure words were onely written, *Hic eſt* ATTALVS CHRISTIANVS, that is, *This is* Attalus *the Chriſtian*. *Polycarpus* being lead to his execution in a certaine citie of Aſia, this proclamation was made by the commandement of the gouernour, with a loud voice, *Polycarpus hath confeſſed that he was a Chriſtian*, as it is recited at large by *Euſebius*. The Ancients had this cuſtome, That the ſentence of the partie to be executed was propounded in a tablet, or publiſhed with a loud voice by the common crier, as *Francis Baudouyn* hath well obſerued. By all this aforeſaid we may gather, how religiouſly, chaſtly, and blameleſly the ancient Chriſtians liued: which *Euſebius* enricheth with a worthie example. For as they were leading to death, in Alexandria, by the commandement of *Vrbicius* the gouernour, an honourable perſonage called *Ptolemeus*, only becauſe he had confeſſed he was a Chriſtian; another Chriſtian called

In his Apolog. *lib.* 10. Epiſt. 101.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 15. *& lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. of the Eccleſ. hiſt.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 17. of the Edicts againſt the Chriſtians.

Lucius,

Lucius, seeing this iniustice, goeth to *Vrbicius*, and saith vnto him; *What reason is there that thou shouldest put* Ptolemeus *to death for confessing himselfe a Christian, seeing he hath not committed adulterie, nor whoredome, nor murder: and thou canst not proue that he is a thiefe, or a rauisher, or guiltie of any crime or iniquitie? Thy sentences,* Vrbicius, *doe the Emperour* Antoninus *the meeke no credit, nor his sonne, nor the Senate of Rome.* Vrbicius *answering nothing to that, asketh* Lucius, *Art thou a Christian? for so thou seemest to be. Yea, saith* Lucius: *presently he is led away to his execution: for which* Lucius *very ioyfull thanketh* Vrbicius, *adding, that by such meanes he should bee deliuered out of the hands of ill masters, and should goe to God his good Father and Prince.* A third person comming after him, was likewise executed to death.

Now albeit in the time of the Apostles and after, the persecutions raised against the Christians were most cruell, so that good minds cannot read or remember them without weeping: yet before and about the end of the world they shall bee much more grieuous, as the warnings of our Lord, and the holy Scriptures doe witnesse. Therefore *Isidorus* saith, *That the Synagogue shall then bandie against the Church more furiously than when it persecuted the Christians, presently after the first comming of our Sauiour. If the Deuill when hee was fast bound handled the Martyrs so cruelly; much more will he rage in the times of Antichrist, when he shall be vnchained. If hee doe so much being tied, what will hee doe vntyed?* Let vs note further, that the Christians in the Primitiue church would neuer be called by any other name, than by the name of their onely Sauiour and King, to whom they had vowed themselues in their Baptisme (for they followed Christ their Master, not with the mouth only, but with all their heart, to the end they might be thought worthie of that name, saith *Ignatius* Bishop and Martyr) and haue carefully followed that, as a doctrine left vnto them by the Apostles. For they saw that it was the way to ouerthrow and marre all, to leaue this holy name for to deuise others: as Saint *Paul* also said to the Corinthians. This mooued Saint *Ignatius*, who liued in the time of the Apostles, speaking in his Epistle to the Magnesians, of the first beginning of the Christians, to say these words; *He that calleth himselfe by any other name than this, is not of God, and hath not receiued the prophecie speaking of vs in these tearmes, They shall be called by another name, by which the Lord shall call them, and they shall bee a holy people.* To this *Lactantius* aymed, where he speaketh of some not exercised in the reading of the holy Scriptures, and who being not able to answere the accusers of the truth, corrupted the texts of the Bible, to plant themselues a new doctrine, hauing neither root nor any ground at all: *Some* (saith he) *allured by the fore-telling of the false prophets, discouered by the true Prophets, and by Christ himselfe, are fallen from the doctrine of God, and haue left the true tradition. But being all ensnared by the sleights of the deuill, which they should haue perceiued and auoided, they haue lost by their heedlesnesse both the name and seruice of Christ: for so soone as some haue made themselues be called Phrygians, or Nouatians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or by other names, they left to be Christians, for as much as loosing the name of Christ, they haue put on humane and strange names.*

No man can tell how many horrible scandals grow and proceed from these dissentions, when they are transformed into sects: and what defamation it raiseth against the true religion, as within these few yeares a certaine Mammeluke or renounced Christian, called *Chanes*, borne in Transyluania, and Embassadour from the Turke into Poland, hath confessed; his proper name was *Eustachius*, and he had been a Schoolemaster in a little citie of Hungarie: He would often say, and boldly affirme, as witnesseth *Paul Odaborn*, who heard it from his owne mouth, That the broiles, enmities, and most notorious dissentions of the Christians

Lib. 1. cap. 28. De summo bono.

In his Epist. to the Magnesians.

1. Cor. 3.

Lib. 4. of his Institut.

In the life of the duke of Muscouia.

stians agreeing so ill in the matter of Religion, had made him renounce Iesus Christ. He shewed him besides a certaine booke full of venom and furie, made by a Polonian, who had endeauored to shew that *Mahumet* was much more to
» be tollerated than *Luther*. I carrie, said he, these writings, which were sent mee
» by the author, and which I esteeme a great treasure, being the witnesses of your
» opinions and dissentions, that I may shew to my Musulmans in Turkie by cer-
» taine and sound arguments, the vanitie of your beliefe. This Polonian without name, after the vsuall manner of other his like, either Tritheits, or followers of idolatrie, had made this furious booke, the which like an infinite number of the like hath been suppressed and kept from men. The remembrance of it is before the God of truth, whose furie will in the end root out all liers and authors of diuisions tending to burie the glorie of Iesus Christ.

Vpon the 10. *chap. hom. 25.*

To draw towards an end: We see plainly in the vnperfect work of *Chrysostom* vpon Saint *Matthew* (expounding these words: *Euery man that shall confesse me &c.*) what the confession of Christians was in times past vnder the persecutions, and how they worshipped and serued their onely Sauiour, frankly, without any turning of the backe; not for fashion-sake, and taking him (as it were) by the way, but with all their heart, and with all their powers. Although this chapter of Meditations be alreadie somewhat long, yet I haue thought it necessarie, not without some reason, to couch here the words of *Chrysostome* at length. *Finally,* (saith he) *obserue here, that the faithfull Christians doe not say, If any sharpe persecution come, for that I will not be tormented, I will denie before men; but in the meane while I will keepe the truth of the Gospell in my heart. But our Sauiour Christ saith not, He that shall not haue confessed in his heart; but, before men: for hee that confesseth not before men, it auaileth him nought to beleeue in Christ in his heart: and it cannot be that he should beleeue in his heart, that denieth with his mouth: because the faith of the heart is the root of confession, and confession is the fruit of faith. As therefore the liuely root must needs bring forth branches or leaues (otherwise you conceiue it is dead in the ground:) so likewise as long as the faith of the heart is sound, it buddeth forth alwayes confession in the mouth. If there be no confession of the mouth, know, by that silence that faith is dead and withered in the heart. For thus saith the Apostle, With the heart man beleeueth to righteousnesse, and with the mouth man confesseth to saluation. Therefore confession with the mouth is nothing worth without beliefe of the heart, nor the beliefe of the heart without the confession of the mouth.* A little after hee addeth; *If to beleeue with the heart were sufficient for thee, God had made nought else but the heart; but he hath also created thy mouth, to the end thou mayest beleeue with the one, and confesse with the other.* He sheweth moreouer, that Christ must be confessed with all the outward sences. *If one of the sences faile* (saith hee) *the confession is vnperfect. Therefore if any say, Eat not of that which is sacrificed to Idols, but looke vpon them onely, and see how finely they are set forth; thou denyest Iesus Christ with thine eyes, if so be that when thou art so prouoked, thou take pleasure in beholding those idols; not that it is any great matter to cast thine eyes vpon them, but thou sinnest in obeying him that biddeth thee looke vpon them: but if then thou turne away thy sight from them, thou confessest Christ. And therefore it is written, Turne away mine eyes that they see not vanitie. If another say vnto thee, I am content that thou looke not vpon the Idols, but heare only the blasphemies which this Pagan casteth out against Christ, to magnifie his gods of wood and stone; thou hast denied Christ with thine eares. And if he say vnto thee, I will not haue thee heare these blasphemies, but when they Cense the gods stand still, and smell the perfume of that incense: if thou doest it, thou hast with thy nostrils denied Christ. Againe, if he say vnto thee, Eat not of this flesh sacrificed, doe but make show of hauing eaten of it: if thou counterfeit, thou hast with thy taste renounced thy Sauiour. But if thou doe not dissemble, thou*

hast confessed him as Eleazer *did in the time of the* Macchabees, *who would not tast a morcell of sheepes flesh vnder the name of swines flesh. If he say, I am content thou doe not faigne so; doe but touch the Idoll with thy hand, or hold the censor: if thou touch the one, or take the other in thy hand, thou hast denied Christ. Contrariwise, thy touching confesseth him, if thou doe not reach it out to these abominations: for all the parcels of thy bodie, and all the faculties of thy soule haue bin created of God, not onely for vse, but also to glorifie his name.*

CHAP. XX.

Of the madnesse, and fell crueltie of a superstitious multitude being in a mutinie.

THe Philosopher *Plato*, whom *Calistratus* the Lawier calleth the wisest and most honored of all the Grecians, saith; *That the common people are vnthankefull, wayward, cruell, enuious, and impudent, becausse they are compounded of a rabble of fooles, of knaues, of cast-awayes, and desperat fellowes.* *Phocion*, a wise Athenian knew it well: for the Oracle hauing said, that there was a man in place, that impugned the opinions of all other men, and the people crying to haue him sought out, *Phocion* stepped forth, saying; *I am he whom the Oracle noteth: for all that euer you say and doe displiketh me.* Therefore hauing one day so preached to the people, as that they were all of his opinion; *What* (quoth he) *haue I propounded any thing vnwittingly that I should not?* so deeply was this conceit rooted in his heart, that whatsoeuer proceedeth from a wise head, cannot please the people, that is to say, mad folke. Pope *Iohn* XXIII. had (belike) read the same, when being asked, What thing was fartheſt from the truth? *The opinion of the common people*, answered hee: *for all that they praise, deserueth blame; all that they thinke, is nothing but vanitie; all that they say, is nothing but lying: they condemne the good, they approue the euill, and they magnifie nothing but infamie.* There is a whole chapter by it selfe, of the peoples inconstancie, in a booke made by *Nicholas Hanape*, Patriarch of Ierusalem, wherin he hath gathered out of the Bible the examples of vertues and of vices. Worthily therefore doth *Arrianus* extoll the wisdom of *Alexander* the great, for that he tooke away from the people of Ephesus the meanes of mutining against the chiefe men of the citie. For iustice hauing been executed vpon some malefactors, *Alexander* forbad that any of the rest should be enquired after, or punished: knowing very well, that if the people should once feele the bridle to be loose, they would soon doe like the horse that is escaped away, and some of them carried with malice, othersome with desire of boot, would runne as fiercely vpon the guiltlesse, as against the guiltie. This wise prince knew, that couetousnesse and want ioyned with crueltie, are a terrible spur to pricke and put on this furious beast (the people) to all sorts of villanie. They of the Isle of Corcyra (now called Corfou) felt (when time was) how dreadfull a multitude is being once moued, and hauing libertie to doe mischiefe: for *Thucydides* setting down particularly the horrible cruelties and villanies committed by the people in a certaine sedition raised against the principall men, writeth, That the chiefest of them hauing been massacred, many fearing least they should fall into the hands of the mercilesse murderers, put themselues to death diuers wayes. Some were kild for priuat quarrels, others by their very creditors. There was no kind of crueltie forgotten; and there is not any thing done in such a confusion, that was not then practised: yea there fell out many strange cases, and altogether extraordinarie: for the father cut his sonnes throat; men were puld out of the temples whither they had fled to saue themselues, or else were kild there. Some were shut within a temple of

L. Siquis. De nundinis.

Plutarch in his life.

Baleus in the life of the Pope.

Cap. 115.

Lib. 1.

Thucid. lib. 3.

of *Bacchus* where they were ſtarued to death. But not to ſeeke for ancient examples, what hath there befalne in ſo many maſſacres as haue beene in France ſince the yeare 1560 vntill this preſent, eſpecially vpon the 24 of Auguſt 1572, and certaine weekes following in the principall cities of the kingdome? The people being growne ſword-plaiers, and making a paſtime of the ſheading of mans blood, did they forbeare any kind of inhumanitie, of crueltie, of villanie, of reproach, which they did not freely and fully exerciſe as well againſt all that were hated and appointed to the butcherie, as againſt the innocent; not onely vpon the liuing, but alſo vpon the dead, without any reſpect of age, dignitie, condition, or ſex? *So far is humanitie departed from men* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *that to take away their neighbours life, is a paſtime to them! more faultie euerie way than they are whoſe blood they take ſo much pleaſure to ſpill. Growne drunke with this cuſtome, they are become fierce and cruell beaſts. Therefore they ſpare not the innocent, but exerciſe vpon all, that which hang-men are wont to doe vpon guiltie and condemned perſons.*

Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Lib. 10. of the hiſt. of Alex.

Lib. 4. Decad. 3.

Therefore *Quintus Curtius* ſaid verie aptly, *That a deepe ſea, and a tempeſtuous ſtraite, hath not ſo many waues, as a common-people hath diuers motions, eſpecially if they poſſeſſe any new and tranſitorie libertie. Such is the nature of the people,* (ſaith *Titus Liuius*) *either it ſerueth like a ſlaue, or ſwayeth like a tyrant: It cannot with moderation deſpiſe or keepe libertie. And commonly there be ſome fierie fellowes, that inflame the hearts of the multitude, and incenſe them to ſedition and blood. Seneca* comprehended all in one line, *What man is it* (ſaith he) *whom vertue pleaſeth, that can pleaſe the people?* Whereunto *Demoſthenes* ſeemeth to aime, who flying from Athens, cried out, *O Pallas, the patroneſſe of cities, why art thou in ſuch liking with three beaſts, the Owle, the Dragon, and the People?* Noting (belike) by the one blind Ignorance, by the other Enuie, and by the third, Inconſtancie. Hereof we haue a memorable example in the ſedition that was ſtirred vp in Palermo in Sicilia, of which *Iohn Squarzalopa*, was chiefe, as *Thomas Fazel* hath deſcribed it at large and in good tearmes, hauing beene a beholder of all the tragedie. Among other things, bewayling the miſerable eſtate to which the citie was brought; *The lawes and Iuſtice* (ſaith he) *were vtterly quenched: couetouſneſſe, rapine, pride bare all the ſway. Diſordered and effeminate perſons, adulterers, thieues, church-robbers, ſuch as had loſt their wealth at cards and dice, or ſpent it vpon banquets and queanes, or that were engaged and indebted to redeeme themſelues out of priſon, and from the gallowes; moreouer all beaters of their fathers and mothers, forgers, periurers, murtherers, to conclude all the damned crew were companions, friends and familiars with* Squarzalopa *and his confederates, with whom they agreed to make a new world within Palermo, making full account (which no man will beleeue but we that ſaw it) to ſpoile and rifle all. They laid in one heape all things, both ſacred and profane, caring neither for meane nor meaſure; it being lawfull for them to rob at noone-day, to ranſack churches, in a word, to make a ſtrange confuſion of all, &c.* Therefore *Ariſtotle* obſerued to good purpoſe, ſaying; That changes come of their part that haue waſted their wealth, and haue no more to waſt: which are beginners of broiles, which will gripe and lay hold of the ſtate either to manage it themſelues, or to ſell it to him that bids faireſt for it. If therewithall ſome ſuperſtition ſeiſe the minds of the ſeditious multitude, then doth this many-headed beaſt become ſtark-mad, and it is impoſſible to hold her in any longer. When it hath begun to ſtir, either for the raiſing or the down-throwing of any man, it muſt be done: to execute her intention, ſhe thinketh all is lawfull for her, verifying the ſaying of the Poet, repreſented by an apt ſimilitude.

Plutarch in his life.

Lib. 10. Decad. 2. of the hiſt. of Sicilia.

In his Politikes.

Virgil. lib. 1. Georgic.

When once the Coach hath paſt beyond his common roade,
And that the horſes feet haue felt the duſt abroade:

The Coach-man seekes in vaine his horses to reuoke,
Which haue forgone the hint of bridle, voice, and stroke.

Hereunto *Quintus Curtius* seemeth to haue regarded, saying; *There is nothing that manageth more powerfully the hearts of a multitude, than superstition. Though it be a beast furious, cruell, and inconstant, so soone as she is muzled with fooliſh deuotion, she will much more easily obey any mountebankes and deceiuers, than any captaines and leaders of armies.* And to say truth, superstition resembleth streames, which cannot be kept in with any bankes or stops whatsoeuer, but will breake out of their bounds vpon the fields, and there stay some daies to the great hurt of all the countrey. For this cause *Lactantius* said verie well of these religious counterfeiters, that will haue themselues to be beleeued though they get it by buffeting: *How commeth it then that they play such wicked parts, to the end that their folly may appeare so much the greater, euen then when they thinke to hide it. But we must needes* (say they) *maintaine the Diuine seruice. O how these wretches doe erre willingly, and vpon a iollitie! They doe well to thinke, that in this humane life there is nothing more excellent than Religion: But as they take Superstition for Religion, so they deceiue themselues in the meane of maintayning it. For Religion must not be maintained by killing, but by dying; not by crueltie, but by patience; not by falshood, but by faith. It is for the wicked to commit such leaudnesses; for the good to exercise vertues. A good man doth necessarily make profession of Religion, which in no case belongeth to a murtherer, or to a cruell or faithlesse person. If by sheding of blood, if by torments, if by tyrannie thou wilt maintaine Religion: this is not to maintaine it, this is to trample it, and to violate it. For there is nothing so voluntarie as Religion; in which if his heart that maketh profession thereof, be forced, it is no longer Religion, the Religion is quenched.*

*Lib.*4. —

*Papyr. Masson lib.*3 of the Annals of France. *Lib.*5. —

Now though we may find many excellent histories to this purpose, which deserue to be written out word by word; and among the ancient, that memorable one reherſed by *Eusebius* after *Dionysius*, in his Epistle to *Fabius* of Antioch, and an other which *Sozomenus* reporteth, and a third, which we read in the Eccleſiasticall historie of *Socrates*; and among those of late times, diuers verie remarkable: yet I will content my selfe for the present with only two, worthie to be remembred. The first is set downe in the historie of Portugall by *Ierom Osorius*, who reporteth what hapned in the yeare 1506. as followeth. Neere about the same time (saith he) There was a sedition raised in Lisbone by the folly and furie of the common people: which was a deluge that swept away welneere all the Iewes that were become Christians. The matter fell out as followeth. The greatest part of the citizens were gone away because of the plague. It hapned in those daies, that many French-men, Flemings, and Germans arriued at the port of Lisbone with their merchandises. Vpon the tenth day of Aprill many of those that were left in the citie went to Saint Dominicks church to heare masse. On the left side of which church there is a chappell much reuerenced by those of that countrey, and called Iesus chappell. Vpon the altar there standeth a crucifix, the wound of whose side is couered ouer with a piece of glasse. Some of them that came thither to doe their deuotions casting their eies vpon this hole, it seemed to them that a certaine glimmering light came foorth of it. Then it was who might first crie a myracle, and euerie one said, That God shewed testimonies of his presence. A Iew that was but lately become a Christian being there, denied plainely that it was any myracle, saying, It was not likely that out of a drie piece of wood there could come such a light. Now, albeit a great many of the standers by doubted of the truth of this myracle, yet it was no time then, nor did it become such a person to vse that speech, and to loose his labour in offering to pluck out of the minds of so many folke

*Lib.*6 *cap.*4. *Lib.*5. *cap.*3. *Lib.*3. *cap.*2.

*Lib.*4.

folke, an error that was so fast and so firmly rooted in them. Therefore the people, who are of a violent and fierce nature, and are easily rauished with any ouerture of religion, hearing a Iew denie the myracle, began to murmur, calling him traitor, wicked Apostata, a detestable enemie to Iesus Christ, and worthie of cruell punishment. After many had sore reuiled him with words, all the multitude foaming with anger fall vpon him, pluck away the haires from his beard and head, tread vpon him, traile him into the open place before the Church, beat him to death, and kindling a great fire cast the dead bodie into it. All the residue of the people ran to this mutinous companie. There a certaine frier, who was readie with the word, made a sermon, wherein he vehemently egged on his auditors to reuenge the iniurie that our Lord had receiued. The people mad inough of themselues, were cast cleane off the hinges with an exhortation. Besides this, two other friers tooke and held vp a crosse as hie as they could, crying a loud, *Reuenge*, and encouraging the people to shead blood. At euerie word they cried out, *Heresie, heresie, downe with wicked heresie, destroy the wicked nation.* The French-men and the Germans left their ships, and leaping a shoare ioyned with the Portugals who had by that time begun the massacre. There were fiue hundred of them in the execution of the cruelties following, who with a desperat furie and villanous intent, like hungrie dogs fall vpon the miserable Iewes, cut the throats of a great number, and drag them halfe dead to the fire. And to dispatch their worke the more handsomely, they made sundrie fires in the great place where the Iew that had mis-spoken of the myracle, was first burnt. The slaues, the porters, and the mariners, brought wood merrily from all parts, that the flame might be sufficient to execute their rage. The outcries of women, the lamentations of all were so pittifull, as it was inough to moone euen crueltie it selfe to compassion. Yet notwithstanding, the mutherers were so void of all humanitie, that without any regard either of age or of sex, they murthered men, women, and children: in so much as that one day they slue and burnt aboue fiue hundred Iewes. The next day, because the report of this bloodie butcherie flew into all places, there came running into Lisbone out of the countrey, more than a thousand paisants, as if they had beene mad, all which ioyned themselues to those that had beene the murtherers the day before. Then they began afresh. And because the Iewes forelorne with feare, had shut themselues into their houses, these mutiners breake downe the doores rush into the roomes where they were, cut the throats most cruelly of men, women, and maides; dash out childrens braines against the wals, traile along the dead bodies (some of them yet gasping) to throw them into the fire. Many wounded in diuers places, and yet hauing life in them, were burnt. That day the miserable nation of the Iewes receiued so great a wound in the head, that they had no power to bemone themselues of such hauock-making, nor deplore their miserie. They that were hidden, durst not cast out one sigh, though they should see their fathers, or their children drawne to the fire: and feare had so pierst their hearts, that the liuing seemed to be dead. In this meane while the murtherers spoiled and rifeled houses, gathered gold and siluer, and the most precious stuffe. The French carried the pillage aboord their ships; and this pillaging and pludring was the cause that many Iewes escaped that day. Furthermore, the furie of these cut-throats transported them so far, that they feared not to goe most insolently into the churches, to pluck out from thence the little children, the old men, and the yong maides, that had taken hold of the alters, the crosses, and the images of Saints, crying *Misericordia*; and so murthered

them

them presently, or threw them aliue into the fire. Many that caried the port and shew of being Iewes found themselues in extreame danger, yea and some were kild, othersome wounded in diuers parts of their bodies, before they could make proofe that they had none acquaintance with the Iewes. Some that bare a grudge to others, as they met them did but crie, Iewes, and they were presently beaten downe, no leasure being giuen them to make any answere. The magistrats were not so hardie as to oppose themselues against the furie of this people. Notwithstanding many good men saued the liues of some Iewes that went home with them, and kept them as safe as themselues, giuing them meanes to escape away, and to goe somewhere else where they might be in safetie; and yet the number of them that were kild the second day, amounted to more than a thousand. The third day the murderers grown thirstie againe for mans blood, set themselues in the streets to continue their worke: but they found no more throats to cut, for the residue of the Iewes, and they that belonged to them, had saued themselues, either by flying out of the citie, or by lying close in some good mens houses: and yet for all that there were some murders done. In these three daies, the cutthroats kild about two thousand Iewish persons. The euening of the third day, *Arius Siluius*, and *Aluo de Castro*, gentlemen, and chiefe officers of Iustice, came with an armed power into Lisbone, and appeased the commotion. At the same instant the Frenchmen and Germans went aboord their ships with much pillage, and setting saile tooke with all speed the way homewards to their owne countries. The king vnderstanding the newes of this horrible hurly-burly, was extreamely wroth, and suddenly dispatched away for Lisbone two of the chiefest of his court, namely, *Iaques Almeida*, and *Iaques Lopes*, with full power and authoritie to punish so great offences. They accordingly caused a great number of the seditious to be publikely executed for their furious and cruell offences committed. The Friers that had lifted vp the crosse, and animated the people to murder, were disgraded, and after hang'd and burnt. The Iudges and Magistrats that had beene slacke in repressing of this popular furie, were some of them depriued of their estates, and after adiudged to pay great fines; the citie also was disfranchised of many priuiledges and honors.

The other storie is reported by *Thomas Fazell*, and was (as it were) the Preamble to the sedition of *Squarzalopa* mentioned before. The Iewes of Palermo in Sicilia were brought in extreame danger by the exclamations of an *Augustine* Frier called *Ierome de Verona*, & surnamed the Bearded, who preaching one Lent in the church of the Franciscans, and seeing a great concourse of people come to his sermons, inueighed against the baptised Iewes, accusing them of Marranisme, and saying, That because they were grosse christians, the Inquisitor of the faith had enioyned them for amends and punishment to be cloathed in greene, with a red crosse sowed vpon their coat: hee exhorted the people to plucke those crosses from them, crying with a full mouth, that it was an intollerable wickednes and sacrilege to suffer that they who had crucified the Sauiour of the world, should weare the crosse vpon their garments. He tooke on so often and so vehemently vpon that subiect, that one day the mutinous people as they were going from the Sermon, suddenly rose against the Iewes and Ieweſſes (of which there was then a great number in Palermo) pulled off the cloathes of all the men and women they met, and rent their garments in pieces. This sedition begat other more, both longer and more dangerous (appeased with great difficulties, and by the executing of the greatest offenders) in the beginning of the raigne of *Charles* the fifth, successor to *Ferdinand* king of Spaine and of Sicilia, in

Lib. 10. *Decad.* 2 of the historie of Sicilia.

whom the race of the kings of Arragon left. The people, hauing been ſtirred by this Frier, continued a long time after in their inſolent actions, falling from one ſedition to another, till God, by the meanes of time, redreſſed it, ſo that all vaniſhed quite away, and euer after matters went in quiet and peaceable manner. Albeit then, that the furie of a mutinous multitude bee ſometimes in the beginnings and proceedings very fearefull; yet it continueth not alwaies alike, ſaith the Poet *Claudian*, but when it is defeated of her intents, it falleth and ſlackeneth like a violent wind.

In his poeme of the Geticke war.

Too violent a furie growes alwaies calme at laſt,
And neuer is ſucceſſefull, but ſpends it ſelfe in waſt.
Such wicked Enterpriſes doe ſeldome currant runne,
But commonly are quenched when they are firſt begun.

Therefore it is a follie for thoſe who vnder the fauor of the common people, embrace high attempts, to hope that they ſhall atchieue them by the meane of ſuch a helpe: for as the bodie neither groweth nor diminiſheth, though the ſhadow that proceedeth from it, grow long, or become ſhort; euen ſo, no man is the better for being eſteemed or praiſed of the people, nor the worſe for being blamed of them: For there is no great reſcue in a common people (ſaith *Philip de Commines*) except She be bridled by neceſſitie, or by authoritie; although ſometimes ſuch a time may fall, that the ſudden furie and violence of a multitude (being mooued) may bring with it much feare. And therefore a man may ſay with *Plutarch*, That one man cannot be both maſter and ſeruant to a people: for ſo he muſt needs fall into the inconuenience that wee read of in the Fable of the Serpent, whoſe Taile would needs (one day) fall a quarrelling with the Head, ſaying, That ſhe would (by turnes) go before, and not alwayes come lagging behind; which the Head hauing yeelded vnto, ſhe her ſelfe was the firſt that repented it, not knowing how, or whither ſhe ſhould goe; and beſides, was the cauſe that the Head was all rent, being forced againſt nature to follow a member that had neither Seeing nor Hearing to conduct it. We ſee the like befall a great many, who in the gouerning of the Common-wealth would doe all things to the liking of the multitude: for when they are once tied to this yoke of ſeruitude, deſiring in all and through all to pleaſe the Comminaltie, (which oft-times is moued raſhly, and without any reaſon at all) they could neuer skill afterwards how to retire, nor reteine, nor ſtop the furie and raſhneſſe of the people.

In the life of *Agis*.

The end of the ſecond Booke.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Of the Deceiuers and Maſters of fond Superſtition. Obſeruations touching the latter day.

THere be in theſe parts of our countrey, that remember, with what reaſons a certaine Curate of our time (a man reaſonably well learned, and a great Arithmetician) ſerued his turne, not to any ill intent (as I thinke) but out of the ouer-great confidence he had in his numbers & calculations, grounded vpon theſe foure words of one of the holy Euangeliſts, *Videbunt in quem pupugerunt*: vpon which hee made certaine computations, drawing forth the ſixt letter *V.* the ſecond letter *I.* the *D.* and the *M.* and out of them made vp a ſum of yeares; bearing his pariſhioners in hand (through a Sermon of Arithmaticke wherewith he entertained them) that the world was at an end, pointing out the very day and houre when it ſhould be. He preached ſo, that many ignorant perſons beleeued him, in ſuch ſort, that (after the vſuall manner of fooles) they reſolued, before all ſhould periſh, to ſet cocke in hoope, and in guzling and good cheere ſpent all that was left. The like did *Niſeus* tyrant of Syracuſa in times paſt, who being told by a Soothſayer that his life was at an end; and thinking it was ſo indeed, laſht out his wealth in feaſtings, and vpon wenches, and other ſuch riotting courſes. And the like (they ſay) did a rich man of Lions in our time, who hauing caſt his natiuitie, and building vpon the predictions of his death, would needs (in all haſt) giue away all that he had, as if one foot had been alreadie in the graue, ſo that he left himſelfe nothing. But his Aſtrologie deceiuing him, hee was forced to get his liuing with begging of almes, hauing drawne forth his life till he was very old, and much longer than he made account of. But to come againe to our Curat, the euen before the day and houre by him ſet downe, they that had beleeued his Sermons met all together in a chappell, expecting with great deuotion the end of the world, for the which that they might be the better prepared, he made them a new ſermon fitting that fantaſie of his; which Sermon was no ſooner ended, but behold there aroſe ſuch a tempeſt in the aire with thundring and lightning (which was one part of his predictions)

Ioh. 19. 37.

predictions) that these poore soules thought verily Doomes-day was come. But within a while after, the tempest being appeased, and the heauens appearing such as they were before, the miserable parishioners perceiuing how this Curate had abused them, and how by his foolish persuasion they had kept a table longer than they should, vexed for hauing beene so fetcht ouer, conspire to fall vpon him, with a full resolution to play horse-play with him, yea, and to beat him dead in the place, if he had not betaken him to his heeles, and that some of the staider sort had not calmed the choller of the rest. A Greeke Frier, desiring to fill his budget, did the like a good while agoe, by report of *Martin Crusius*. He being come from Ierusalem to Constantinople, setteth himselfe in the market-places, and before the temples to take money, saying, That neere to Ierusalem there fell a stone from heauen, vpon which was written, that within a few daies the world should haue an end; making good what he said by certaine Buls of the Patriarches of Alexandria, in the which indulgence and remission of sinnes was promised to all those that would giue money to this bul-bearer. But a while after, the knauerie was found out, and the frier and all they that had bought of his smoake were excommunicated. The frier confessing the cosenage, and weeping exceedingly, would not goe foorth of the church till the Patriarch had first promised to take him againe into the bosome of the same: Which was done, after a long penance; the Patriarch partly in jest partly in earnest, calling him the Popes fore-runner.

In his historie intit. *Turco-græcia.*

We reade that such another like matter hapned in times past vnder the reigne of *Antoninus* the Phylosopher. A roguish fellow followed with a sort of companions like himselfe, casting about how he might strike a good hand and get himselfe crownes, sought to make the people of Rome beleeue, that fire should fall from heauen, and the end of the world should be at hand, when he, comming downe from a wild fig-tree planted in Mars-field, should be transformed into a storke. At a day appointed, this cosiner hauing climed the tree, and then sliding downe letteth a storke flie out of his bosome; which turned all the spectacle into laughter. The Emperour made the fellow come before him, who hauing confessed his intent, obteined pardon. *Mahumet* that notable deceiuer, vsed a more powerfull cosinage to ensnare his superstitious followers: For hauing by the helpe of a certaine frier called *Sergius*, forged a new sect patched togither of many strange fooleries and impieties, whereby he besotted the Arabians, and them of Asia, with others, he died in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of *Heraclius* the Emperour. Now he had foretold his disciples, that he would dislodge out of the world in the tenth yeare of his reigne, but the third day he would rise againe. Hereupon a follower of his, desirous to trie if he said true, poisoned his drinke: hauing swallowed it, and feeling himselfe neere his end, he said to those that were about him, *By water you shall receiue remission of sinnes:* and so died suddenly. His disciples kept the bodie, expecting the issue of his foretelling: but his bodie did so stinke that being not able to endure it they got them away; and comming thither againe ten daies after, they found that it was eaten of dogs. I desired to copie this storie out of the Spanish chronicle, compiled by *Iean Vasæus*, who followed (as he saith) an Author called *Lucas de Tude:* because I doe not remember that I euer read it in any other place.

Iulius Capitolinus in his life.

The Imperiall lawes haue ordained certaine punishments for those that goe about to deceiue men with any vaine superstition. Hereunto *Paulus* the lawier had regard, when he reporteth the Edict containing these words: *We ordaine, That the Diuiners which faigne that they are inspired by God, shalbe chased away, for feare least*

L. siquis de pœnis. Modestin. lib. 1. de pœnis.

least good manners should be corrupted vnder hope of a thing lightly beleeued, or that the minds of the people should be troubled: therefore after they haue beene cudgelled, let them be cast foorth of the citie: if they perseuere, let them be kept fast in prison, or carried into some Isle, or confined, and banished for euer. Lib. 5 cap. 23. de sent. de Vaticinatoribus, &c.

To come to the other part of this chapter: I doe not propound these things, as if I thought that the latter day, which Saint *Peter* calleth a day of refreshing, should be far off: for contrariwise, I am of a strong beliefe, that the signes which goe before it, and were foretold by our Sauiour, are alreadie come to passe, if not all, yet the most part of them: especially considering, that the Apostles and their successors said of their time, that then were the last daies. For this cause, some thought that the predictions touching Antichrist should haue their accomplishment vnder the Empire of *Seuerus*. For thus we read in *Eusebius: A certaine man named* Iude, *wrote in that time Commentaries vpon the seuentie weekes of* Daniel, *finishing his Chronologie with the tenth yeare of the reigne of the Emperour* Seuerus: *and he thought, that the comming of Antichrist drew neere at that time: so much had the grieuous persecution raised vnder this Emperour shaken a great many persons.* Act. 3. 18. Lib. 6. cap. 6. of his Eccles. historie.

Cedrenus, speaking of Antichrist, alleageth the Testament of king *Ezechias*, and the prophet *Isaie*, to prooue that Antichrist shall reigne three yeares and seuen moneths: after that, being cast into the bottomlesse pit, Iesus Christ the Lord of all things, and our God, shall come: then the dead shall rise againe, and the iudgement shalbe. In the time of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth about the yeare 1062, it was noised abroad (saith *Auentinus*) that the world drew to an end, and that the time was come wherein In his abridgement of histories.

The Earth, the Sea, and this huge Heauens frame
Should come to nought, consum'd with fierie flame.

Or else, as the Poet *Lucretius* saith, the day was at the doore Lib. 5. of the Annals of Bauaria.

That was to finish all, and bring the world so gray,
To nought; that was with speed to melt all cleane away.

So that at this day, six hundred yeares being fleeted away since *Henrie* the fourth, there resteth no more, but that with opened eares we lift vp our heads to hearken after the blast of the trumpet of the Arch-angell, and with a pure conscience looke for the comming of the Sonne of man in the cloudes, with great and incomprehensible glorie and power, for the redemption of his. I remember well the prophecie of *Elias* and *Catina*, Iewish Rabins, drawn out of the Talmud, and out of the chapter of Idolatrie, which many alleage as an Oracle false from heauen, touching the six thousand yeares continuance, which they attribute to the world: but we see that these computations differ, and when there is a miscasting in the beginning of an account, it must needs be that infinit errors follow. But we haue the faithfull admonition of Iesus Christ the true Pastor, who is carefull for the saluation of his sheepe, saying, *That for the elects sake those times and daies shalbe shortned.* Tit. Sanhedrin. cap. Halec. cap. Libne. Matth. 24. 22.

But to the end we may vnderstand what the faithfull haue thought many daies ago concerning this latter day; and how carefull they haue bin to meditate thereupon (albeit they haue been in doubt and perplexitie as touching the time) let vs heare what *Lactantius* saith of it. *Six thousand yeares being fulfilled* (saith he) *then must this change be; and we may gather by the signes foretold by the Prophets, that the day draweth neere. For they haue spoken plainely of extraordinarie things, at the seeing of which we ought to expect and feare the end of the world. As for the full accomplishment, we may learne it out of the Chronographers that haue collected their discourses out of the holy Scriptures, and from diuers histories, how great the number of yeares is since the* Lib. 7. cap. 25.

beginning of the world. Though they varie, and the sum of their number disagree; yet all their expectation and hope extendeth not but to two hundred yeares at most. The thing it selfe sheweth, that the end is neere, saue that there is nothing to be feared so long as Rome shall stand vp. But when this head of the world shall be downe, and shall begin to be Rume, *is to say,* Violence, *(as the Sybilles say it shall come to passe) who doubteth that the end of the world, and of all human affaires, is not then come? For Rome is the citie that doth yet hold vp all; and we are to pray the God of Heauen (if so be the execution of his ordinances and decrees may be deferred) that this abhominable tyrant, which imagineth so much mischiefe, come not sooner than we thinke, to quench this light, in the ecclipse whereof the ruine and end of the world is enclosed.* These be the words of *Lactantius*, an eloquent man, schoolemaster to *Crispus* the sonne of *Constantine* the great, and who liued about the yeare 318. For the rest, to know, if that day of the Lord be neere this age, or no, (though *Cyprian Leouitius* and others, staying themselues vpon the coniunction of all the planets in the signe of the Ram, as it was once about the time of our Sauiour Christs birth, haue proposed many reasons for the worlds end in the yeare 1588) though it be neerer vs than the time of *Lactantius*, we leaue the full knowledge thereof to him onely that hath determined it, who knoweth the minute of the time of his comming, & will haue that men should be ignorant of it. For our parts, let vs watch, to the end we may be found readie both day and night, & at al times. Therfore as there is no man of iudgement that wil take vpon him to set downe the certaine day and houre of that comming: so we learne out of the holy scripture, that there is no creature, no not any of the Angels, that is priuie to that time but onely God himselfe.

This is out of all controuersie, that many are of opinion, That the Lord will not come in the day time to iudge the quicke and the dead, but at midnight; which they confirme by these reasons following. *He commaundeth vs continually to watch and pray. Behold* (saith he) *I come as a thiefe. Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, least he walke naked, and men see his filthinesse. The parable of the wise and foolish virgins, the bride-grome comming to them in the night, seemeth to signifie the same.* And a man may well say that Saint *Marke* hath represented all more expressely. *Watch therefore* (saith the Lord) *for you know not when the master of the housholde will come, whether at euen, or at midnight, or before day, or in the morning: for feare least if he come suddenly, he find you sleeping. And that which I say vnto you, I say vnto all, Watch.* This one of the Ancients thought vpon, who saith; *It is a tradition of the Iewes, that Christ will come at midnight, as in the time of the deliuerance out of Ægypt, when the Passeouer was celebrated, and the destroying Angell came, and the Lord passed by the tents, and the posts of our fronts were consecrated by the precious blood of the Lambe. From thence I thinke this tradition proceeded, that vpon Easter euen, the people are not dismissed before midnight; for they wait for the comming of the Lord: but when that time is past, they keepe the feast with the greater securitie.* Therefore the Psalmist said, *At midnight haue I risen to praise thee, because of thy iust iudgements.* *Lactantius* said also, *The heauen shall cleaue in the middest at midnight, that the light of God when he descendeth may appeare in all the world like lightning, as the Sybill foretold in the very same termes. This is the night wherof we reioyce, because of the second comming of our God & King. It hath a double regard: which is, that in it the Sauiour rose againe after he had suffered; and besides, in the same he shall receiue the kingdom of the world.* In another place the same Author addeth; *The Prophets say, that this which followeth shall come to passe: When the end of the world shall be at hand, malice shal increase, all maner of wickednes & deceit shal grow, Iustice shall perish, faith, peace, mercie, temperance, truth shall not be found, violence and boldnesse shall preuaile, no man shall possesse any thing by good purchase, but all shall proceed of rapine:*

Matth. 24. Apoc. 16. Matth. 25.

Mark. 13.

Lib. 7 cap. 19.

In the Epitome of the Institut. cap. 8. cap. 11.

pine: good men shall be exposed to mocking and preying vpon, no man shall honour father and mother, or superiour, none shall haue pitie of the old man, or of the child: Couetousnesse and lecherie shall infect all: there shall be massacres and effusions of blood, with warres both forraine and ciuile: Cities shall ruine one another, women and men shall exercise weapons, the dignitie of the Empire shall bee decayed, there shall be no more discipline, but all shall be robbing, spoyling and sacking. Finally, things shall be so desperat, that the liuing shall mourne, and ioy shall bee ouer the dead. In this time about midnight the heauen shall open it selfe, and Iesus Christ shall descend with great power; fire shall goe before him, the Angels in number infinit shall follow him: all the multitude of the wicked shall be destroyed. These be the words of *Lactantius*, or his coniectures, gathered confusedly out of many places of the holy Scripture, speaking of the last times, but not precisely of the end of the world.

CHAP. II.

The obstinate and seditious deportments of the Iewes.

THe Iewes haue attempted many and sundrie times (as it were in despite of Gods ordinance) to reedifie the Temple of Ierusalem, and to set vp their gouernment againe: but such attempts haue been alwaies in vaine, and they haue been forced, after a great destruction of their people, to leaue off all that they had begun. That which befell them in the time of *Iulian* the Apostata, is memorable, as *Zozomenus* reporteth it after others. As euery Apostata is a contemner and a persecuter of his order: so *Iulian* a sworne enemie of the Christians, animated the Iewes to set vp their state againe, promising to maintain them and to grant priuiledges vnto them. Forthwith they assemble together in great numbers, and puffed vp with hope, betake themselues with great charge and magnificence to the building of the Temple of Ierusalem. But as they were laying the foundations, the earth began to tremble, and to open; all that was begun, sunke downeward, and many thousands of Iewes were ouerwhelmed with the ruines and cumbers of the building. And that which *Dio* writeth hapned in the time of the Emperour *Adrian*, is no lesse memorable. I will set downe his owne words, that the whole may be the better vnderstood. Ierusalem hauing bin ruined of a long time before, was inhabited againe by the commandement of the Emperour, who would haue it called *Ælia Capitolina*. A temple was builded to *Iupiter* opposite to that of the Iewes, which was the cause of a long and cruell war: for the Iewes were extreamely wroth to see the Pagans mingled among them, and to offer sacrifice to their idols that were set vp in euery place of the citie. Notwithstanding, they refrained from taking armes, fearing *Adrian*, who was himselfe in those quarters at that time. In the meane while they were not slacke to prouide among themselues all that should be needfull against they were to rise in armes. When they perceiued the Emperour and his troupes were remooued far off, they began to shew themselues, yet without offering to set vpon the Romans: only they reenforced themselues, accommodating certaine caues and places vnder ground for their escape and retrait, making priuie meetings to consult of their affaires, and making light to come in some places to their mines and caues, that they might be able to liue there in time of need. At the first the Romans made light of such attempts: but when the prouince was vp, and the Iewes dispersed in other countries had conspired with them of Iudea, then they conceiued how important and perillous this war was. For the Iewes did much harme

Lib. 5. cap. 21. of his historie.

In the life of *Adrian.*

harme to the Romans both openly and priuily. They drew also vnto them a great number of Pagans, allured with the desire of boot; and all the world had like to haue shaken by this rising of the Iewes. *Adrian* seeing it was no time to delay, sent against them the best captaines he had, and among others *Iulius Seuerus*, called out of England where he was, to go into Iudea. *Seuerus* durst not giue battell; for he had not forces ynow, and the Iewes were desparat. Wherefore he sets vpon them single, now vpon one troupe, then vpon another, according to the number of his souldiors and captaines: after, cutting off their victuals, and bringing them to extreame famine, in succession of time, though the war drew on in length, yet with lesse danger he defeated them one after another. There were not many that escaped the edge of the sword. Fiftie fortresses by name were laid leuell. Almost a thousand villages and townes well peopled, were spoiled and burnt. In out-roads, skirmishes, and encounters there were fiftie thousand Iewes kild. Famine, sickness, and fire consumed another great multitude. Thus all Iudea was welneere brought to a desert. This calamitie was foretold to the Iewes by diuers prodigies and wonders, before the war: for *Salomons* sepulchre (which they haue in great reuerence) cleft asunder, and was spoiled of it selfe, no bodie touching it. The wolues and Hyenaes ran howling through the streets. But the Romans paid deere for this victory; for it cost the liues of a great many of them slaine in the conflicts. This is the report of *Dio*; and all this came to passe in the yeare one hundred thirtie eight, threescore yeares after the destruction of Ierusalem by *Titus*.

A little before, vnder the raigne of *Traian*, by the report of the same *Dio*, the Iewes transported with rage, had assayed to reestablish themselues by force of armes, and their affaires went very well forward at the beginning: for hauing chosen for Commaunder one called *Andrew*, they cut the throats of all the Greeks and Romans they could meet with, and not content with such an execution, they began to eat mans flesh: with the bowels of men taken out of their dead bodies, they made girdles, and couered themselues with their skins flaied; they sawed their prisoners asunder in the midst, they made many of them bee worried with beasts, they forced others to kill one another: in so much as that this Iewish furie cost the liues of more than two hundred thousand men. They made another horrible massacre in Ægypt, and likewise in the isle of Cyprus, vnder the conduct of *Artemion*: for there they slew about two hundred and fiftie thousand persons. The outragiousnesse of this fact was the cause of an edict, forbidding the Iewes on paine of death to set foot in that isle: and that if any either by error or by violence of the winds and tempest be driuen in there, his processe is at an end, for hee is presently executed. Besides, these massacres were not left vnpunished: For *Traian* hauing sent an armie at last vnder the leading of *Lucius*, who went thither after many other Commanders, he vtterly destroyed the Iewes which had spilt so much blood, almost ouer the whole world. *Ammian Marcellinus* maketh mention of another insurrection of the Iewes, saying; That what time *Marcus Antonius* passed through Palestina to enter into Iudea, mooued many times with the out-courses of the stinking and seditious Iewes, he cried out (as it were) weeping, *O Marcomanni, ô Quadi, ô Sarmatæ*, I haue at length found worse mutiniers than you are. But what say you (I pray) to the cosining part plaid by him (who in the yeare 434) perswaded the Iewes in the isle of Candie, that he would lead them like a second *Moses*, on drie foot through the sea into a firme land that should be fruitfull of all good things? The Iewes beleeuing him, assembled together to a very great number vpon an high

lib. 22. of his Historie.

high promontory, from whence a many of them (bewitched with this deceiuer) cast themselues after him into the sea, where some were drown'd, others falling vpon rocks, were crusht and died there; some were saued being taken into certaine ships, which by good chance sailed then vpon that coast: and by that mean the seducers knauerie was discouered, who was euer after called the *Moses* of Candie. *Socrates* the Eccleſiasticall Historiographer maketh the report. Wee read also in the booke of the voiages of *Beniamin de Tudela*, translated out of Hebrew into Latin, that in his time, to wit, in the yeare 933, one *Dauid Elroy* grew a notable deceiuer by the helpe of certaine magicall books, and woon such credit among the Iewes, that he made them beleeue he was sent from God, to conquer the citie of Ierusalem, and to free them from the seruitude of the vncircumcised, for which cause he was called the Messias. The king of Persia hearing of it, caused this *Dauid* to be apprehended and brought before him, who dealt so by his iugling sleights, that he saued himselfe out of prison, to the great astonishment of all, and hauing wrapped his Turban about him, crossed a very broad riuer called Gozen, and could neuer be ouertaken by the Persians that followed him; and one day he made ten great iourneys, so that he escaped cleane away. The king angrie at the audacious pranks of this deceiuer, wrote to all the heads of the Iewish Synagogues, That if they did not represse the attempts of *Dauid*, all the Iewes that were in the kingdome of Persia should be vtterly destroyed. They affrighted with such a threatning, sent a letter to *Dauid* of this tenor; *We will that thou know, how that the time of our deliuerance is not yet come, and that our signes haue not (as yet) appeared. It is not wind that maketh a man strong: therfore by this fore-warning we enioyne thee, that thou vtterly forbeare such deuises, purposes, and attempts: if not, we excommunicat and banish thee out of all Israel.* But *Dauid* hauing no list to obey such admonitions, prosecuted his furious intent, till at the last he was stab'd sleeping in his bed by his father in law, whom they had corrupted with gifts to giue that deadly stroke. And such was the end of the iugling trickes and legerdemaines of this deceiuer. *Lib.7.cap.37.*

In this place we may fitly insert the memorable example of the desperat crueltie of some Iewes in France, in the time of king *Philip* the Long, *Robert Gaguin* reporteth it as followeth. *There was an execution of many leapers, who at the instigation of the Iewes had receiued certaine poison of them, with the which they had complotted to infect and to poison all the wels of France, to the end that those which should drinke of the water, might die, or (at least wise) become leapers. To effect this, they compounded a mixture of blood, and of mans vrine, with the iuice of some venimous hearbs, all which being bound vp in a linnen-cloath, they tied to a stone, and so cast it into the well, that it might sinke to the bottom. The king vnderstanding of this damnable conspiracie (which was discouered in Languedoc where the poisonners had beene burnt) caused all the leapers throughout his kingdome to be examined, who hauing confessed the fault, were with many Iewes their confederats burnt to ashes. At which time fortie Iewes being imprisoned for the same matter at Vitry, resolued vpon a strange execution within their prisons: For, accounting themselues as dead men, they chose of all the number two that should kill the rest, to the end they might not passe (said they) through the hands of the Christians. The eldest and the yongest of the fortie did the execution: the eight and thirtie being dispatched, the old man praies the yong to kill him: which being done, the yong man seeing himselfe left alone, gathered all the gold that his fellowes had, and hauing made a rope of his sheets, lets himselfe downe out of a window: but the weight of his bodie and the gold breaking the linnen rope, he fals into the ditch, breakes his thigh, is taken vp, and put to death, and all the bodies of the rest burnt.* *Paulus Æmylius* maketh mention of this matter. Now we must confesse, That the

Gag. towards the end of the 7. booke of the historie of France.

Lib. 8. of the hist. of France.

the Iewes, for their blind and desperat impietie, are so falne away from the grace of God, that they haue not onely lost all administration and dignitie belonging to man, but also they are far from the hope of eternall life: and no maruell if this nation be brought to extreame miseries, notwithstanding they be descended of the stock of the holy Patriarches, were once the people chosen from among all other nations, and of them Iesus Christ came according to the flesh; For the Prophet *Isaie* doth plainely propound fiue causes of their reiection. Yet some expositors apply these reasons to the Christians, and shew by plaine arguments, That the Christians are no lesse blame-worthie than the Iewes; and that seeing they continue in the same faults, they must looke for the same punishment. For if God, who is a iust Iudge, haue not spared the naturall branches (as Saint *Paul* saith) much lesse will he beare with the wild branches graffed in the right oliue-tree.

Cap. 2.

Rom. cap. 11.

CHAP. III.

Platos *Caue, that is to say, The glasse of foolish opinion, and vaine Ignorance. Also of the opinion which proceedeth of Ignorance.*

FRame in your mind some Caue that is spatious, verie hollow, and deepe within, that hath vents and holes in the top, thorow which the light may be seene: Imagine, that in the bottom of this Caue there be men set, and brought vp there from their child-hood, chained and kept so short, that they cannot turne them to those holes, nor stir, nor see any thing but what is right against them. That behind and ouer them there shineth a great light, betweene which and these prisoners there is a way aloft, and (as it were) hanging in the aire, and by that way, a wall; That by this way many doe goe and come carrying diuers pieces both of houshold stuffe, and shop-ware, likewise figures of beasts, made of wood, stone, or other stuffe: and that all these pieces thus carried are vpon this wall: so as of those that carrie them some hold their peace, others talke among themselues as softly as they can: to be short, that all this is like a scaffold, where plaiers shew vpon curtaines and carpets which they haue hanged vp, babies and puppets which they make to stir, mingling some voice and words of meriment betweene; and after, to quarrell and knock one another, to make the companie sport, who see not the hands of those that handle those puppets. But you will aske me what I mean by this ridiculous Den which I haue painted foorth. I will tell you. Let vs thinke that these men so chained and fast tied, resemble vs. What see they within the Caue? neither themselues, nor their fellowes, nor yet the implements that are carried: for they are in darkenesse and can discerne nothing: I thinke they should see onely the shadowes which this light doth cast and represent ouer against the Caue. If they might happen to talke one with another, I beleeue they would hold these shadowes for liuely sound, and true things. And if, of their voice that passe along by the wall, there were some *Echo* framed, that might resound in the bottom of the caue, thinke you these prisoners would beleeue that this noise came of any other thing but of the shadow that passeth away? I thinke not, but verily beleeue they would haue no apprehension of any truth and soundnesse, but of shadowes. But let vs vntie them now, and free them from their ignorance. What will then follow? I make account, that if being vnchained you make them stand vpright, turne their heads, come forwards, and behold the light; the prisoner that should first come

to

to doe this, would be much perplexed, his eies would be sore, and he should not be able well to looke vpon those pieces, of which he had before seene the shadowes. And if one should say vnto him; Hoe, friend; heretofore thou saweſt but the shadowes, now see the things themselues: and besides if, when he sheweth him the things, he should aske him, what they be, and how they are called; doe not you thinke he would be at a non-plus, and take the shadowes which he saw before, to be truer things than the things themselues which are laid before his eies? And if some man should take him out of the Caue, and carrie him into the open light, shall we not thinke that his eies would dazle and be sore, would he not turne away from the light, to goe againe with speed into the Caue, and behold his paintings as he did before? yes verily. But if one should draw him by force through waies that be rough, narrow, and painefull; to set him into the light, would he not frowne at it, and resist with all the power he had? If one should bring him vp to a hie mountaine; would he not turne away his eies that he might not see any thing, like *Hercules* his *Cerberus*? For it were impossible he should endure the light, and looke vpon so many good things as would be about him, if he were not accustomed thereunto by little and little. First then, he would cast his sight vpon shadowes, then in the shadow of the sunne he would behold the figure of some thing, and next, the bodies themselues made plaine by the light. After that, he would raise his eies to heauen, by night he would looke vpon the moone and the stars; in the day he would inure himselfe to turne his sight towards the sunne, and thinke with himselfe, that the same is the torch which distinguisheth the times, and causeth the diuers reuolutions of the seasons of the yeare: and that of his brightnesse those shadowes proceeded which he had seene in the Caue. Into what discourses, I pray you, would he enter, so often as he should remember his darke Caue, his chaynes, his thoughts, and his shadowes? Surely he would prostrate himselfe before God, and in all reuerence thanke him, for that he was at the length drawn out of that darke prison, and would deplore the state of his fellowes which he had left behind him in such miseries. And if it were the custome in that Caue, to praise, to recompence, and to honour those that should see these shadowes most distinctly, or, that could best remember which had beene the first shadowes, or the second, or which had past by but once, or those that were to passe presently: may we thinke it could euer be, that our man drawne out into the light, would wish to haue a share in those praises, honours and rewards, or enuie those that should enioy them within the Caue? I doe not thinke it, but rather beleeue, that he would more willingly goe to the vtmost part of the North, and towards the frosen sea, than to be king of the blind. But suppose, that the same man were to returne againe (at the end of some time) into his place within the Caue; would he not be as if he had lost his seeing, hauing left the light to goe againe into darkenesse? And if they should dispute within, which of them all saw the shadowes best, and that our man would speake of them; would they not all mock him, and crie out that their fellow is returned stone blind, and that there is manifest danger and perill in going out of the Caue? If any should goe in to vntie one, and offer to draw him foorth into the light, would he not resist with hand and foot, and offer to pull out his eies that would carrie him from thence? Such is *Platos* Caue, the exposition whereof may be seene in the Author himselfe, out of whom we haue collected this, and which *Politian* hath since represented in a Latin poem of his, intituled *Lamia*.

Lib. 7. of his common-wealth.

But if *Plato*, or some one of his schollers did returne into the world, who could

could let him from lodging in the verie bottom of this Caue these giddie-heads and audacious fellowes, who (being come I know not from whence) maintaine so stiffely and against their conscience, and to the great scandall of good men, their monstrous traditions, and rash opinions, conceiued in the hollow of their braine, more strange than profitable, hauing great shew, but little soundnesse; whose inuentors haue beene more approoued of the world than of God, as saith *Vincentius Lerinensis*. Nay (which is worst) they will make such their opinions to be receiued by force, of those that refuse them; and vpon the same doe euerie foot forge questions and doubts, about which they dispute *pro* and *con* reiecting the wholsome writings and admonitions of the truely wise. To speake all in a word, It is plaine they wilbe thought little Angels, and all they that are out of their Caue know nothing in comparison of them that see such goodly shadowes and such gallant puppets. But the saying of the Chancellor of Paris (*Gerson* as I take it) is worth the remembring, who, by report of *Lasius*, was wont to say, *That it is a token of a giddie mind to accuse the true wise-men of error, or to offer to ouerthrow that which might be reformed by a moderate resolution.* Whereunto *Hierocles* alleaged by *Stobæus*, aimed, saying; *We must not find fault with that which is fault-lesse, nor by our ignorance and heedlesnesse accuse those things which we must vse.* Such men by their presumption and malice, delighting still more and more in such dangerous exercises, dig a pit for themselues, wherein they burie themselues, and make both themselues and their posteritie ridiculous to their enemies.

In his booke against profane nouelties.

Lib. 2. *de orig. iuris.*

As for the other part of this Meditation, Of the opinion which proceedeth of Ignorance: many Italians and French, who haue neuer stirred a foot from the places where they were borne, thinke, that the Germans dwell all in one great citie. For, seeing some German merchants or schollers to liue togither in loue and friendship, and to speake all one language, they imagine, that this familiaritie and intelligence proceedeth of a common conuersing one with another. It hath been my hap more than once to be asked by some Italians out of the best iudgement they had, how great that citie was which they called La Magnia. Wondering with my selfe oftentimes at their simplicitie and ridiculous persuasion, I haue thought it was to be attributed to ignorance. So fareth it with those who like mushroms neuer stir from one place, and thinke that beyond the riuers side there is no roome to dwell in, as the prouerbe saith. Therfore did the Philosopher *Antisthenes* flout the Athenians, who bragged that they were *Autochthones*, (that is to say) *That are come foorth of their owne soile*, like toad-stooles, and that their Ancestors came not out of any other place, and neuer had change of habitation. He said, That this praise was to be deuided betwixt them and the tortoises and house-snailes. The Egyptians when in their Hieroglyphices or mysticall letters they would represent a man that had neuer budg'd out of his countrey, that neuer reads historie, nor knowes what is done in other places, painted an Onocephale, a beast that keepeth alwaies in one place. Such ignorance is a great deale more tollerable in priuat persons, than in those which manage affaires of state; who for want of experience and knowledge haue beene the cause of great euils both to themselues, and to others; as diuers histories doe witnesse: namely that of *Minio* in *Titus Liuius*. This *Minio* was chiefe minion and fauourit to king *Antiochus*, and a man that knew nothing of the state of strange countries and people; iudging of the power of *Antiochus* by the exploits of war which he had atchieued in Syria and in Asia; and making account that his master had not onely right, but force also of his side, to ouercome the Romans.

Lib. 5. Decad. 4.

There-

Therfore, when as he alone managed the kings secrets, through his ignorance he put it into the kings head to set vpon the Romans, who ouerthrew him, tooke away the most part of his kingdome, and chastised him for his pride and arrogancie. This besides is a matter to be wondred at, that neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides* make any mention of the Romans, who for all that were growne mightie by that time they wrote their Histories. And as little is there found of them in other Authors of those times: for it was very long ere the name of the Romans was heard of among the Greekes, albeit they are both people of Europe. Touching the French men, and Spaniards, the state of their affaires hath been so little knowne to the Greekes, saith *Budeus*, and that to the most sufficient and curious of that nation which is so apt to write bookes; that one among them, called *Ephorus*, hath been of opinion, that Spaine (which he termeth Iberia) was but a great citie: and yet children now a daies can tell, that Spaine containeth more than fiue hundred French leagues in compasse, as they that haue seene and measured it, obserue; and the Cosmographicall Charts thereof do sufficiently witnesse the same.

Lib.4.de ass.

CHAP. IV

Of a fruitfull linage, and such as exceedeth the force of nature.

THomas *Fazell* writeth, That *Iane Paneica*, who in his time was married to *Bernard Belluard*, Sicilian of the citie of Agrigent, was so fruitfull, that in thirtie child-beds she was deliuered of seuentie and three children: which should not seeme (saith he) incredible, seeing *Aristotle* affirmes, that one woman at foure births brought forth twentie children, at euery one, fiue. *Albertus Magnus* writes, That a woman of Germanie made two and twentie abortiue children at one time, all hauing their perfect shapes: and another woman, seuentie. And besides, that another woman deliuered into a bason a hundred and fiftie, euery one of the length of ones little finger. *Erasmus*, *Vines*, and others haue written of the strange deliuerance of the Counteſſe of Henneberg. *Lewis Guicciardin* in his description of the Low-countries setteth downe the same storie, taken out of the ninth booke of the Annals of Flanders, composed by *Guido Dominicus Petrus*: His words are these; A certaine poore woman brought a bed of two children, prayed the Counteſſe to giue her some assistance in her necessitie: but the Counteſſe did not onely send her away empty-handed, but charged her that she was of an ill behauiour, saying that it was a thing against nature (in her opinion) for a woman that is honest to conceaue by her husband two children of one birth; and therefore that this her deliuerance had bewraied that she had lewdly abandoned herselfe to some others. The poore woman mooued with this reproch and ignominious repulse, and of the other side well assured of her honest cariage, made earnest request to God, that for the proofe of her innocencie, and of the faith which he knew she had kept inuiolably to her husband, it would please him to grant that this Counteſſe might haue so many children at one burden, as there were daies in the yeare: which within a while after came to passe. And he addeth, that these children were as big as chickens new hatcht, all aliue, and sound, and died within a little while together with their mother: to whom this Epitaph following was erected in the Monasterie of Lodun, where there were Nunnes of the order of S. *Bernard*, and it is hard by the Hague in Holland.

In the historie of Sicilia.

Li.7. of the nature of beasts. *cap.4.*

THE EPITAPH.

The daughter of the right noble Lord Florent *Earle of Holland, and of* Mawd *his wife the daughter of* Henrie *Duke of Brabant, sister of* William *king of Almaine, named* Margaret, *of the age of fortie two yeares, was brought a bed vpon the Friday before Easter, in the yeare* 1276, *at nine a clocke in the morning, of three hundred, three score, and fiue children, as well male as female; who after they had beene all baptized in a great bason by the reuerend Bishop* Don William, *Suffragan, in the presence of some great Lords and notable persons, the male children being called by the name of* Iohn, *the female by the name of* Elizabeth, *dyed all of them together with their mother, their soules returning to God, to liue eternally, their bodies resting vnder this tombe.*

The like storie well neere is reported of the beginning of the noble race of the *Welses*. *Irmentrudes* the wife of *Isenbard* earle of Altorf, hauing giuen herselfe the raines so far, as to accuse of adulterie a woman that had three children at one birth, being not able to beleeue that one man could at one time get so many children, adding withall, that she deserued to be sowed in a sacke and thrown into the water, yea, and accusing her in that regard to her husband: It happened that the next yeare the Countesse felt herselfe with child, and the Earle being from home, she was brought a bed of twelue male children, but all verie little. She fearing the reproch of adulterie (wherof yet she was not guiltie) and the punishment of like-for-like, commanded that eleuen of them should be taken and cast into a riuer that was not far from the house, and that one should be saued to be brought vp. It so fell out that *Isenbard* met the woman that was carying the little infants to their death, and asking her, Whither she went with her paile? he had this answere, That she was going to drowne a few baggage whelps in the riuer of Scherc. The Earle came vnto her, and (for all the resistance the woman made) would see what was there, and then discouering the children, pressed her in such wise, that she told him all the matter. Then he caused them to be nourished and educated secretly, and so soone as they were grown great and brought home to him, he set them in an open hal besides him whom his wife had brought vp: and then being all knowne to be brethren by their faces, and their other fashions, their mother moued in conscience confessed all the fact, and obtained pardon for her fault. In remembrance wherof the honorable race of the *Welses* got that name, which euer since it hath kept.

CHAP. V.

The praise of the life of priuat men in a meane estate. Also of Beggars, and what is true pouertie.

PLato saieth in a certaine place, That euery meane and moderat thing doth more profit towards the attaining of vertue, than that which is immoderat and excessiue. Vpon which occasion a wise man said very pertinently:

If thou be wise, aspire vnto a meane estate;
For that which is too base, is subiect commonly
To loathing and contempt: and that which is too hie,
Into the pit of woe it selfe doth ruinate.

Histories do shew the proofe hereof. Wise men haue alwaies preferred the commodities of a priuat and meane life, before great honours and high estates: thinking inferiour persons more happie, than such as are exalted in the world. And therefore we may not maruell if *Traian* refused the empire as a burthen insupportable,

supportable, and would not take it vpon him but by meere constraint. For if we consider how doubtfull and miserable the condition of the Roman Emperors hath been (seeing their greatnesse and life lay not in the hands of the Senat, nor of the people, but in the power of the souldiors, and of the legions) it is a wonder that there were any found that would take vpon them so dangerous a charge, and so much subiect to the violent furie of armed men. Indeed it oftentimes falleth out, that those good things which we set a strong imagination vpon, and after which we labour with all our force, is a while after the cause of our ruine. To this purpose *Chrysostom* said, That we must not gaze vpon the diademe of kings, but consider the tempest of affaires that enuiron the same. And indeed, since *Iulius Cæsar*, who was stabbed with many wounds in the midst of the Senat, vntill *Charlemaigne*, about thirtie Emperours haue beene kil'd, and namely all those whose forenames began with *Caius*; besides foure which kild themselues. And at last the libertie of the men of war grew to bee so enormous, that they chose Emperors when they were banquetting and quaffing, to the end they might take occasion to cut the throats of others; as it befell to *Regillianus* and *Proculus*. *Petrarch* considering these things, in the Dialogue where he bringeth in one bragging that he was a Generall of an armie, for answere saieth vnto him: It might (perhaps) be safer for thee to be a leader of Beares or Tygres, than of men; For one may tame and gouerne wilde beasts, but not the hearts of many men. Beasts threaten before they bite; but the furie of man appeareth in an instant. They, whom thou takest for thine, who call thee Lord, soules that are to be sold for a little handfull of siluer, more inconstant than inconstancie it selfe, will for a straw change their wil, & of guarders of thy person, wil become cutters of thy throat. Their smiling faces will turne to be furious; their hands which they shall hold vp to giue thee an oath, shall be lifted vp (peraduenture) to destroy thee: which if they do, it shall be no strange or new thing. *Cæsars* armie mutined against him neere to Plaisance. The Emperor *Alexander Seuerus* was slaine by his souldiors: and shortly after him, the *Maximini*, father and sonne; next them, *Balbinus* and *Maximus*; then *Probus* an excellent commander; *Gratian* and *Valentinian* the younger, the one betraied by his legions, the other by his chiefest follower. A number of others, who had alwaies beaten their enemies, haue beene kild by their armies, and had none other to cut their throats but their own souldiors. See then, whereof thou reioicest so much: This armie of thine is a wild beast, very cruel, of many heads, which being pricked with anger, with want, with couetousnesse, will cast it selfe headlong into all difficulties, not caring what shall come of it. *Saturninus* well fore-saw this (saieth the Historiographer *Vopiscus*.) For when the soldiors had inuested him with the imperiall mantle whether he would or no, he said vnto them, the teares standing in his eies; Friends, you know not what an euill it is to commaund: Iauelings and swords hang ouer our heads, pikes are bent on euery side against vs, our owne guards do make vs agast, we feare them that accompanie vs, there is no sauour in our meats, no safetie in our waies, no discretion in our exploits. Besides, of what age soeuer he be that ruleth, he is sure to be taxed. If he be old, he is vnwildie; if he be young, he is giddie. To be short, in making me your soueraigne, you draw me into the iawes of death. Therefore *Euripides* the Poet saieth very aptly:

Thrice happie he to whom hard fate
Importeth not too strait a state,
Nor yet too great; but giues a meane,
Crown'd with a Venus *chast and cleane.*

Homil. 66.

See *Treb. Pollio & Fl. Vopiscus* in the liues of 30. Tirants. *Dialog. 97.*

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In the Tragedie of *Iphigenia.*

And a little after he addeth this wish,

Would I a houshold could obtaine
And keepe with quiet a small traine:
High States liue seldome void of strife,
I hate the troubles of this life.

We haue another testimonie hereof in certaine verses of *Apollodorus*, a Greeke Poet. And the like is set foorth by the excellent *Du Bartas*, translated thus:

In the third day of his First weeke towards the end.

O thrice, thrice happie he, who shuns the cares
Of citie troubles, and of state-affaires;
And seruing Ceres, *tils with his owne Teeme*
His owne free-land, left by his friends to him:
Neuer pale Enuie's poison'd heads doe hisse
To gnaw his heart; nor vulture Auarice:
His fields-bounds bound his thoughts; he neuer sups
For Nectar, poison, mixt in siluer cups:
Neither in golden platters doth he licke,
For sweet Ambrosia deadly Arsenicke.
His hand's his boule (better than plate or glasse)
The siluer brooke his sweetest hypocrasse:
Milke, cheese and frute (fruits of his owne endeuer)
Drest without dressing, hath he readie euer. &c.

Lib. 5. historie. Hereunto *Polybius* seemeth to haue regard, when he saith; *That there needs a small time to exalt men, especially courtiers, to the top of glorie: but a smaller time will serue to bring them downe to extreame miserie and confusion.* This is confirmed by a notable and fearefull example of *Hebraim Bassa*, chiefe counseller to *Solyman* the great Turke. Lib. 33. *Paulus Iouius* reporteth, That among all those that haue beene aduanced by the fauour of mightie princes, there was neuer so great a Minion of the worlds vnconstancie, nor so happie a man in his life vntill his death, as this *Hebraim* was. But *Solyman* one night sent an Eunuch into his chamber, who with a sharp razor cut his throat as he was quietly sleeping in his bed. It is said, That this man seeing himselfe so much cherished by *Solyman*, besought him vpon a day (as they two were talking familiarly togither) that he would forbeare to make so much of him, least being eleuated too hie, and flourishing beyond measure, his master should begin to looke ascance vpon him, and so be forced to pluck him downe from the top of Fortunes wheele, and vtterly to ouerthrow him. *Solyman* sware vnto him, that while he liued he would neuer take away his life. But afterwards mooued vpon some occasion against him, and yet feeling himselfe tied by his promise, he forbare to put him to death; but when he was enformed by a Talisman or Turkish priest, who, playing the doctor, maintain'd that a man a sleepe cannot be accounted among the liuing, for as much as the whole course of mans life is but a perpetuall watch, he sent to kill him asleepe as before is said. And therefore *Philip de Commines*, like an old beaten souldier, and an eie witnesse, wisely detesteth this pompous and perillous life of the court, commending a meane kind of liuing, as a far safer thing. *There is nothing to be more commended* (saith he) *than the meane state: whosoeuer can light vpon it, and hold himselfe in it, is best at ease of all other.* Experience confirmeth that saying. *For there be few courtiers that liue content: but there are a great many whom the world thought most happie, brought by the court to confusion.* And there is not a more slipperie thing vnder heauen, than the fauour of princes towards those that follow them. Therefore we may say with *Seneca* in one of his tragedies:

Let him that can, ſtand ſtedfaſt (without wauering)
Vpon the ſlipprie edge of princes fauouring:
This is my wiſh, that I, apart from court,
May haue a little, free from all reſort.

Sannazara a Poet of our time hath alſo made two latin verſes hereof, the effect of them is this;

Who ſo feeds fat with fortunes wealth, and ſwallowes it full foſt,
Not able to digeſt it well, muſt ſurfeit at the laſt.

To come to hiſtories; we haue a memorable example reported by *Solinus*, and by *Valerius Maximus*. *Gyges* king of Lydia, proud through his victories and exceſſiue wealth, asked the Oracle of *Apollo*, If there were a more happie man in all the world than himſelfe? A voice comming foorth from the loweſt part of the Caue, anſwered and ſaid vnto him, yes; and named one *Aglaus* the Pſophidian: he was an old man of Arcadia, verie poore, that had neuer gone out of the circuit of a little field he had, but alwaies contented himſelfe with the fruits and pleaſures of his ground. And it may be that *Claudian* the Poet tooke occaſion by this ſtorie, to enter into commendation of his old countrey-man dwelling neere to Verona, who had neuer beene out of his village. I haue annexed his verſes to this Meditation, expreſſed in our vulgar, thus:

Cap. 7. of his naturall hiſtorie. *Val. Max. lib.* 7. *cap.* 1.

Thrice happie, he, that in his countrey farme
Hath paſt his life: who weares his hoarie head
In that ſame houſe where he was borne and bred,
Exempt from feare, or any fierce alarme.
The broiles of aduerſe hap he neuer knew,
Nor Lawiers griping, nor the Souldiers ſcar,
Nor croſsing of the ſeas to regions far;
And wrack of ſhips to him is ſtrange and new.
He liues remote from popular affrights,
He ſucks the aire that wholſome blood doth bring,
By fruits and flowres of th' Autumne and the ſpring:
He counts the yeare with all his daies and nights.
He in one field doth ſee the goodly Sun
Both riſe and ſet, the hie and hautie trees,
In forreſts thick, and long, and large, he ſees
Come on ſo forward ſince his age begun.
Verona neere, to him is far iwis,
As far as is the Indian ſea ſo cleere:
And if of Como Lake he hap to heare,
He thinks the famous red ſea named is.
A Conſuls name amateth him no whit,
Nor doth he reck of hie and loftie place:
Let who ſo liſteth into Aſia paſſe,
He rather will at home in quiet ſit.
Not broken, but of age luſtie and ſtrong,
He ſees his grandſire haile and ſound of breath:
And neither louing life, nor dreading death,
Betimes prepareth for his iourney long.

In what ſafetie then did *Heliodorus* of Carthage liue, whoſe ſepulcher was found hard by the ſtrait of Gibraltar, which the Pſophidian, and the old man of Verona durſt neuer haue reade, if they had come that way, for feare they

should haue beene thought (according to his saying) more fooles than he? The inscription went thus:

D. M. S.

SI LVBET LEGITO.

HELIODORVS INSANVS CARTHAGINENSIS AD EXTREMVM ORBIS SARCOPHAGO TESTAMENTO ME HIC IVSSI CONDIER. VT VIDEREM SI QVISPIAM ME VNQVAM INSANIOR AD ME VISENDVM AD HÆC VSQVE LOCA PENETRAVERIT.

That is to say,

Dijs manibus sacrum.

Consecration to the Ghostes.

Reade, if thou like.

I Heliodorus, *a foole of Carthage, haue ordained by my last Will, to be buried in a Tombe, in the remotest part of the world. To see if any more foolish than my selfe would come thus far to see me.*

It was not therefore vndiscreetly done of a certaine man, to haue grauen vpon the portall of his lodging, in one of the chiefe cities of Germany, this greeke saying, ὁ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίος ἄριστος. *The priuat life is best.* This kind of life was approoued and preferred by the wise *Vlysses*, before all other (saith *Plato*) when he was to returne into the world againe. His words follow; *He told vs also, That the soule of* Vlysses *which was the last of all, had the hap to obtaine this prerogatiue, that she should make choise of that kind of life shee best liked. She roomedging her passed euils, and remembring she was cured of the euill of ambition, toiled and trotted a long time about the diuers traines of life that were propounded vnto her, to see if she might find some priuat mans life, that was not entangled with affaires: At the last she found a life had in contempt of others, which was propounded to her: hauing seene it, she said, she would haue chosen it, if it had beene her fortune she might haue made her choice at the first time, and so then he entertain'd it with great affection, and with like good will.* This also wrought much with *Sertorius*, who hauing heard of the Fortunate Islands, thought with himselfe to goe thither, and to leaue the leading of his Armie to some other, to the end that there he might liue to himselfe safely and peaceably, without publike charge, and without being enuied of any. Which if he had done, and had resolued betime, without delay, and in earnest, to embrace a quiet and a lesse ambitious kind of life, he had not beene miserably slaine at a feast by the traitor *Perpenna*. *Diocletian* the Emperour, filled with worldly honours which he had gotten both in war and in peace, euen to the making himselfe to be worshipped as a god, seeing no safetie in human affaires, and feeling how full his Imperiall charge was of trauels, cares, and perils, left off the managing and gouerment of the Empire: and choosing a priuat traine of life gaue himselfe to husbandrie, and for all that could be said to him afterwards, would neuer be drawne from the same, for therein he felt more libertie of mind, and sweeter pleasure without comparison, than in that great turmoyling and trouble of publike affaires.

In lib. de Repub.

Plutarch in his Life.

This point may be enriched with the example of *Suatocopius* king of Bohemia and Morauia: He hauing receiued an ouerthrow in a battell, by the Emperour *Arnold*, withdrew himselfe secretly out of the fight, and vnknowne as hee was, saued himselfe alone by his horses swiftnesse. Being come to a mountaine called Sicambri, and leauing there his armes, and his horse, he begins to walke a foot, and entring into a vast wildernesse, frames himselfe (like a poore pilgrim) to liue vpon apples, and roots, vntill he had met with three other Hermits, to whom he ioyned himselfe, abiding with them vnknowne till his last gaspe, and suffering with

Aeneus Syl. cap. 13. of the historie of Bohemia.

with a patient mind all the discommodities of such an austere life. When his time drew neere that he should die, he calleth the three Hermits, and said vnto them; *You know not yet who I am. The truth is, that I am the king of Morauia, who when I was ouerthrowne in a battell, had my refuge hither to you. I die, hauing tried both what a royall, and what a priuat life is. There is not any greatnesse of a king to be preferred before the tranquilitie of this solitarinesse. The safe sleepe which wee enioy heere, maketh the roots sauorie, and the water sweet vnto vs: Contrariwise, the cares and dangers of a kingdom make all meat and drink taste bitter. That part of my life which remained, I haue passed happily with you: that which I lead vpon my Royall Throne deserueth more the title of death than of life. Bury me here when I shalbe dead.* It is reported that the Emperor *Charles* v. vsed to say, That after he had resigned the empire, he had tasted more pleasure and contentment in his Monasticall retirednes in one day, than he had reaped all his life time, notwithstanding his victories and triumphs which had made him be thought happie aboue all other princes. But the speech vttered by *Charles* (great grandfather to *Ferdinand* king of Arragon and Sicilia) a little before his death, is memorable, as *Lucius Marineus* setteth it down: *Being come againe to himselfe* (saith *Lucius*) *and turning his eyes towards them that stood about him, hee cried out, O how vaine are the thoughts of men! O wretched they that aspire to the glorie of the world, that desire nothing but riches, pompe, and dignitie! O how happie is the condition of poore men, and how safe and pleasant is their life that eat their bread with the sweat of their browes, and that liue by the labour of their hands! Miserable I, what good doth my kingdome to me? what doe my subiects and the seruice of so many men profit mee? what haue they gained mee? much trauaile and turmoile, and infinit dangers both of bodie and soule, without the enioying of so much as one good day. Miserable and wretched I, that so late come to know the deceitfulnesse of the world! How much better had I liued, if in stead of a scepter I had weilded a hedging-bill, and if of a King I had soone made my selfe a Clowne.* Hee spake these words with great anguish of mind, remembring (as I thinke) and following the example of his brother *Alphonsus*, who dying at Naples, had (as they say) vttered the same words. Thus writeth *Marineus*.

Lib. 18. of the Spanish hist.

The like we read in the letter of *Theodatus* king of the Goths to the Emperor *Iustinian*, registred by *Procopius*: I haue written it all out because it containeth many things worth the remembring, though *Theodatus* thought one thing, and wrote another: *I am not come to the crowne as a stranger and forreiner: for I am descended of an vncle king, and haue beene trained vp to succeed him. Touching wars and leading of armies, it is a thing I am not much exercised in: for hauing bin brought vp in the studie of good letters, and the force of my wit being bent that way, it is fallen out, that neuer thinking of these troubles and ratling of armes, I haue bin brought to take this charge vpon me: so as I thinke it not conuenient for me, that for a desire to rule in the world, and thereby to possesse great wealth and reuenues, I should put my life in hazard; but wish rather to remoue my selfe from these tempests, taking no pleasure either in the riches or delights of men: for they ouer-presse vs, and these glut vs with sacietie; whereby there followeth nought else but anxieties and torments. If therefore I haue any lands of inheritance that may yeeld me twelue hundred crownes rent by yeare, I care not for being king, but am readie to resigne vnto thee out of hand the gouernment of the Goths and the Italians, as leifer to labour the ground, without troubling my braines, than to waste my life among so many cares in the royall dignitie, from whence ensue continuall perils and dangers.* There is to this purpose a memorable and much esteemed saying of *Epictetus*, which I will here adde: *As it is better* (saith he) *for a man to sleepe in good health vpon a hard and strait couch, than sicke and languishing, vpon a large bed: so the ioyfull poore man is to be preferred before the carefull rich. Clemens Alexandrinus* hath wrapt vp this Apophthegme in three

Lib. 1. of the warre of the Goths.

three words, *A little contents an honest man.* For good cause then did the captaine *Similis* in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour (after he had gotten leaue at last to retire himselfe into the countrey, where he liued in rest priuatly and contentedly about seauen yeares) when hee was to die, ordaine by his last Will this Epitaph:

Dio in the life of *Adrian.*

SIMILIS HIC IACET. CVIVS ÆTAS QVIDEM MVLTORVM ANNORVM FVIT. SEPTEM TAMEN DVNTAXAT ANNIS VIXIT.

Heere lyeth Similis, *who was of a great age, and yet liued but seauen yeares.*

As touching the second part of our Meditation, there is an ancient Constitution of *Charlemaigne* in the behalfe of Beggars, which, because it containeth some things worth the remembring, I will heere represent at large. It begins thus, *Mendici per regiones vagari &c.* That is to say, Let no beggers be suffered to roame about the countrey: let euery citie maintaine her poore: let no bodie giue them ought, if they worke not with their hands: let Iuglers, Vagabonds, Rogues, and idle fellows be repressed, which deceiue people by their tricks of liegerdemain. Let the malefactor and criminall loose an eye for the first fault; for the second let his nose be cut off; and if he be taken in the third, let him die. Let no souldier entice his fellow or any other to drinke a carouse. If any man be found drunke, let him be adiudged to drinke water, and put away till he acknowledge his fault. To this the Constitution of *Iustinian* deserueth to bee adioyned, which conteineth this that followeth: If they be of this prouince, and haue an able bodie, and employ not themselues to get their liuing honestly, they may not be suffred to be any longer an vnprofitable burden to the earth, but it were good rather to deliuer them into the hands of some craftsmen that serue the common-wealth, to be seruants to Bakers or Gardiners, or some other masters that can set them a worke, taking order they may be maintained, and that by such meanes they may change their idlenesse into an actiue life. If any refuse to labour when they may be employed, we will that they be banished from our head citie. The like constitutions and ordinances we haue in the Empire, gathered succinctly by *Petrus Danais*, a learned Assistant in the Imperiall chamber. Let euery citie nourish their poore, and not send them to another place without a testimoniall, and except it be surcharged with other poore. Let it not suffer any to beg, except they be sick, or constrained through great weakenesse to beg almes. Let beggars brats be taken from them, when they come to yeares, and let them be set to some trade whereby they may get their liuing. Let the beggars that come from another place bee driuen away: let the strong and able bee punished, for an example to others.

We haue touched afore a law of the Marsellians, importing, That they who vnder colour of a new Religion sought to make themselues grosse and fat, should be shut vp: and that all superstitious fashions accompanied with cosinage, should be abolished. This law is plainly expounded by the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who ordein, That idle lubbers, such as vnder pretence of Religion exempt themselues from the charges and duties of the Common-wealth, should be drawne foorth of their holes, and sent to the places where they were borne, and other substituted in their places, that can beare the publike charges. Yet this law hath much offended *Eutropius* and *Orosius*, as made against the Monkes and Hermits: albeit the ancient Fathers haue detested idlenesse in Monkes: one of them comparing a Monke that labours not with his hands, to a thiefe: and one other saith, That it is not lawfull to liue by anothers labour, though they be in their

L. quidam ignauiæ C. de decur. lib. 10.

S. August. in his tract of Monks *Cap.* 17.

their daily studie, prayers, and contemplations. Hence is it, that Saint *Hierom* admonisheth *Rusticus* a Monke of his time, to be neuer idle, but either of wickers to make a panier, or a basket, or else to delue the ground, or make a garden-bed, to set plants in their order, to bring water conueniently to gardens, to weaue fishers nets; and he addeth, that this was the custome among the Monkes in Ægypt, who suffered no idle person among them: and *Chrysostome* saith, That they had not one spare houre. *Basil* saith, That idle Monkes serue but for leauen to corrupt others. *Conrad Heresbachius* obserueth, that in old time they that were taken idle, were called into iustice. And indeed (saith he) we must not beare with idlenesse, being the mother of all mischiefe. Therefore *Basil* would haue vs take good heed of beggars. We must giue nothing to these singers of songs that goe from doore to doore; or such, as to gather the more almes, counterfeit themselues vlcerous and maimed in diuers limbes. The very Pagans could see well ynough to detest this vice; and therefore *Plautus* said pleasantly, *He doth wrong to a beggar that giues him meat and drinke: for he looseth that which he giueth him, and prolongeth his miserie.* I produce not this, that any mans charitie or beneficence towards a poore neighbour should be taxed or blamed: And *Lactantius* hath said well, that this saying of *Plautus* is detestable, if it bee taken in that sence: contrariwise, to speake Christian-like, I thinke we must doe good to all and euery one, and the reason is, because God commaunds it; and his word doth teach vs, That we must not respect what men deserue in themselues, but we must haue regard to the image of God in them, to the which we owe honour and charitable reuerence. And therefore was it well said of a Pagan Philosopher, who was a liberall benefactor to all persons; that he gaue not his almes to that man, or to this, but to all the masse of man-kind, in a single portion thereof: not to a man, but to the mannitie, if it be lawfull to vse such a word.

In his Homilie of the life of Monkes.

For the difference between Beggerie and Pouertie; Grammarians say, That Pouertie is a moderat indigence or need, seeking by labour to supply its necessities: and it is named of the Greeks *penia*, of *penesthai*, which signifieth to labour: For which cause it is not blame-worthie in it selfe; nay (contrariwise) the ancient Greeks and Romans haue cherished and respected it; in so much as Greece was called and reputed the Nource of Pouertie and Vertue: which we haue verified elsewhere by many examples. As for Beggerie, it is an extreame penurie and want of all things. And Beggars are called of the Greeks *ptochoi*, of *ptossein*, which signifieth to tremble, because they speake tremblingly, and after the manner of suppliants to those that they aske any thing of: or else of *ekpeptokenai tou echein*, because they haue nothing, and are fallen from all wealth. For the rest, the learned *Causabon* hath said very well, That it makes no matter if any man be poore in respect of worldly goods: but the pouertie that is miserable indeed, is that of the soule. To close vp this chapter, let vs adde the diuers and sundrie causes of pouertie: First, some fall into pouertie either by the negligence of their ancestors, or by their owne; Secondly, some spend all in play, in wine, and other such rioting courses; Thirdly, some become poore by bodily sicknesses, as by diuers kinds of vlcers, by blindnesse, by losse or vnprofitablenesse of their limmes, &c. Fourthly, some are ouerthrowne by accidents either generall or particular, as of warre, plague, famine, fire, suites in law, and such other visitations.

Suidas in his Collections.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

That euerie man ought to liue content with his estate.

Homil. 60.

Chrysostome maketh a sharpe inuectiue against this vanitie, That euery man complaines that he is intollerably loaden with that which he is tied most too: & feeles himselfe lesse mooued with that which concernes himselfe, than with other mens affaires: *For*, (saith he) *the man that hath no children, thinketh nothing so grieuous as to be without children: who so is poore, and hath a great number, complaines of nothing else but that: He that hath but one child, thinketh it an extreame miserie to haue but one. Hath he a faire wife? it is an ill fortune (in his conceit) to haue her so faire: for as much as iealosie and snares besiege him. Is she foule? a worse match could not befall him (saith he) for it is an intollerable vexation. If he liue in priuat, there is no life (thinkes he) more odious nor more vnpleasing: If he carrie armes, it is a hard and painefull trade; he had rather liue with bread and water, than endure such toile. Hath he a publike charge? he will tell you that he is vtterly miserable, hauing to meddle with so many affaires that concerne him not. Contrariwise, if he be subiect to command, he curseth his life to see himselfe a slaue, and vnder the yoake of one that reignes ouer him. If he be married, it is death to him to take such care for his wife and his family. If he be vnmarried, he protesteth it is a discomfort to liue alone, to haue no household, nor place of rest. The merchant seeing the husbandman liue at home in quiet, iudgeth him happie: the husbandman saith as much of the merchant, because of his wealth. Thus mankind is wholy giuen to repine, euerie man condemning his estate, and carrying a mind ouerwhelmed with discontent.* The Heathen in times past were wont to make the same complaints. Among other, *Horace* the Poet doth wisely lay downe that which commonly befalleth those, who, transported with ambition, or enuie, or some other filthie affection, are euer malcontent, and aspire to innouations, vnder the fable of the Horse, and the Hart, which he concludeth thus;

The Horse once hauing feare he might stand in some neede,
Did leaue his libertie (more worth than any meede;)
And so a master seru'd and into thraledome fell,
Because he could not skill to vse a little well.

The same is set foorth in a certaine wittie and pleasant fable of the Asse, who would euerie foot change his master. For, being with a gardiner, he complain'd of his hard fare and sore trauell: with a potter, he was vexed for that he was laden continually with clay and bricks; and then could bewaile his hard fortune, and wish with griefe for the gardners cole-worts againe. At the last being sold to a tanner, he taketh on & curseth his life; for there they loaded him miserably with the skins of his allies and kinsfolks the other Asses that were flaied: He then could wish himselfe (but all in vaine) with his old masters againe. A learned Poet of our time descanting of this fable, saith thus;

If aduerse fortune bring to passe
And will that thou an asse must bee,
Then be an asse, and liue an asse:
For (out of question) wise is hee
That vndergoes with humble mind,
The state that Chance hath him assign'd.

Vnder which fictions, men of vnderstanding meant no other thing but that which the Poet *Horace* reproueth in his Satires, where he detecteth so featily and with so good grace those of his time, of that inconstant humor that they would

would neuer ſtand to one kind of life. He taketh on againſt thoſe that neuer put an end or a meaſure to their deſires, but leaue the preſent to run after that which is to come, like the children painted by *Adrian Iunius*; who (leaping and skipping after theſe bubbles which being blowne vp with a ſtrawne reede dipped in ſope and water, looke firme, and like the collour of a rainebow) haue for embleme, CVNCTA COMPLECTI, STVLTORVM: that is to ſay, *Fooles will embrace all.* The Italian prouerbe written vnder it, is no leſſe prettie, ET TVTTO ABBRACCIO ET NVLLA STRINGO: that is, *I embrace all, and hold not one.* This Apophthegme is properly applied to thoſe, that run at one time after many places and offices, and neuer content with any thing they haue, will ſometimes this, ſometimes that. They preuaile little, and returne oftentimes emptie. *Plutarch* ſeemeth as though he would giue counſell herein by a verie good ſimilitude. *Like as fearefull folke* (ſaith he) *and they that are ſea-ſick paſſe out of a boat into a barque, and then into a galley, hoping by this change to find eaſe, till they feele they looſe their labour, becauſe their humour ſtill accompanieth them: Euen ſo the leauing of one vocation to follow another, will not ſerue to fence the mind from the faſsheries and troubles that moleſt it; as are ignorance, raſhneſſe, and want of skill to ſerue ones turne for a need of that which a man hath readie by him.* And a little after he addeth; *Braineleſſe fooles, that haue no vnderſtanding how they ought to demeane themſelues in this life, doe in time of proſperitie proudly flie off the hookes; and in aduerſitie, doe cowardly reſtraine themſelues: and thus are they troubled with both extreames, or (to ſpeake better) with themſelues in the one and the other extreame, and ſpecially in this which we call* Wealth: *no otherwiſe than they that are craſie in their bodies can abide neither heat nor cold. The ignorant, who know not how they ought to liue, receiuing oft-times with the left hand the fortune that commeth to their right, doe therein commit groſſe faults: but contrarily, the wiſe doe like the bees, who ſuck out of Time the moſt penetrant and drieſt honney: ſo they, out of the croſſeſt and irkſomeſt accidents, draw ſomething that is good and profitable for them. The Grecians call this Vertue* autarkie, *We,* Contentment: *of the which* Socrates *hath ſaid almoſt all in a few words; Life content with the little that it hath, is like a ſhort and pleaſant way, hauing much delight, and ſmall trouble.* And indeed (as *Herodotus* ſaith) if all men in the world would bring their owne euils and lay them in one heape to change with their neighbours, after they ſhould haue well ranſackt and viewed ouer all, they would gladly goe home againe with their owne which they brought. The wiſe *Cleobulus* was of the ſame mind (ſaith *Plutarch*) for ſpeaking of the ſetting out of the quantitie of riches that would be ſufficient for a man and wherewith he might content himſelfe: As for wiſe-men (ſaith he) the law hath preſcribed them a meaſure; But for fooles, I will tell them this tale, The Moone vpon a time deſired her mother to make her a peticoat that might ſit cloſe to her bodie: And how is it poſſible (anſwered the mother) that I ſhould make one to fit thee, when I ſee thee ſometimes full all ouer, and anon after in the wane, and then growing againe? Euen ſo can no man aſſigne any certain meaſure of wealth to a foole, nor to a vicious man: for he hath need now of one thing, now of another, by reaſon of his manifold deſires and occaſions; like *Eſops* dog, who in the winter lying cloſe and couching round togither, becauſe he was readie to ſtarue with cold, purpoſed to build himſelfe an houſe; but in the ſummer lying and ſleeping all along, he perceiued that he tooke vp a great deale of roome, and thought it a needleſſe thing to build an houſe, and the rather for that he found it would be no ſmall matter to build one great inough. And doe we not ſee the verie ſame thing in theſe people, who ſometimes play the little ones, ſtinting themſelues to a ſmall proportion, as purpoſing

In his 16. Emblem.

In his booke of the contentment of the mind.

Lib. 7.

In his Feaſt of the ſeauen Wiſe men.

posing to liue verie strictly and laconically, and then againe vpon a sudden if they haue not all that which they see not priuate men only, but kings and princes haue, they put the fingar in the eie, complayning as if they were driuen to die with hungar. Therefore the Poet *Horace* said verie well, that

Lib. 3. *Ode* 16.

Who much doe craue, of much haue need:
But well is he, whom God indeed,
Though with a sparing hand, doth feed.

No lesse prettie are the verses of the Poet *Euripides*.

In the tragedie of the Phenician women.

Ynough to good men is a feast
And one daies Wherewith is much more
Than all the wealth laid vp in store,
Of many and many a yeare at least.

The Spirit of God doth determine this plainely by the kingly Prophet *Dauid*, in these words,

Psal. 37. 16.

Doubtlesse the iust mans poore estate
Is better a great deale more,
Than all these leaud and wordly mens
Rich pompe and heaped store.

Lib. 5. *cap.* 22.

To this *Lactantius* seemeth to agree, saying, *The wise and iust man that knoweth that all the goods of the world haue beene giuen him of God, coueteth nothing of another mans, for feare he should offend his neighbour, and sinne against humanitie: neither wisheth he authoritie and command ouer others, to the end he may wrong any man. For he knoweth, that all men haue beene created of God, and are ioyned togither by the right of brother hood. But being content with his owne (though it be little) and remembring his brittle estate, he seeketh not but for the necessarie things that belong to this life; and of that little which he hath, he dealeth part to the needie, because he is mercifull. Compassion towards the poore is an excellent vertue. Besides, he contemneth transitorie and vicious pleasures (for the satisfying whereof men desire riches with such greedinesse) because he is continent and master of all impure affections. Being neither timorous nor proud, he neither lifteth vp his head nor lookes loftily: but is peaceable, gracious, affable and mild, because he knoweth his estate.* I will therefore crie out with the Poet *Manilius*;

How comes it, that we spend with so great care and doubt
Our vile and wretched life? that such feare, such desire
To heape and hoord vp wealth (but how, none doe enquire)
Doth presse both old and yong, within doores and without;
That they find neither rest nor yet the fruit which hope
Did make them to beleeue they soone or late should grope?
How comes it, that we say, We will liue; liue we will,
And yet (wretches alas!) we see that we die still?
How comes it, that he prooues most poore that most desires,
And recking not his owne, to others wealth aspires?

They therefore walke well and surely, who being content with their small estate, make good vse of that which they haue lying by them, guided with a liberall hope, either that their industrie will increase their heape, or that the bountie of great men will giue some addition thereto, or that some lawfull succession will helpe all: and which way soeuer they turne their eies, without standing yet vpon it, no more than they doe vpon that which they alreadie possesse. *Adrian Iunius* meant to represent this by certaine grashoppers that suck

suck the dew, and passe their time singing, adding thereto this Italian motto, DI QVESTO MI CONTENTO, ET MEGLIO SPERO, that is to say, *I content me with this, and hope for better.* In his 20. Embleme.

CHAP. VII.

Why they of Marseilles would not in times past suffer any man to enter into their Citie with weapons.

WHen we were in Italie, we were faine many times when we entred into great and strong cities, to giue vp our weapons, specially our pistols, which were caried to that gate, whereat we were to goe foorth when we meant to depart the towne, and there they were deliuered to vs againe. This seemed a strange thing to vs: for we were but meanly furnisht to put any man in feare, and we were a very small companie to offer to offend so many people: Besides, we had occasion (like strangers) to stand vpon our guard, because of some mad fellowes that are commonly in such cities. For in many places of Italie, chiefely in Lombardie, in Tuscane, and in the territories about Rome, a man is safer in in the fields and remote places, than in his lodging. But it may be the Italians haue some reasons why they doe this: And if it be to the same intent that the citizens of Marseilles were wont to doe it, I thinke they rather deserue praise than blame. *Valerius Maximus* writeth of the Marseillians this that followeth: *Lib. 2. cap. 7.* *It is not lawfull for any man to enter into their citie with his Armes: and there is a man readie to giue them againe to the owner when he goeth forth at the gates to trauell any other where. In which case their will is, that the Innes should be to passengers and trauellers, as well places of safetie, as of ease and recreation.* This course is taken by them for feare of insurrections, or offers of surprize, of which it should seeme they haue past some dangers. For it is said that they of Marseilles were wont in old time to haue an eye to the wood; which we may perceiue by the Historian *Iustin*, speaking of *Commanus* king of the Segoregians, who went about to surprize Marseilles: These be his words, *Lib. 43.* *The king laid ambuscados for the Marseillians, and vpon a solemne feast day sent a great many valiant men into the citie, as it were to passe through it; he sent in also waines couered ouer with rushes and boughs, vnder which were hidden a great number of souldiors: hee himselfe lay in ambuscado with his armie among the hilles somewhat neere the citie, to come vpon them in the night, and to enter the ports which should bee opened by the foresaid souldiers, to the end he might fall vpon the citizens, being ouercome with good cheere and with sleepe. But a kinswoman of the kings discouered the enterprise, whom a faire young man a Grecian kept and mainteined: and being a bed with him, was mooued with pitie of his youth, and tels him all that was pretended, aduising him withall to remooue himselfe out of the danger. Hee goeth with speed, and acquainteth the Magistrats with the matter: whereupon the captaines and souldiors that were in the Innes, and that were vpon the waines are taken and kild. That done, euery man maketh himselfe readie to expect the king, who comming boldly on, is so hoatly charged, that he is slaine dead vpon the place with seauen thousand of his men. Euer since that day, the Marseillians haue accustomed (during the feast dayes) to keepe their gates shut, to haue a Watch, to walke the round and visit the Sentinels, to examine all the strangers in their Innes, to stand carefully vpon their guard, and to behaue themselues in time of peace, as if they had warre.*

The same *Vallerius Maximus* reporteth likewise, That in the same citie of Marseilles, and in some open place thereof, they vse to keepe poison wherein was mingled the iuice of Hemlocks, of which there was giuen such a sufficient quan-

titie as would kill one, to him that propounded in the councell of the six hundred some reasons for which he thought himselfe mooued to procure his owne death. *Vallerius* addeth, That the same course seemed to him very honest, human, & prudent, because death is not a wrong or outrage, but a tribute of nature: That it is ill done to denie a remedie to such as craue it with reason, which afterwards they are forced to graunt, though neuer so vnwilling, to their old age. But yet I say, that such wittie and colourable heathenish inuentions are repugnant to Christian faith and pietie. For, who knoweth not, that the killing of a mans selfe is no lesse forbidden than the killing of another? And the Ciuilians hold, That who so killeth another man at his owne request and most earnest importunitie, is guiltie of murder; considering, that he that is killed, is not lord of his owne bodie, nor of his owne life: and hee that killeth himselfe, is guiltie of the wrong he doth to himselfe. But besides all this, the law of God, which saith to euery man, as well concerning himselfe as his neighbor, *Thou shalt not kill*, doth and shall remaine alwaies firme, inuiolable, immutable, and irreuocable, so long as there shall be left any of *Adams* children in the world.

Lib. 4. of his Geographie.

This I confesse to be a testimonie of laudable temperance among them: for *Strabo* writeth, that they had this law, That the richest dowrie in marriage among them was of a hundred crownes, and fiue crownes for the Brides apparell, and fiue more for her rings and iewels, and that it was not lawfull to assigne or bestow any more. And now that we are entred into this point, *Bodin* saith to the purpose, That it were needfull to order the dowries of women, of what estate soeuer they bee, to the end that the meane houses be not impouerished, with enriching the noble. It is forbidden by the Ordinances of Venice, to giue aboue sixteene hundred duckats with a noble mans daughter; and if a Venetian gentleman marrie a base woman, he cannot take aboue two thousand duccats. Touching the ordinance of the Marseillians for laying aside of weapons, it is grounded vpon many good reasons. *Bodin* aduiseth that the mutiniers be disarmed, because it is the way to keepe all in peace, and the needfull remedie for the disease of ciuile warres. The princes of Italie, and of the East, suffer none of their subiects to weare Armes, neither long swords, nor short, saue to those that guard their bodie. And it is not a new ordinance, but fetcht far off: For *Aristotle* wondred that the Barbarians walked through the cities of Greece with their swords by their sides. And yet it is a thing not only permitted to the Germans, but also commanded to the Switzers; whereof ensue many quarrels, murders, and stirres: for he that hath his sword at hand, will be readie to wrong the weakest; but he that is vnarmed, stands quiet ynough, or if one offer him wrong, he cannot kill his enemie, nor is in danger to be hit in the teeth that he hath put vp an abuse.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Vertues and Vices of the ancient Romans. Other particularities worth the noting.

THey that write Histories, do set forth infinit examples of the vertuous deportments of the Romans, and of the goodly order of their Common-wealth to their hie honour and commendation. But as we must confesse that the lawes of the Romans haue been better founded than the lawes of any other State, (for whatsoeuer might seeme to make for the increasing and preseruation of their State, hath been borrowed by them from other Common-weales, or else themselues haue wisely prouided therfore, being incited to make good lawes through

euill

euill manners that occasioned them thereunto, and shewing themselues in their publike charges very seuere obseruers of good order, as may be seene in the fragments of *Polybius*, where he treateth of the sundrie sorts of gouernment, and of the excellencie of the Roman Common-wealth) so haue there been many among them that haue shewed examples of bruitish crueltie, and monstrous dissolutenes: wherby it hath oft fallen out, that innocent persons haue bin (against the law of nations, and all good ordinances) most shamefully punished, or put to cruell death. I speake not here of *Nero*, who hauing made away many excellent men, desired at last (as *Cornelius Tacitus* saith) to destroy vertue it selfe: nor of *Caligula*, who was persuaded that it was lawfull for him to do all things, and against all men, (as *Suetonius* saith) and who wished (so thirstie was he after human blood) that all the people of Rome had but one head, that with one blow he might strike it off: I leaue also *Heliogabalus* and *Caracalla*, the one well known by his parricides, incests, & periuries; the other marked out for the most mischieuous and abhominable of all that euer were. Much lesse will I touch those other monsters the Roman Emperours, of whom histories make mention, who thought that all wickednesse was lawfull for them vnder the colour of their pretended absolute power. I will content me with one example of *Lucius Quintius Flaminius* Consul, of whom *Titus Liuius*, speaking of that which *Cato* obiected against him, reporteth this that followeth: among other things, he hit him in the teeth (saith he) with a certain Bardash, whom he had enticed from Rome into France with promise of rich rewards; this womanly youth being at a feast, vpbraideth *Quintius* (as he had done many times before) how to please him, he had left Rome, and lost the commoditie of seeing the Sword-players there fight at the vttermost. As they were making merrie, and *Quintius* his head began to work with much drinking, newes was brought him that a gentleman of Bauaria, attended on by his sonnes, was fled to him for succour, requiring he might be receiued into his protection. *Quintius* sendeth for him into his tent, and beginneth to talke with him by an Interpreter. As the poore gentleman was speaking, *Quintius* said to his Bardash, Because thou neuer sawest the pastime of the skirmishing of sword-players, wilt thou see this French-man die here before thee? the other hauing (at last) made him a signe that he would, *Quintius* drawes his sword that hung at his beds-head, and therewith lets flie a blow at the French-mans head, who feeling himselfe wounded, as he began to crie, *Helpe*, and imploring the faith of the people of Rome and of the standers by, and offering to saue himselfe, *Quintius* redoubleth and runs him thorow the bodie, killing him dead in the place. Not long after this (by the report of *Valerius Antias* an ancient Historian) the same *Quintius* being in the citie of Placentia, made a feast, to which a certaine courtisan was bidden, of whom this Roman was ragingly enamoured. After they had well drunke, *Quintius* among other things relates to this strumpet, That he had put some prisoners to the rack, and had others that were alreadie condemned, whose heads his pleasure was should be stricken off. The villanous queane began to say, That she was neuer present at such sights, and therefore desired to see some of that sport. The whoremaster presently causeth one of the condemned to be brought foorth of prison, and cuts off his head. Now whither *Cato* haue exactly set downe the circumstances, or whither it be as *Antias* reporteth it, what a crueltie is it, that to please the eies of an harlot hauing wallowed in a feast, a Consull should sacrifice a man, and defile with human blood the table, the cups, the platters, and the banquet, where the custome was to poure out wine and praiers to the gods! Thus saith *Titus Liuius*.

Lib. 16. *Annal.*

Lib. 39. of his historie.

Lib.6.cap.20. *Lactantius* writeth wisely; *Who so taketh pleasure to see a man though guiltie, die in his presence, he defileth his conscience as much as if he were with robbers by a wood-side, and should consent to a murther that they should doe in his sight.* For as much then as there cannot be a greater impietie or crueltie, than to cause poore innocent slaues to be torne in pieces of wild beasts, for the shewing of a little pastime to a rascall companie; or to make fencers kill one another, for the pleasing of the bloodie eies of a fooliſh multitude; it is strange that these sights were so vsuall among the Romans as nothing was more, among the Romans (I say) who were most esteemed of all the nations for the fame and commendation of their justice. Therefore I doe not wonder, if by a speciall iudgement of God, fiftie thousand persons gathered in a heape at Fidenes to see such pastimes, were ouerturn'd and crusht to death by the fall of the Theatre. Furthermore, when pompes and dissolutions had corrupted the ancient simplicitie, crueltie did so enlarge it selfe against all, that in the time of *Augustus*, they were faine to make a law, surnamed *Fannia*, because the common-wealth of Rome receiued infinite harmes by the strange riots that were committed in feasts, wherein, besides the horrible villanies that were exercised with bardashes, strumpets, and adulteresses of all sorts, they made themselues pastime also of sword-plaiers, fencing at the vttermost to kill one another, yea and the confusion grew so furious, that the women tooke vpon them the art and trade of stabbing one another with poyniards. I will heereunto adde some worthie examples reported by *Gellius*, copied out of *Gracchus* his oration touching the lawes. His words are these in substance. The Consull came (not long since) to Sidicinum: where his wife told him that she would wash her selfe in the mens bath. *M. Marius* gaue in charge to the treasurer that he should see all those that were in the bath to be put out. This woman complaines to her husband, that they had made her staie too long, and that the bath was not well clensed and fitted. Hereupon a post is set vp in the market place: *Marius* a noble gentleman is brought thither, stript out of his cloathes, tied naked, and well whipt. They of Calenum hearing this, made proclamation, that so long as the Roman Gouernour should staie in their citie, no man should presume to goe into the baths. For the same cause our Pretor commanded that the Receiuers of Ferentum should be apprehended and laid in prison: one of the which threw himselfe downe from a wall; the other was taken and whipt. *Gellius* addeth, That the same *Gracchus* saith in another place: I will shew you by one example how furious and exorbitant the intemperancie of the yong men of Rome is. Not long since a certaine yong man was sent Ambassador into Asia, who till that time had neuer exercised any publike charge; and was carried in a litter. A clowne of Venusia meets this Ambassador, and not knowing who was within the litter, asketh the seruants merily, if they were carrying a dead man to be buried. The Ambassador hearing that, commandeth them to staie, and with the leather strings that shut the litter made the poore clowne to be so whipt that he died in the place. This crueltie (vnworthie the Roman name) had beene in times past detested of other nations.

Lib.10.cap.3.

There was in our time a great prince so accustomed to take pleasure in the death of men, that vpon the birth-day of a daughter of his, towards euening he made torches to be lighted, to stare some prisoners in the face that were executed by his commandement. This was taken for an ill presage, and held as a great reproach to the prince: who hauing delighted himselfe with seeing out at his chamber-window some lords and gentlemen kild in a base-court, would (within a while after) goe and see a poore bodie hanging at a gibet: and when they

they that attended him stopt their noses for the stinke, he repeated this saying which an Emperour had once vttered, That sweet is the smell of a dead enemie. He had enured and fleſht himselfe first vpon beasts, not such as are hunted only, but vpon asses, and mules, and hogs, none of which he would spare, but would with his owne hands pull out their guts, as if he had beene some butchers boy. In a word, he made pietie and crueltie all one thing. He that hath written the discourse thereof more particularly, addeth for conclusion, *That Princes must indeed be the Authors of rigorous punishment, to command that they may be inflicted as often as offences require it: but they should not be present thereat, for feare they doe not learne to deuise inexcusable cruelties.*

CHAP. IX.

Certaine particularities worth the obseruing, in the manners of Scipio Africanus, *and of the Emperour* Augustus.

Titus Liuius, Valerius Maximus, Eutropius, and other Historians doe highly commend the continencie of *Scipio* surnamed afterwards *Africanus:* for that, after he had taken New Carthage in Spaine, and a young gentlewoman prisoner (who was so faire that she rauished all mens eies) was brought vnto him, he preserued her entire, and so restored her to her friends. To say truth, so many commendations of continencie, not much vsuall in a yong Roman lord, (albeit *Scipio* may haue beene endowed with many excellent parts, as his braue exploits witnesse) are greatly suspected of many; because the Romans of all other people haue beene much addicted to all prostitutions of their bodies: and the most part will not be perswaded that Historians are Historians in this point. That which mooueth them to doubt hereof, is, for that some report the matter one way, some another: and it is gathered by *Scipios* answere, that his heart felt at the same time verie sharpe and stinging motions. *Plutarch* writeth that *Scipio* said, *If I were but a souldier, I would enioy this damosell; but being commander of an armie, I will not meddle with her. Polybius* reporteth his answer to be this, *There is no present wherein I could take more delight, than in this, were I a priuat man; but because I command others, I care not for it.* As if continencie were not a vertue in a priuat man, but that it were lawfull for such a one to pollute a captiue virgin, affianced to a great lord, in steed of restoring her entire to him whose she was; and that it were agreeable to the common-wealth of Rome, and profitable in a war so dangerous, if he had not beene generall of the Armie? Some therefore are of opinion, that what *Scipio* was asham'd to doe in publike, he committed in a corner, carried away with his carnall affection, and laying aside for a time the maske and mantle of a great captaine: especially considering his souldiers had assigned this damosell vnto him for a peculiar and principall share of the bootie. Moreouer, the common brute hath beene, that *Scipio* did purposely abstaine from touching this maide being brought into his presence, to the end it might be asked afterwards whither of the two had beene the more continent, either *Scipio Africanus*, who had restored to a Spanish lord his daughter, a damosell readie to be married, exceeding faire, a prisoner, and brought into the presence of the Generall being Conqueror, without once touching her: Or *Alexander* the great, who hauing taken the wife and sister of *Darius* prisoners, and hearing they were princesses of excellent beautie, would not suffer them to be brought into his presence, being afraid to looke vpon them. But

Lib. 7. Decad. 3.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 3. *Lib.* 3. *cap. vltimo.*

In his Apophthegms.

Lib. 6. *cap.* 8.

leaſt it may ſeeme, that (contrarie to the opinion almoſt of all) I would detract ſomething from the heroicall praiſes of *Scipio*, I muſt produce for witneſſe *Valerius Antias* often alleaged by *Titus Liuius*, and an ancient Hiſtorian, who was thought to beare armes vnder *M. Valerius Læuinus* Prætor, againſt *Hannibal*, in the yeare of Rome 508. In his fragments we read theſe words: Publius *ſurnamed* Africanus *hauing won by force Carthage a great citie of Spaine, tooke a verie faire damoſel whom he reſtored not to her father, but held her for himſelfe, and vſed her at his pleaſure.* Therefore *Gellius* writeth, That *Scipio* had no great good report in his youth, for which he was alſo taxed by *Nævius* the Poet in one of his commedies, ſo far as to ſay, That this great captaine who had atchieued ſo many braue exploits, and whoſe name was in the mouthes of all the world, had beene forcibly carried away by his father, muffled in a mantle, from a certaine concubine. I thinke (ſaith *Gellius*) that theſe girds of *Nævius* haue occaſioned *Valerius Antias* to write touching the manners of *Scipio* ſuch things as are contrarie to other Hiſtorians concerning the Spaniſh damoſell. Now if we may giue credit to *Valerius Antias*, *Flauius Vopiſcus* ſhall not haue written in vaine, *That there is no Hiſtorian but hath ſet foorth ſome lie or other:* yea, and that he hath found many places, wherein *Titus Liuius*, *Saluſt*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and *Trogus Pompeius* might be conuicted of falſhood by vnreproueable witneſſes.

In the life of *Aurelian.*

But let vs come to the ſecond point of this Meditation. They ſay, The Emperour *Auguſtus* was one of the greateſt whooremaſters of his time: in ſo much, as if he ſaw any faire woman, preſently he made her be brought to him, without all reſpect of nobilitie, dignitie, or honeſtie. For this cauſe *Iulian*, ſurnamed the Apoſtata, bringeth in *Auguſtus* at a banquet of the gods, euerie foote changing collour like the Cameleon, ſometimes pale, ſometimes red, now black, anon ſpeckled; and in the end taking vp his place next to *Venus* and the Graces. The Philoſopher *Athenodorus* verie inward with *Auguſtus*, was not vnacquainted with his libidinous tricks; for one day perceiuing that *Auguſtus* had ſent a litter cloſed with his ſeale, for a certaine gentlewoman of a great houſe, whoſe husband tooke on extreamely, and the Empreſſe was exceedingly mooued thereat, he praied them both to be patient, and foorthwith conueied himſelfe ſecretly into the litter in place of the gentlewoman (for the faſhion was that the women did ſo get into thoſe litters that no bodie knew of them) and carried a ſword with him. When the litter was brought, *Auguſtus* comming to open it himſelfe, *Athenodorus* ruſhed foorth vpon him with his ſword in his hand, ſaying; *What, and art not thou afraid that one ſhould kill thee in this manner? Auguſtus* was much amazed at this vnexpected accident, yet gently bare with the Philoſophers boldneſſe, thanking him afterwards, and making good vſe of ſo good a warning. This *Athenodorus* was of *Tarſus*, a Stoick by profeſſion, a vehement and plaine-dealing man, ſome of whoſe ſayings *Plutarch* alleageth, being written to *Octauia* the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*. Of him it is (as I take it) that *Plinie* the younger ſpeaketh, who freed a certaine deſolate and vnhabited houſe in Athens, of a ſpirit that haunted there. When he would returne home into his countrey, taking his leaue of *Auguſtus*, for a laſt farewell he ſaid thus vnto him; *When thou ſhalt feele thy ſelfe angrie with any man, neither ſay nor doe any thing till thou haſt firſt repeated ouer to thy ſelfe, the foure and twentie letters of the Alphabet.*

In the diſcourſe of the Emperors.

In his Epiſt. to *Sura* to the 7 booke.

Plutarch in his Apophth.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Memorable Examples of the excellent Courage, and inuincible Constancie of men and women.

THat which *Titus Liuius* mentioneth of *Mutius Scæuola*, who hauing resolued to kill the king *Porsenna*, came into the campe of the Hetruscans and there stabbed the kings Secretarie, or the Captaine of his guard, thinking it had bin the king, for punishing of which errour vpon himselfe, he burnt his right hand; *Porsenna* resting so amazed at the patience and constancie of *Scæuola*, that he not only raised the siege from before Rome, but also made peace with the Romans. *Agathyrsus* the Samian writeth (by report of *Stobæus*, and of *Plutarch* who calleth him *Agatarchidus*) another example very like to the same. When *Xerxes* was arriued at the Cape of Artemisium with fiue hundred thousand fighting men, he proclaimed war against the Grecians, whereat the Athenians amazed sent out *Agesilaus* the brother of *Themistocles* to discouer his armie, notwithstanding his father *Neocles* had dreamed in his sleep that he saw his son loose both his hands. He comming into the campe of the Barbarians in the habit of a Persian, slew *Mardonius* one of the captaines of the guard for the kings bodie, thinking he had bin *Xerxes* himselfe: whereupon being taken by them that were by, he was fettered and brought to the king, who was about offering of a sacrifice vpon the altar of the Sun; into the fire whereof *Agesilaus* thrusting his hand, and there enduring the force of the torment without once crying or sighing, the king commanded to vntie him: which done, *Agesilaus* said vnto him, All we Athenians are of the like courage; and if thou wilt not beleeue it, I will againe put my left hand into the fire. At which *Xerxes* much affrighted, made him be carefully kept and looked too. Who so will read in *Stobæus* the oath that the youths of Athens tooke when they entred into their adolescencie, will wonder the lesse at this magnanimitie and courage; the substance whereof is this: *I shall doe no kind of dishonour to sacred Armes, nor shall euer forsake my fellow with whom I shall be ioyned. I shall fight for the Altars and the Harths, either alone, or with companie. I shall not leaue the countrey in worse state, but in more ample and better than it shall be left vnto me. I shall alwaies obey the Magistrat appointed to commaund mee, and shall doe that which the lawes shall enioyne me, as also all that which shall be decreed by the assembly of the people. If any man offer to abolish the lawes, or refuse to obey them, I shall not consent vnto him, but oppose my selfe against him earnestly, either alone, or with companie. I shall adhere to the ceremonies and religion of the countrie. The gods be my witnesses in these things.*

In the first Decad.

Plutarch in his Paralell hist.

In his 141. discourse of the Commonwealth.

To returne to my purpose; the young man of Sicilia mentioned by *Sabellicus*, who fired the Arsenall at Gallipoli, where an hundred galleys were readie rigged for the Turks warres against the Venetians, was handled after another sort: for he being apprehended, and examined by *Mahomet* the Souldan of the Turkes, What wrong had been done vnto him, that hee durst enterprise such an action? answered brauely, *That he had a will to endammage the common enemie of the Christians: that his enterprise was honourable, but had beene more honourable, if he might as well haue kild the Souldan, as hee had fired his galleys.* *Mahomet* wondring at his answere, and following his barbarous crueltie, not the gentlenes of *Porsenna*, caused the Sicilian to be cut in two pieces, with some others also of his companions. Here may be inserted the hardie and notable exploit of a certaine Bulgarian: *Lazarus* Despot of Seruia (his master) hauing been taken prisoner in war by *Murath* the first Souldan of the Turks, who put him to death in prison, (the Annals of Turkie say that

Lib. 9. Decad. 3.

Paulus Iouius lib. 2. of famous men.

that soone after his taking, *Murath* made him be hewen in pieces) this seruant of his made a vow that hee would die rather than suffer the wrong done to his prince goe vnreuenged. He chose an opportunitie so fit for his purpose, that with one stab he kild *Murath* dead in the place, after he had raigned three and twentie yeares. Since that time, the Souldans of the Turks suffer not any Embassadour to come neere them, but he is led vnder the armes by two Groomes of the chamber, saith the lord of Busbecke (towards whom this ceremonie was practised, when audience was giuen him to deliuer the embassage from the Emperors part to *Solyman* Souldan of the Turks.) The like example we haue in *Titus Liuius*. A certaine Barbarian prouoked to anger for that his master was kild, stabbed *Asdrubal*, sonne in law to *Amilcar*, authour of the murder: and being laid hold of by those that saw him giue the stroake, keeping his countenance as if he had beene free and at libertie, notwithstanding they rent off his flesh with force of tortures, hee neither changed colour, nor voice, nor countenance: so that ioy ouercomming griefe, he shewed in his smiling face a mind exceeding well contented and satisfied.

In his voiage of *Amasia*. *Lib.* 1. *Decad.* 3.

Among the letters of *Phalaris*, there is one written to *Peristhenes*, wherein it appeareth that some women haue not much yeelded for greatnesse of courage and braue resolution, to the most valiant men that haue been. These words are to be read there among other: *Thou hast sent vnto me the wiues of* Eubulus *and of* Aristophantes, *who haue conspired against me, that they might be done to death: and now thou wondrest much that my choller is cooled. Thou wilt wonder more (yet) when thou shalt heare I haue sent them home safe, because of their franke and excellent answers: for being examined by me if they were of the complot with their husbands; Yea (said they) and besides we haue attempted to destroy the tyrant. Asking them the reason, I had this answere, That it was not in regard of any particular interest, but in respect of the common good; that it was a wrong done to all, to offer to bring into seruitude free and franchised cities. Being againe asked, What punishment they thinke themselues worthie of, for hauing thus practised against me? To loose their heads, answered they. But I haue thought them worthie to liue, and vnworthie of death; such, I say, as would present their heads to be cut off with so great a resolution.* Euery one knoweth the storie of *Lucretia* the Roman Ladie, who being defiled (in regard of the bodie, but not of the mind) by the violence of *Sextus Tarquinius*, would not liue any longer, but kild her selfe in the presence of her husband and her friends. Her sepulchre is to be seene in a place within the Bishopricke of Viterbo, with this inscription:

Titus Liuius, *Lib.* 1. *Decad.* 1.

COLLATINVS TARQVINIVS DVLCISSIMÆ CONIVGI ET INCOMPARABILI LVCRETIÆ PVDICITIÆ DECORI MVLIERVM GLORIÆ. VIXIT ANN. XXII. MENS. III. DIES VII. PROH DOLOR. QVÆ FVIT CHARISSIMVS.

That is to say,

Collatinus Tarquinius *to his most delightfull and incomparable Wife* Lucretia, *the honour of Chastitie, the glorie of Women. Shee liued two and twentie yeares, three moneths, seuen dayes. Ah griefe! She was most deare!*

Mallonia a noble Roman Ladie, hath likewise left to posteritie an euerlasting fame of her chastitie and constancie. *Suetonius* writeth, That hauing bin brought to the Emperor *Tiberius*, now growne old, but giuen ouer to lecherie, shee could neuer be woon to please his villanous desires. He fretting at the repulse, gaue her for a bootie to his Bawds; and after she had been dishonoured, was so impudent as to aske her, If she repented her not for hauing refused him. Shee desirous to defend her honour, forced, went home to her house, and kild her selfe with a dagger,

Sueton. in the life of *Tiberius*.

dagger, hauing first reproached to *Tiberius*, that hee was a villanous, filthie, and stinking goat: whereupon the people afterwards made terrible ieasts vpon this Emperour. Nor must we forget that noble and chast matron, of whom *Eusebius* and *Pomponius Lætus* make mention. *Maxentius* the Emperour being enamoured of this woman, sent for her by his bawds and broakers. The husband durst not withstand their violent commission for feare to be kild. Shee desired of them a little time, to make her selfe readie: which hauing obtained, shee goeth into her chamber, and there kils her selfe. The Officers when they could stay no longer, brake open the chamber doore, and finding the bodie without life, returne and make report thereof to *Maxentius*, who without taking it to heart, or thinking to mend his life, became more insolent and dissolute in his villanies than he was before.

Lib.8.cap.16. In the abridg. of Rom.hist.

Bernard Scardeon writeth such a like thing (and it is worth the remembring) of *Blanche Rubea*, a woman of inuincible heart, and most rare example. *Acciolin* Tyrant of Padua, hauing surprised by treason in the yeare 1253, a little citie hard by, called Bassian, and the husband of this *Blanche* hauing bin slaine in making resistance, and fighting valiantly against the enemie; she her selfe being taken prisoner with her sword in her hand, was drawne by force before the tyrant, who taken with her beautie, with many praiers, and offers of rich presents, attempted to corrupt her chast mind: but seeing the fortresse impregnable that way, hee resolued to assault it another way, and to trie what force could doe. *Blanche* findeth a shift to rid her selfe out of his hands, and recouering a window, throwes her selfe out thereat, chusing rather to die nobly with her husband, than shamefully to loose her honour with such a villanous and cruell tyrant. But shee is taken vp from the ground weltring in her own blood, and halfe dead; caried away, and laid vpon a bed, and carefully tended and looked to. When some daies were past ouer, she being well recouered was brought before *Acciolin*, where she perseuered in her vertuous courage: But the shameleſse beast made her be bound, and held so fast by certain groomes the furtherers of his villanies, that for all the resistance she could possibly make, he defiled the bodie of this honest ladie, who was so grieued in her mind at this execrable outrage, that she resolued to die. Hauing for some few dayes dissembled her griefe, shee got leaue of her friends to see her husbands bodie, being then all putrified, saying that her sorrow would end so much the sooner, and that the sight thereof would somewhat asswage her heauinesse. The tombe-stone being lifted vp, and *Blanche* seeing the bodie open, without any more adoe falleth down vpon it, drawing the stay that held vp the stone after her, by the fall whereof her head was so crusht, that this manly woman was (in regard of her bodie) laid in the same tombe with her husband, executing her selfe the couragious reuenge of the wrong that was done to her chastitie. This *Blanche* is (euen till this day) highly praised of the Historians & Poets of Italie: for the rest, I know not if her fidelitie towards her husband deserue that she should be preferred before a Romane ladie, whom we will speake of in the chapter following, or that the Romane ladie should goe before her, let the Readers iudge. Surely the times were much changed, & that while *Blanche* liued; for the women of Lombardie where *Galeas Sforce* ruled, shewed that they were exceeding loosely giuen. For *Paulus Iouius* writeth thus: *Dissoluteneſse was so great in those dayes, especially in Ladies and Gentlewomen, that euery other woman else besides, carefull of her chastitie, was reputed fooliſh and vntrain'd, in comparison of the courteous Curtisans: in so much that the prince inclined to such lasciuiousneſse, strong, faire, and marueilous pleasing, tooke no pleasure but in feeding the eyes, and satisfying the desires of these wanton*

In his antiquit. of Padua, *lib. clas.14.*

Lib. 3. of famous men.

wanton women, among whom this opinion was currant, that to lie downe to a prince was nothing else but honour; and that their Husbands, called of the common sort horned goates, woare indeed goodly guilded hornes, and being aduanced to places of dignitie marched before all other men. To the same purpose, the Emperour *Andronicus Comnenus* caused to be hang'd vp in the galleries of the great pallace in Constantinople, certaine stags hornes, the faireſt and curiouſeſt he could get, not that men should thereby thinke of some great stags that had beene kild at hunting, but that they might be aduertised how many Husbands foreheads he had garnished with hornes, by corrupting their wiues; and therewithall to tax and touch the wantonists of Constantinople. Such (welneere) was the error of the ancient Indian women, of whom *Arrianus* writeth, That the women of the Indies are verie chaſte, sauing in one point, which is, that they suffer none besides their Husbands to come neere them, but vpon this condition, that they shall giue them an elephant. For to ride vpon an elephant among the Indians is a token of greatneſſe and dignitie: to any that will giue them such a present, they are content to prostitute themselues, and shee that thus affoordeth the vse of her bodie, is no manner of way disreputed of, but contrariwise, thinketh the proudlier of her selfe, that her beautie is so much endeered and so hiely prised.

Nicetas Choniates, in his life.

In his discourse of the Indian affaires.

CHAP. XI.

Notable examples of the great respect, honour, and fidelitie of Wiues towards their Husbands; and of the loue of Husbands towards their Wiues.

Plutarch in his Apophthegmes.

THe Ancients highly extoll the Wife of *Hiero*, or (as others say) of *Gelon* king of Sicilia; and some report the same of the Wife of *Duillius*, because of her rare continencie, and the respect she bare to her Husband. For when some bodie had told *Hiero* that he had a stinking breath, and *Hiero* had blamed his Wife for that she neuer told him of it; I thought (answered she) that all mens breaths had smelt so. Behold an excellent testimonie of chastitie, in that this woman neuer came neere any man, to know if his breath were sweeter or stronger than her Husbands. But *Arria* Wife to *Cecinna Pætus* doth goe before her a great way, as well in fidelitie, as greatneſſe of courage. *Plinie* writeth hereof an excellent letter, the contents whereof is, That this ladie mistrusting her husband was condemned to die, and that he was permitted to chuse what manner of death he would haue, she went vnto him, and hauing exhorted him to depart this life couragiously, and bidding him farewell, gaue her selfe a stab into the breast with a knife she wore vnder her gowne, and that before her husbands eies; and then drawing the knife out of the wound, and reaching it to *Pætus*, vttered these words, *Vulnus quod feci*, Pæte, *non dolet: sed quod tu facies:* that is, *The wound which I haue made*, Pætus, *doth me no harme: but that which thou must giue thy selfe, grieueth me.* Or (as some write) she said but three words in reaching him the knife, Pæte, *non dolet.* Whereupon *Martial* made an Epigram, thus translated:

Lib. 3.

When Arria *to her Husband gaue the knife*
That made the wound whereby she lost her life:
This wound (deere Pætus*) grieues me not (quoth she)*
But that which thou must giue thy selfe grieues me.

Lib. 4. in his Treat. of famous women.

That which *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus* report of certaine Wiues of the Minyans, is worthie to be remembred. Their Husbands being imprisoned for hauing attempted to seise vpon the kingdome of Sparta, were condem-

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ned to die. Now the custome of the Lacedemonians was to execute the offenders in the night. These women of noble descent, vnder collour of talking with their Husbands (who had no long time to liue) got leaue of the watchmen to goe into the prison; where putting themselues in their Husbands places, and making them to put on their womens gownes, they taught them their lesson so well, that they hauing couered their faces, in signe of extreame sorrow, &(as it were) bearing their heads in their hands, went out of the prison, and so saued themselues. Such women deserued well to marrie with such men as these Minyans were. But not to let goe all the honour to ancient and strange women, and least it should be thought that our time hath not brought foorth any endowed with such and more excellent vertues; let vs heare that which *Lodouicus Viues*, a learned Spaniard, writeth to haue seene at Bruges, in a notable ladie of that place, of which many others were witnesses as well as himselfe. *Clara Ceruenta*, one of the faireſt and featieſt maides of Bruges in Flanders, being assured to *Bernard Valdaura* (at that time aboue fortie yeares old) the first night after they were married, found that her Husbands thighes were rolled and wrapped with clouts, and that he was a man verie sore and sickly; yet for all that she neither hated nor loathed him a whit the more. Within a while after, *Valdaura* fell so sick that he kept his bed, being in such plight that all the Physitions despaired of his life. She, hauing some helpe of her mother, neuer stir'd from the patients bed-side but tended him continually, so that in sixe weekes space they did not doff their cloathes, except it were to change smocks: nor rested in the nights past an houre or two at the most, and that but in their cloaths; and watched the most part of that time without shutting their eies. This disease was some cruell and venimous relick of the pox. The Phisitions counselled *Clara* not to touch the sick man so much nor come so neare him. Her kinsfolkes and friends counselled her the same. Her companions and gossips told her she had no reason to vex her selfe so about a man that could not liue, and who had the tokens of death in his face; that she should prouide for his soule, and neuer take care for his bodie, but where and how it might be buried. All this talke mooued her neuer a whit, but hauing taken order for that which concerned the benefit of his soule, she tooke all the care she could to prouide him that which was for the health of his bodie, her selfe making him boild-meats and broaths in the kitchin (such as were good for a sick-man) and giuing them him at his houres, often changing his sheets, and his clouts, although, by reason of a continuall loosenesse and many sores that he had about him, his bodie neuer left running with matter and filth, so as he neuer had any cleane part about him. All the day she rested not, but ran vp and downe euerie foot going or comming, and with a good heart supported her tender and delicate bodie, which could neuer haue held out with so much businesse and trouble, had not the great affection she bare to her Husband strengthned and encouraged her. By this good meanes *Valdaura* escaped that danger, the Phisitions affirming that his wife had by strong hand pluckt him away from death. And one among the rest ieasting more merily than christianly said, That God had purposed to haue slaine *Valdaura*, but that his Wife was against it, and would not let him goe out of her hands. After this, by reason of a hot rheume falling downe from his braine by his nose, the gristle within his nose began to be eaten away: wherefore the Phisitions appointed a certaine pouder, which was to be blowne vp softly into his nose at certaine times with a quill: No bodie could be found to take such a loathsome seruice in hand, because of the sauour that came from him; but *Clara* did it cheerefully, and when his

Lib. 2. of a Christ. woman.

his cheekes and his chin were couered all ouer with scabs, wheales and scales, so as no barber either well could, or willingly would vndertake to shaue him, she with her little sheeres plaid the barber verie deftly, and made him a handsome beard. From this sickneſſe, he fell into another which lasted about seuen yeares, during which time, she, with incredible diligence and paines-taking made readie his meat, though she had two chamber-maids in the house, and a daughter now growne big. Besides, euerie day she laid on his tents and plaisters, handled, and dreſt, and bound vp his thighes all rotten with scabs and vlcers: so as a man would haue said, that had seene her, that she handled muske, and not such stincking stuffe. And indeed she would sweare, that her Husbands breath (which none durst abide or come neere by ten paces) was to her verie sweet. And when I told her once that it stunck exceedingly, she was verie angrie with me, and said it had the sauour of ripe sweet apples. During this long sickneſſe, there was great coſt beſtowed euerie day about the nouriſhing and medicining of this bodie oppreſſed with so many diſeases: which was a great matter in a house that had neither rents, nor other profits comming in, and where traffick had ceased of a long time, and consequently the gaine. Therefore to furnish the expenses, she was faine to sell her precious iewels, her gold-chaines, her rich carcanets, her gownes and coates of great value, a cubbord of plate, nor caring for any thing so her Husband might be relieued, and contenting her selfe with a little so her sicke Husband might not want any thing. Thus *Valdaura*, by the helpe of his Wife, lingred on a life within a rotten bodie (or rather within a graue) ten yeares togither after his first sickneſſe. In which time she had two children by him, and sixe before, hauing liued that life twentie yeares, and yet was she neuer infected or once touched with any contagious euill from her Husband, nor had she so much as a scab, wheale, pimple, or any spot in all her bodie, nor any of her children, but they were all as sound and as cleane as possiby could be. Which plainely sheweth, how excellent the vertue and holineſſe of those Wiues is, who reſpect their Husbands with a sincere and entire affection, as dutie also requireth: and how Almightie God rewardeth them for it. To returne to *Valdaura*, he died an old man, hauing languished a long time; or rather, he departed out of the world, freed from the burden of so many grieuous sorrowes: For whose death, his Wife *Clara* made such mourning, that all they who knew her well said, They neuer saw woman make such sorrow and lamentation for a Husband that had beene yong, sound, faire lustie and rich, as she did for *Valdaura*; and when diuers came to her, and in steed of comforting her, would say, That God had done much for her, in giuing her such ease by taking away her Husband, and that they were come to congratulate with her; she would in good earneſt defie and abhor them, wishing (if possibly it might haue beene) to haue had her Husband againe in exchange of fiue children that were left her. And though she was yet but yong, and lustie, she resolued neuer to marrie, saying she should neuer meet with any that she could like so well as she did *Bernard Valdaura*. I speake not here of chastitie and holineſſe of life, of which *Clara* was a cleere example: I speake but of the dutie of a Wife, which neuer lightly goe thalone, but is alwaies accompanied with other vertues. Who seeth not now, that this woman did not marrie *Valdauras* bodie, but his heart? or else reckoned his bodie, her owne bodie. Besides all this, after her Husbands deceaſe, she tooke great care to performe all that he had giuen in charge, as well as if he had beene aliue, alleaging no other reason but this, My Husband hath commanded me to doe it. This discourse doth *Viues* make, who in another place

giueth

giueth this good lesson, That the man that desireth to marrie, should be carefull to chuse a wife that is well instructed, and vertuously brought vp, though shee be of no great means otherwayes: for if the husband haue wherewith to entertaine himselfe and his wife in good sort, he cannot doe any thing more pleasing to God, nor more comly before men, nor more agreeable to his household, than to marrie one of a meane condition, and vertuously giuen.

This was vsuall among the ancient Germans, to marrie their wiues vpon this condition, That they should be their companions in labours and dangers. The wife also (by report of *Cornelius Tacitus*) is maried but to one man, & they two are but one bodie, and one life: to the end, that the thought may not roaue any where else, that there may be no vnbridled desire; and that the wiues may loue their husbands for mariage sake. *Theogena* the wife of *Agathocles* tyrant of Sicilia had the same consideration: for being not able to endure that she should be separated from her husband, she said, That by marrying him, she was bound to beare him companie, as well in his aduersitie, as prosperitie: which wee will enrich with the famous example that hapned about the yeare 1460, betweene *Bona*, a Lombard or Grison, and *Peter Brunor* of Parma, as some Histories of Italie report it, and which wee will set foorth in the behalfe of vertue, to make it more commendable, as indeed it is, in what person soeuer it may be knowne and perceiued: therefore to begin the storie; *Bona* was borne in the valley of Telhin in the countrey of the Grisons, by which place as *Peter Brunor* (a Parmesan, a valiant knight, and well experienced in the feats of war) passed, leading his armie, he saw by chance this young maid, who was keeping sheepe in the field, being of a litle stature, browne colour, somewhat ilfauoured, but very frolike; and playing among her companions, shee shewed a certaine quickenesse of spirit, which, *Brunor* the knight eyeng her in all her sports, could take so good note of, and thereby hope for some great matter in her, that hee caused her to be taken, and against her will caried her away with him: so as being woon and ouercome with time, he made her many times change her habit, and goe apparelled like a man in sport and for recreation, carying her a hunting, bringing her to ride horses, and to doe such other exercises, in all which she shewed her selfe very actiue and readie: and although it seemed that the knight kept her but (as it were) for his delight and pastime, yet she framed her selfe to serue him with an exceeding great loue and diligence: in such sort that she willingly endured all the toiles and trauels both of bodie and mind with *Brunor*, and marched alwayes with him in all dangers, following him on foot, and on horsebacke, vp-hill and downe-hill, by land and by sea, with entire and faithfull obedience, neuer leauing him, or lothing that kind of life. Shee went also with him to *Alphonsus* the king of Naples (for at this time *Peter* the knight serued *Alphonsus* in his warres, hauing left the partie of *Francis Sforce*:) but afterwards changing his mind, he determined to leaue *Alphonsus*, and to returne to the seruice of the Earle *Sforce*, but as hee made his preparation to conuey himselfe away, the matter could not be so closely caried, but the king had an inkling of it, and made *Brunor* to be secretly taken and laid in prison, where he kept him a long while without hope of deliuerance. Wherfore *Bona* (knowing shee should neuer be able to take any rest, or haue good day, till such time as *Brunor* were set at libertie) went to all the princes and potentates of Italie; to the king of France, to *Philip* duke of Burgundie, to the Venetians, and to many other, from whom she obteined letters in the behalfe of her deere and welbeloued master. Whereupon *Alphonsus*, ouercome with the prayers and requests of such and so many great lords, was (in a manner) constrained to deliuer

Corn. Tacitus in his booke of the descriptiō of Germanie. *Iustin. lib.* 23.

Brunor out of prison, and so gaue him to this valiant Amazon: who hauing receiued him, to endeere her lord by a greater benefit, she made such meanes that the Senat of Venice entertained *Brunor* into their seruice, and he was made Generall of the armie of that mightie Seniorie, and allowed a great pension for his entertainment: By which good turnes the knight hauing knowne the faith, vertue, and valour of his *Bona*, thought it not honourable to haue her any longer for his wench (as till that time he had done) but maried her; and tooke her for his lawfull wife, making alwaies great account of her, and following her counsell in all matters of importance; by meanes of which he woon in short time great reputation with the Venetians, becaus his enterprises had luckie and fortunate successe. This valiant ladie was alwaies armed when occasions of fighting were offered; and when any troupes of foot-men were to be lead, shee would march before them like a magnanimous warlike woman. Shee was verie skilfull in the feats of warre, as she oftentimes made triall, and chiefely in the war of the Venetians against *Francis Sforce*, then Duke of Milan, where shee made her selfe knowne; at which time after the castle of Pauona in the countrey of Bresse was lost, her valour appeared so great that euery man wondred at her: for being armed at all points, presenting her selfe to the assault more couragiously than any other, her targuet on her arme, and her curtelasse in her hand, shee was the occasion that the place was recouered. Finally, the Senat of Venice putting great confidence in *Brunor*, and in the counsell and valour of *Bona*, sent him to the defence and guarding of Negropont against the Turks; where, besides the fortifications they both made, so long as they taried there, the Turke had neuer the face to annoy them, or once to hinder or interrupt them. At the last *Brunor* dying there, and being buried with great solemnitie; and *Bona* going to Venice for the confirming of her husbands estate to two of his sonnes, growing sickly, and feeling her selfe euery day more and more declining, shee caused a Tombe to be builded of great cost and workmanship, which she would see perfected before her death; and when she died shee was laid in it, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred sixtie eight.

Eccles. 25. 1. It was therefore well said, that there be three things appearing beautifull before God and men: Vnitie among brethren, Loue among neighbours, and a man and wife agreeing well together. We read a notable storie touching this, taken out of *Nauclerus*, and alleaged by many. The Emperor *Conrad* the third, after a very long and doubtfull warre he had against *Guelphus* duke of Bauaria, forced *Guelphus* at last being growne too weake, to put himselfe within Weinsberg, where the Emperour determined to coope him vp, and to ruine the citie, resoluing not to accept of any conditions whatsoeuer. But yet in the end ouercome by the supplications of certaine Ladies and Gentlewomen, hee suffered them to depart in safetie, vpon this condition, That they should carrie nothing out of the citie, but what they might well take vp and beare away vpon their shoulders. Then these vertuous women with a manlike and deuout courage tooke vp vpon their backes, one the duke, and the rest of them their husbands, children, fathers, and mothers: a sight that gaue such contentment to the Emperour, as he (weeping heartily for ioy to see such a naturall and kind loue) first laid aside all his displeasure, and then pardoned the citisens of Weinsberg, and receiued the duke into his fauour and friendship, whom but a little before hee wisht all the ill too that might be. *John Bodin* writeth, that *Laurence de Medicis* was cured of a grieuous sicknes, vpon the reading of this storie, without any other phisicke; as likewise *Alphonsus* and *Ferdinand*, kings of Arragon and of Sicilia recouered

In his Preface to his Method of Histories.

their

their health which they had loſt, by the helpe of *Quintus Curtius*, and *Titus Liuius*. Neither muſt we forget that which befell once at Rome, as appeareth by an old Inſcription that is yet to be ſeene and read there: A ladie named *Publia Cornelia Annia*, hauing liued with her husband the ſpace of twentie yeares without any ſtrife or iarring, when ſhee ſaw he was departed by reaſon of ſickneſſe he had taken, conceiued ſuch griefe for his death, that ſhee threw her ſelfe into the graue, where ſhe gaue vp the ghoſt, and was buried with her husband, hauing before ordeined, That euery yeare vpon the ſame day that each of them died, their children and freed-men, ſhould offer a ſollemne ſacrifice to *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*, and ſtrew the ſepulchre with Roſes, and then ſhould feaſt together vpon it.

Heere it were not amiſſe to inſert the ſtorie which *Sabellicus* reporteth touching a ladie of Smyrna, whilome a flouriſhing citie of Ionia. It fell out ſo, that the Venetians tooke this citie by force; and when among other women-priſoners, they were leading this ladie (being then in her flouriſhing yeares) towards the gallies, as ſhee paſt by the tombe where her husband lay buried (which was in the way that they went) ſhe fell to the ground, and taking hold of the tombe, with a pitifull voice ſhe called oftentimes vpon her husband; and after added theſe words, *See (deare husband) the totall ruine of our countrey is the cauſe that the hand of a cruell enemie carrieth her away captiue, who could neuer hitherto either by loue or force bee made any other but thine. Wretch that I am! they hale me from thee: ſo that I ſhall neuer more ſee either my deere countrey, or this precious monument. I mingle theſe laſt teares with thy aſhes: I will mooue thy ghoſt at this time with theſe my obſequies: But what, whither ſhall I goe? I will rather die than bee ſeparated from this ſo ſweet embracing.* Saying theſe laſt words, ſhe became as one glued faſt to the ſepulchre, ſo that being not able to be drawne from it either by threatnings, or prayers, or any other meanes, the ſouldier that led her (vexed at ſuch her conſtancie) ran her thorow the bodie with his ſword: ſo as ſhe had this hap accompanying her, that ſhee was left in the place whereas ſhee deſired to breathe out her laſt. *Ierome Oſorius* in his Hiſtorie of Portugall reporteth an excellent ſtorie of *Hota* the wife of *Rahi Benxamut*, a valiant Captaine and greatly eſteemed of among the Alarbes: Shee hauing beene brauely reſcued out of the hands of the Portugals (who were carrying her away priſoner) by the valor and exceeding courage of *Benxamut* her husband, who ſlew their Captaines, and the chiefe Officers, and beſt ſouldiers of their armie, ſhewed her ſelfe thankfull to her huſband for ſo great a benefit, by making the moſt of him that euery way ſhe poſſiblie could. Some time after, *Benxamut* in a conflict was kild as he followed one of his enemies, who turning head, and running at him with a force-gallop with a launce ran him through the bodie. *Hota* performed her husbands funerall obſequies with infinite lamentations, laid his bodie in a ſtately tombe, and for nine daies together did neither eat nor drinke: whereupon ſhe died, and was buried (as ſhe had ordeined in her will) by her husbands ſide, thinking it diſhonourable to be ſeuered by death from his graue whom ſhee had onely loued, and who for his part had borne her a moſt ſingular affection.

Lib. 9. Decad. 3. of the hiſtorie of Venice.

Lib. 10. ſect. 25.

Behold what *Sabellicus* and *Oſorius* write of two Mahumetan women, whoſe conſtant fidelitie towards their Husbands is ſo much the more remarkable, for that among thoſe of their profeſſion we ſee marriage to be little regarded, becauſe the men take them Wiues according to their owne meanes and eſtate: which libertie the Moores and Numidians had in times paſt, as appeareth in *Saluſt*. Therefore we muſt not giue credit to *Simonides* (or whoſoeuer it was elſe)

In Bel. Iugurt.

that made such an absurd answer to the question was asked him touching a Wife; *That she was (forsooth) the ship-wrack of man, the tempest of a house, the rest-troubler, the prison of life, a daily punishment, a sumptuous conflict, a beast in companie, a beautified bitch, a necessarie euill.* Or as another Philosopher, who being demanded what a Wife was, made an answer as foolish as that, to wit; *That she was the confusion of man, an insatiable beast, a continuall care, an ordinarie battell, a daily hinderance, the disturber of solitarinesse, the ship-wrack of the Husband, the vessell of adulterie, the wicked beast, the insupportable burden, the deadly Aspe, the human slauerie.* To such descriptions as these had *Chrysostom* a regard, when he said, *What is a Wife? the enemy of loue, the ineuitable paine, the necessarie euill, the naturall temptation, a desirable calamitie, a domesticall perill, a pleasant damage.* The same doctor in one of his Homilies maketh a vehement exclamation against women. All which descriptions, inuectiues, and exclamations are receiueable, I confesse, and may take place, if they be applied to women that are wicked, vnchaste, and which breake the sacred bond of marriage. Such the holy Scripture describeth, detecteth and detesteth more sufficiently than all Philosophers and Doctors, how eloquent soeuer they may be. One may make a whole chapter of that which *Salomon* writeth of this point in his Prouerbs. Let vs marke some of his words. *The lips of the strange woman drop hony-combs, and her pallat is sweeter than oile. But the end of her is bitter as wormwood, and sharpe as a two-edged-sword. Her feet goe downe to death, and her steps take hold of hell.* In the seuenth chapter he setteth out the subtill tricks of the Adultaresse, and the horrible woes that ensue of keeping her company. See also the 9 chapter towards the end: and the 22 verse of the 11 chapter. *The mouth of strange women* (saith he in the 22 chapter, and 14 verse) *is a deepe pit; he with whom the Lord is angrie shall fall therein.* And in the 23 chapter, verses 27, 28. *A whoore is a deepe ditch, and a strange woman is a pit of distresse. Also she lieth in waite as for a prey, and she increaseth the transgressors among men.* In the 19. 21. 25 and 27 chapters he reproueth riotous, brawling, and contentious women. But (on the other-side) in diuers places he setteth foorth the great blessings of mariage, preferring a vertuous Wife before all other goods & pleasures in the world. Among other chapters, see the 12, 18, 19, and 31. Touching the sentences of others, there may be found inow to make whole volumes against the enemies of Gods holy Ordinance, and such as confound the same with suggested pollutions, brought in and mainteined by the vncleane spirit and his adherents.

But let vs proceed and come to the other part of this chapter, to the end it be not thought that the good parts before mentioned be onely proper and peculiar to women-kind. For there be likewise notable examples of the loue and fidelitie of Husbands towards their Wiues: of which we will for the present alleage one or two among a great many. *Valerius Maximus, Plinie* the second, and many others write, That *T. Sempronius Gracchus* finding two serpents that came out of his bed, enquired of the Sooth-saiers what it might presage: They answered, That if he kild the femall his Wife should die; and himselfe, if he kild the male. But he bare such affection to his Wife *Cornelia*, that he commanded to kill the male, and himselfe soone after died. *Valerius* reherseth other examples of the two *Plautij* that would not ouerliue their Wiues. But that which we read of *Meleager* the son of *Oeneus* is notable. He (vpon some discontentment) kept his chamber, angrie with himselfe, and with his kinsfolks, friends and subiects. The Curetes were at that time in war against the Calydonians, ouer which *Meleager* commanded. It fell out that the Curetes besieged Calydonia, and pressed it so sore that they had no more hope to hold out. The Ancients and chiefe men of the

Vpon the 19 chap. of Saint *Matth.*

In the Hom. of the behead. of *Iohn Bapt.*

Chap. 5. vers. 3, 4. &c.

Lib. 4. cap. 6. chap. 57. of famous men.

the citie ran to the last refuge and shoot-ankar of their countrey, *Meleager*, imploring his force and armes to relieue the present necessitie: The priests come to him in their vestments, with all the ceremonies and reliques, promising large recompense of seruice. *Meleager* would not once vouchsafe to looke either vpon the one, or the other. After them came the reuerend wise old man *Oeneus*, who speedily prostrats himselfe to the ground, embracing his sonnes knees: next comes the mother, who by her brawling and ill speeches had beene the cause of all that stir: She then changing her note, praied and humbly besought her sonne: his sisters and familiars did the like, praying and coniuring him not to leaue them in that extremitie. But nothing could mooue him: his fierce stomack continueth resolute, caring not a whit for the destruction of all those who by their exhortation, aduertisements, sweet words, faire promises, humble praiers had sought to him for succour. In the meane while, the enemie hauing giuen a hot assault wins the rampier, enters the citie, ouerthrowes, slaies, and kils, and begins to fire the houses. *Cleopatra* the Wife of *Meleager* runs to him all amased, saying vnto him, *I pray thee, good Husband, awake: all is lost if thou helpe vs not: the enemie is within the citie.* Thereupon she telleth him all that had passed, which the Poet *Homer* expresseth, when he saith;

What mischiefes come on heapes at sacking of a towne!
Numbers of persons there are cruelly beaten downe.
Houses are set on fire; Wiues, Chrildren, made a prey,
From Husbands, Fathers armes are snatcht and drag'd away.

At the onely voice of his Wife, and her description of the danger, this iron-hearted man is mollified, runs to his armes, and then to his enemies, whom he driueth back and putteth to flight, sauing his citisens from present death, and his citie from totall ruine. This couragious lord (saith *Viues*) had the law of nature imprinted in his heart, and engrauen in his entrails, which he had neuer seene or heard, and which yet told him, That *Meleager* and *Cleopatra* were but one: that all the rest (though neuer so neere to him) were yet without him: but that he was ioyned to his Wife with such a bond of affection, that he could not denie her that which (it may be) he would not haue done for the loue of himselfe. Therefore a certaine Gouernesse said wisely in *Euripides*,

In his booke of the husbands dutie.

It is a matchlesse hap to see those two agree,
Whom bond of marriage-knot hath made but one to bee.

In the tragedie of *Medæa.*

But much more properly, and with better grace hath the Poet *Homer* said,

Our eies cannot behold a more delightfull sight
Than when a Wife in loue, and of a kind intent,
Sits by her Husbands side: it breeds our foes despight,
But faithfull friends thereat reioyce with great content.

In *Odyss. lib. 6.*

The learned *Tiraqueau* repeateth these verses, and diuers sentences out of other Authors, in his exposition vpon the fifth law of marriage, and addeth, Therefore I thinke *Macrinus* happie (if any such euer were) who (by report of *Plinie* the yonger in a letter of his to *Geminius*) liued nine and thirtie yeares with his Wife, without brawling, quarrelling, or any falling out. The like may be said of *Paternus*, who in the territorie of Nismes had an Epitaph importing, that he had kept house with his Wife two and thirtie yeares without any grieuing between them. The Epitaph goes thus,

Lib. 7.

D. M.
S. SYLVIVS PATERNVS VXORI RARISS. EXEMPLI CVM QVA VIXIT ANNIS XXXII. SINE VLLA ANIMI LÆSVRA. E. S. V. P.

The like inscription is at Rome, of one that was twentie yeares without being euer mooued against his Wife, or she against him. In the Antiquities of *Appian* we read the same in these words.

Q. CAVIVS SEVERVS RVTILIÆ PRIMITIVÆ CONIVGI SVÆ DVLCISSIMÆ CVM QVA VIXIT ANNIS VIGINTI SINE BILE.

There is another to be seene at Rome, quite contrarie to these former, and coucht in homely tearmes, betweene a Husband and his Wife, chiding still in their graue. It may perhaps be worth the labour to set it downe, that it may appeare how few there be that may boast of hauing liued in marriage without some bangling and strife.

HEVS VIATOR MIRACVLVM.

HIC VIR ET VXOR NON LITIGANT. QVI SVMVS NON DICO. AT IPSA DICAM. HIC BEBRIVS EBRIVS ME EBRIAM NVNCVPAT. NON DICO AMPLIVS. HEV VXOR ETIAM MORTVA LITIGAS.

That is to say,

Hoe Passenger, a Miracle.

Heere the Husband and the Wife chide no more. I say not who we are. But I will tell. This Bebrius *being drunke calleth me drunkard. I say no more. Hau, Wife, dost thou chide after thou art dead?*

To this short Dialogue of ill house-keepers brauling in their graue, let vs ioyne the agreement of *Pithecus*, turn'd into a prouerbe, as saith *Suidas*. This man liuing in continuall wrangling with his Wife, at last they made this agreement in presence of their friends, That he should neither beat, bite nor pull her by the haire: and, That she should not strike him, nor scratch him, nor pluck him by the priuities. Surely, the ancient Pagans were not so verie beasts, as that they knew not the sweet pleasures and commodities of marriage: Nay (contrariwise) they earnestly desired to haue their share thereof. Thence it came, That when they sacrificed to *Iuno*, whom they thought the goddesse and patroness of marriage, they tooke the gall out of the beast they offred, and buried it by the Altar; signifying, that marriage is amiable and sweet, and that it ought to be without gall, spite, malice, choller and bitternesse. For the gall in bodies is the seat of choller, as the learned Naturalists affirme and prooue.

CHAP. XII.

How euery good Houf-wife ought to haue a care of the health of her family. Of the Discipline and Nurture of the ancient Romans.

THe world is full now adayes of men Phisicians, and women Phisicians, who doe not onely take vpon them to discourse of the meanes how to prepare medicines for sicknesses that are grieuous and doubtfull (whether well or ill I refer me to the truth) but besides, are not afraid to prescribe the ingredients of such remedies, and then to minister them, without respecting either the causes of the disease, or the time of the sickenesse, but doe all to the great perill and hazard of the patients: whereby it commeth to passe, that the expert and learned Physicians are hindred from putting in practise that which they know, or else refraine from giuing their opinion, for feare least these quack-saluing-tricks should be imputed also to them. Now though it be the part and dutie of euery good houf-wife to prepare and haue in a readinesse certaine houshold remedies which may preserue health, rather than impaire it: yet it is not

fit

fit that ignorant Empyricks should be suffered to exercise the profession of ministring physicke in kingdomes and common-wealths where any good order is: for if they be, that will fall out which is reported of a certaine patient, to whom when a Physician had ministred phisicke, which wrought so well that hee recouered of his sickenesse, and was perfectly amended, the same partie some yeares after falling againe into the same sickenesse, and neuer asking any counsell of the Physician, tooke the same receit, but it did him no good: whereupon sending for the Physician he told him, that the same physicke which had done him good the time afore, had now done him hurt, wondring what the cause might be. It is true indeed (answered the Physician) that it is the verie same receit, but it hath done no good, because I did not appoint it; meaning, that it is for Physicians to appoint the remedies, because they know when and how they should be giuen: For that which is good for a young man, is ill for an old; and that which doth good in a hoat climat, offends in a coole aire. Therefore was it wisely said by *Plutarch*, That it is time which bringeth either establishment or ruine to affaires, euen as medicaments either cure or kill a man. To this *Chrysostome* agreeth, saying; If a Physician giue any potion, hee must take it, without asking what it is; for as much as it tendeth to the good of his health: but if some poisoner, Magician, or Inchanter minister it, he doth not onely aske what it is, but takes heed of it, stopping his eare against such fellowes. Fitly therefore doth *Lieuin Lemnius* iudge, that these Mountebanks, Triacle-carriers, and such other Dog-leaches as do commonly deceiue people, should in no wise be borne withall, but banisht out of well ordered places, seeing they are not afraid to destroy mens bodies, and to take away their liues; and in a word (as the prouerbe signifieth) to learne the trade of making pots by marring pots; that is to say (according to *Plinie*) to get knowledge by making knobbie Church-yards, and by deceiuable receits (which some call *Recipe-Decipe*) and fooliſh coniectures kill without any feare the first patient they meet withall.

In the life of *Lucullus*.
In his 7. Sermon of Destinie.
Lib. 1. of the secrets of nature *cap.* 17.

To returne to our Meditation; let vs heare the learned *Viues*, who wisely setteth downe how far it is conuenient to wade in such medicines: *The mistresse of a house* (saith he) *will skill of the remedies that agree with ordinarie diseases, and such as come almost daily: shee will haue them readie in a closet, to helpe therewith her husband, her little children, her men-seruants, and maid-seruants, that she may haue no need to send for the Physician, nor to buy drugs of the Apothecarie, and pay deere for them. I doe not counsell her to studie physick, nor to trust too much vpon her receipts, but onely to know some remedies for vsuall diseases, and that come euery day, as the Cough, Hoarsnesse, Scabbednesse, Tetters, Itches, Collicks, Laxes, Bindings, Wormes, Head-aches, soreneſſe of Eyes, Light-agues, Brooses, cuts that are not deepe, and such like harmes as come suddenly and very often. Adde hereunto the manner of handling her sicke ones, for such things as they are to take at the mouth; to know what they must take, and when, and how much, and what they must abstaine from: shee shall learne this skill by conferring with other wise matrons, by consulting with some physician dwelling neere at hand, or shee shall learne out of some booke that treateth of such remedies, rather than out of the great volumes of Doctors in that facultie.* This is the opinion of *Viues*. Whereunto we must adde further, that besides the cure of the bodies of her children, and of their health, shee must also take order that their minds (euen from their tender age) bee framed to learning, and good sciences: for they that haue no care of the vertuous bringing vp of their children, wrong both the children, and the common-wealth, saith *Cicero*: and the reason is, for that we get and bring vp children, not for our selues alone, but for our countrey; that they may (one day) not onely be delightfull to vs, but also doe seruice to the common-

Li. 2. of a Christian woman.

In his 5. inuectiue against *Verres*.

Prou. 13. 24.

common-wealth; which the wise king *Salomon* meant, saying; *Who so spareth the rod hateth his son, but he that loueth him chasteneth him betime.* Therefore *Quintilian* the Orator did not without cause complaine of Rome, and of the ordinarie and peculiar vices that did there take hold of children, and grew in them with their yeares: magnifying the discipline and seueritie of the old Romans in the education of their children. *Then* (saith he) *the child borne in lawfull matrimonie, was not brought vp in a hired nourses chamber, but in the mothers bosome, and in her lap, whose honour consisted herein, that she kept the house, and looked to her children and seruants. They made choice in their kindred of some woman that was well in yeares, of approoued life, and vertuously giuen; to whose gouernment all the children of the house were committed. It was not lawfull to cast out an ill word in the presence of this Gouernesse, nor to doe any thing that was vnseemly. Moreouer, out of her modestie and grauitie, she had an eie to the sports and pastimes of the children, that therein there might not any excesse be vsed. In this manner we read that* Cornelia, *the mother of the* Gracchi; Aurelia, *the mother of* Cæsar; *and* Attia, *the mother of* Augustus, *brought vp their sonnes, who haue been great princes as it is well knowne. This discipline and austerenesse was vsed to this end, that the nature of the child being yet sound, and tender, and not corrupted by leaud examples, might readily and frankly giue it selfe to all honest things, whether his mind were inclined to Armes, or to the Law, or to the profession of Oratorie, that he might make account but of one thing, and wholly giue himselfe to that. But now adayes, so soone as a child is borne, they put him into the hands of a Grecian woman-seruant, with one or two groomes of the vnhandsomest of all the meanie, and that know not how to doe any thing worth a pin. This little, tender, and new soule is soone poysoned with the fabulous tales and false opinions of such Schoole-masters; and none in all the house takes care of any thing that is said or done in presence of the child that must be the lord of the house: nor doe the parents themselues any whit accustome their children to good manners, or any modestie whatsoeuer, but giue them the bridle to run their full carreir in all insolencie, the mother of shamelesnesse, pride, and contempt of euery man. In a word, I am of opinion, that the ordinarie and peculiar vices of Rome sticke fast to the children in their mothers wombs.* *Quintilian* enlargeth this discourse: but it sufficeth me that I haue drawne from thence that which might serue for my purpose.

In the dialog. of Orators.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Iealousie.

IEalousie (according to the opinion of the Stoicks, alleaged by *Cicero*) is a griefe proceeding from this, That one should enioy that which another would keepe to himselfe alone. Some say, it is an apprehension of seeing that common to two, or more, which you pretend ought to be onely yours. Well, howsoeuer it be, experience sheweth, that Iealousie is a grieuous trouble of the mind, and so terrible, that a man were better die than liue vnder such a tyrannie. Therfore the ancient wise men gaue aduice to banish betimes vnruly loue, like a wild beast, before it haue teeth and nailes: and what be those teeth and nailes? mary Suspition and Iealousie. For remedie whereof, God made certaine expresse lawes to his people Israel touching Iealousie: for if a man suspected his wife of adultrie, hee brought her to the doore of the Tabernacle: where the Priest by consecrated waters, and words of cursing, made triall of the innocencie or faultinesse of the woman. For the Lord God would haue the maried ones liue together with a ioyfull heart, and free from all opinion of euill. That Ceremoniall law being abrogated, the curiositie of man sought and found out many other remedies

Num. 5.

remedies against Iealousie: as in times past the purgation by the burning yron, the suspected woman being constrained to carie it in her naked hands, or to goe vpon it on her bare feet. There was also the Duell or single fight; moreouer, the boyling water or oyle, wherin the parties accused wet their hands, & took them out againe without any hurt, if their honor were vntouched. All this was done with certain ceremonies which we will speake of in another place. Now as man is a creature wonderfull jealous (as *Homer* saith) so we read of many tragicall stories of iealousie both in men and women. *Iustina*, the faireſt of all the daughters and damosels of Rome in her time, being maried to a rich man, but hare-braind, and as furious as might be, was (by reason of her beautie) suspected of her husband, as hauing small care of her honour. One day as she stooped downe to pull off her shooe, this cruell wretch seazed with furious jealousie, seeing her wonderfull white necke all open, suddenly drew his sword, and whipt off her head: whereof was made an Epigram in Latin thus translated:

A Husband inhumane hath stricken off my head,
In pulling off my shooe as I was busied.
O cruell he! that did not once respect the bed,
On which my glories flower he late had gathered.
I heauen and earth attest, that no fault was in mee;
But of hard Destinie such is the high decree.
Yee Fathers, if you will learne of Iustina *heere,*
To fooles and iealous men giue not your daughters deere.

Now, as experience sheweth, that one nation is more subiect to this passion of jealousie than another: so doth *Bodin* prooue by the testimonie of *Irenic* and of *Munster*, that the Germans are not tainted with it, but hold it honourable, that women and men should bath and stoaue together in the common baths and hoat houses. But the Southerne people cannot abide that men should accompanie women, no not in churches: but they are seuered and kept asunder with a wall betweene, as doe the Italians, especially in Lent-time. Moreouer, the Meridionalls or Southern inhabitants are so jealous, that many of them when they are toucht with this euill, die of it without any remedie. The king of Puna among the Indians, to free himselfe from such a griefe, caused his Eunukes or guards of women, not onely to haue their priuie parts cut off, but also their noses and armes. If there be any men in the world (saith the lord of Busbeck) that are watchfull ouer their women, they are the Turkes, for they shut them vp so close within their houses, that scarce the sunne shines vpon them. If necessitie driue them abroad, they send them foorth so couered, vaild, and fumbled vp, that who so meets them would thinke they were spirits, or else maskers. They can see men thorow a vaile, or cobweb that they were, but no man can see any part of their bodie. For the Turkes are all of this mind, that a woman with a faire face, or that is in the flower of her age, cannot be seene of any man but he must couet to enioy her, and consequently defile his heart: which is the reason they keepe all their women so close. *Epist.* 3.

Petrarck hath featily described the force and effects of jealousie in these tearmes. The husband that hath a jealous wife is much tormented by her, and most of all in the night time, one while by her coy and quaint deuises, another while by sighes and fained accusations and complaints: He hath (forsooth) been glauncing too much with his eye, to winke vpon some one woman, vpon another he hath smiled too sweetly, he hath kindly saluted his neighbours wife, praised some other woman for her beautie, came home late to bed; In a word, hath said

or

or done some thing that giues her cause to suspect him of false play. If this traine may be called life, I know not what we shall call death. This passion (among the examples of our time) raigned most violently in *Iane* Queene of Spaine (mother to the Emperor *Charles* the fift, and to *Ferdinand* of late memorie) for she was so extreamely jealous of king *Philip* her husband, that she suffered him to be in no peace or rest, but afflicted him vncessantly, so as at last it was verily thought shee shortned his dayes: and withall brought her selfe to that weakenesse of mind, that shee lost all iudgement to discerne of any matters propounded to her. For which cause Historians write, That her sonne the Emperor caused her to be kept in perpetuall prison; albeit *Buchanan* writes, that hee kept her so becaus shee would haue maried againe.

Such another example of this tyrannicall jealousie, we may draw out of the tombe of *Caius Vibius*, a yong man, who (not able to compasse the good will of *Putillia* whom he feruently loued, and seeing himselfe repulsed for another) ouercome with the force of jealousie, slue himselfe, when he was nineteene yeares and two moneths old. As also another out of the tombe of *Trebia*, who hauing beene but fiue weekes married, had an opinion that her husband committed adulterie with another woman, which she laid so to her heart, that with a daggar she stab'd her selfe in her chamber. *Polyphilus* setteth out the inscription of this fact, with the purtraiture of the tombe, wherein are two gates, the one open, whereby two little naked children weeping enter, hauing these words about it; NATVRÆ NOVERCÆ INEVITABILE STATVTVM, that is, *The ineuitable ordinance of step-mother Nature.* At the other gate halfe open, two other children shew themselues comming out and laughing, with these words, NATVRÆ MATRIS BENIGNVM EDICTVM, that is, *The gracious decree of Mother Nature.* There was heretofore published in print at Venice, an Italian booke entituled *Antidoto de la Gelosia*, made by *Leuantio de Quidicciolo Mantouano*, wherein are many examples of this passion. And *Tiraqueau* in his 16 Law of Marriage made against jealousie, hath inserted before it a letter consolatorie to *Nicostrata*, a jealious woman, which becaus it is too long I omit, as also the letters of *Cælia* a gentlewoman of Rome to a louer of hers, wherein are seene the descriptions of infinit sorts of jealousie.

For the end of this Meditation, it shall not be amisse to speake a word or two of the loues of *Faustina*, of whom the Emperour *Marcus Antonius* her husband was jealous, as he had good cause. *Iulius Capitolinus* writeth thereof (whither by heare-say without any other ground, or that there was such a thing indeed) this that followeth. Faustina *the daughter of* Antonius *the meeke, and wise to* Marc. Antonius *the Philosopher, seeing sword-plaiers passing by, became so far in loue with one of them, that she fell sick, and confessed her passion to her husband, who asking the opinion of the soothsaiers, was counselled by them to cause the sword-plaier to be kil'd, and to haue* Faustina *bath'd in his blood, and presently thereupon to companie with her: which being done, her passion was alaied: but of this accompanying was* Commodus *borne, who being afterwards Emperour, in steed of shewing himselfe a prince, shewed to the people in one day a thousand seuerall combats of sword-plaiers or fencers that fought at the vttermost. And it was a strange thing, that of so good a father there was borne a sonne, who for villanie, rage, and crueltie surpassed all the cutters and killers of men in his time. But many thinke he was not the sonne of* Antonius; *for it is well knowne that* Faustina *being at Caietta, prostituted her selfe to the mariners and sword-plaiers that were there in great number: and when the Emperour her husband was aduised to diuorce her, seeing he would not punish her for it: yea marrie (quoth he) but if I put her away, I must restore her dowrie; and that is*

the

the Roman Empire, which he had of his father in law, by the consent of Adrian, *whom he adopted, vpon condition that he should marrie* Faustina. Thus saith *Iulius Capitolinus*. To the which *Polyphilus* addeth (either of his owne inuention, according to his manner, or of some other bodies) a certaine long Epitaph made by *Faustina* vpon the death of her sword-plaier. She was one of the dissolut'st women in those times, and whose name is turn'd into a prouerbe, to signifie *a strumpet past all shame and grace.*

CHAP. XIV.

The great force of Imagination.

THe learned *Viues* wisely writeth, That imaginations or conceits are dangerous, and worke mightily in a human bodie: therefore he aduiseth women with child not to print in their minds the thought of any thing that is il-fauoured, shamefull, or infamous; and exhorteth them to shun all places where any strange sights are. And if they bring themselues in danger of meeting with any such, let them preuent all apprehension of such things, to the end that the sudden seeing of a thing that is strange, new, or fearefull, doe not hurt the fruit they beare within them. That this aduise may be of verie good vse, it appeareth by that which *Empedocles* and the naturall Philosophers haue written thereof, who hold, that the representation of a thing meeting with a womans conceit in the verie time of conceiuing, hath such power ouer the fruit conceiued and taking shape, that the marke of the thing so imagined, remaineth imprinted in the child for euer. To this purpose there is a tale of a countrey fellow that was verie il-fauoured, who fearing to haue children like himselfe, deuised to haue his chamber hang'd with verie faire pictures, charging his wife to turne her sight alwaies towards them; by which helpe she brought him faire children. *Quintilian* witnesseth the same, in his plea for the woman that was brought a bed of a yong Moore: because she had in her chamber a little black picture. By the same reason *Hippocrates* saued a woman suspected of adulterie, because she was brought a bed of a sonne vnlike to her husband: for he shewed, That the child had a cast of the countenance of a mans picture that hung in the chamber where this maried couple lay. And indeed, the vertue imaginatiue is so strong, that if sometimes a woman fixe her eies and her thought vpon any thing, all the power of Nature being set awork about the making of the child, the humors running thither from all parts, and meeting there by the secret command of this ladie and mistresse, who is verie earnest about the finishing of her worke, it falleth out somtimes that she worketh and maketh diuers formes not vsuall, as double lims, superfluous parts or additions, which she ioyneth to her worke, as *Lieuin Lemnius* discourseth thereof verie learnedly. This imaginarie power reacheth euen to beasts, as appeareth in Mares: for if one couer them with cloathes of diuers collours when the Stallions leape them, their foales are commonly of a mingled collour. The holy Historie sheweth that the same hapneth in other beasts, witnesse that which *Iacob* did in Mesopotamia, when he kept the sheepe of his vncle *Laban*. *Andrew Alciat* a Ciuilian maketh mention thereof, and alleageth withall the example of the duke of Plombino, to prooue that some whoremongers get children that resemble themselues: This duke thinking that a certaine wench of his had beene with child by him, bad many of the chiefe men of the countrey to the christning. She was brought a bed of a boy, more like the

In the 2 booke of a Christian woman.

Lib. 4. cap. 7. of the Miracles of nature.

Genes. chap. 30. de Verborum significatione.

the dukes cooke. For this bidding and prouision the duke was well laught at and flouted, who got out the truth of the matter by racking the knaue cooke. Yet *Phocylides* said a great while since, that

Adulterous children of all other
Resemble neither father nor mother.

Seeing then both experience and naturall Philosophie teach vs, That the things which are set before womens eies in the moment of conception, haue a marueilous force to imprint the marke and resemblance of the same things in the child; that which some affirme is not altogither incredible, how in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, a woman settling her eies (in the time of conceiuing) vpon a tablet representing Saint *Iohn Baptist*, drawne (as he is commonly) clothed with hairie skins, was brought a bed of a daughter, as hairie as a beare. It hath beene told me by a ladie both honorable and worthie of credit, that not long since, another German woman of good reputation was brought to bed of a lump of flesh as it had beene a beare, hauing nailes and a snout, but no life. Such a like monster was that which the concubine of Pope *Nicholas* the third bare, saith *Iohn Bale* in his life; alleaging for his Author *Iohn* of Nieumeghen in the illustrations of *Beda*: And he addeth, That *Martin* the fourth, the first yeare of his Popedome entertained this dame, and fearing least she might bring foorth other beare-whelps, he made all the beares that were painted in the Popes pallace while the lords of the house of the *Vrsins* bare sway in Rome, to be blotted out. And *Bale* saith further (after the other Historians, and namely *Thomas Cooper* in his abridged Chronicle) that this Pope was not ignorant, how that the shapes and pictures which are conceiued in a womans imagination at the time of the Venerian action, remaine imprinted for the most part of time in the bodie conceiued. *Iohn Baptista Porta* likewise maketh mention of another woman that was deliuered of a dead child, resembling for all the world a certaine image of marble that she had standing in her chamber. Moreouer, we read in the Ethiopian Historie, how *Persina* queene of Ethiopia had in her chamber a goodly faire picture of *Andromeda*, and casting her eies vpon the same at the instant that she conceiued, it made her that she was deliuered of a daughter, as white as snow: For which cause fearing least she should haue beene put to some shame for bringing foorth such a child (which according to that countrey should haue beene black) she made as if she had beene deliuered of another child, and caused that daughter of hers to be carried away far off. Who hauing past thorow many great dangers, and at last (by meanes of certaine iewels and tokens that had been sent away with her) being knowne and accepted for the queenes daughter and heire, she was giuen for wife to the faire *Theagenes*, the companion of her distresses and miseries, to whom she had promised her selfe in marriage.

Lib. 2. de Mag. natural. cap. 23.

Of *Heliodorus.*

Vpon the 12 booke of Saint *August. de Ciuitate Dei.*

But this which *Ludouicus Viues* writeth is worthie of memorie; how that *Margarite* (daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian* the first) vpon a time told the Ambassador of *Ferdinand* king of Hungarie, That at Tsertoghenbosch a citie of Brabant, in a certaine procession vpon a sollemne feast day, some of the citisens going disguised (according to the ancient custome of the place) some in the habit of Angels, and others in the shape of deuils, as painters commonly draw them; one of these deuils hauing plaid his gambals a great while, ran home to his house in his deuils attire, takes his wife, throwes her vpon a bed, saying, That he would get a yong deuill vpon her: and so he did. For of that carnall copulation there was borne a child such as the wicked spirit is painted, which at his comming into the world began to run and skip ouer all the chamber. *Lieuin*

Lemnius

Lemnius also telleth strange things of a monster that a certaine woman was deliuered of (to which woman he was Physician, and present at this sight) which at the appearing of the day, filled all the chamber with roaring and crying, running all about to find some hole to creep into; but the women at the length stifeled and smoothered it with pillowes.

Lib. 1 cap. 8. of the miracles of nature.

CHAP. XV.

Sudden Counsels are hurtfull.

Iohn Dubrauius, writing the life of *Lewis* the second, king of Hungarie and Bohemia (who hauing not accomplished the one and twentieth yeare of his age, a prince worthie of longer life, was so vnhappie in his counsell, that by the foolishnesse and brainesicke boldnesse of some that should haue medled with other things, he durst in a set battell with a handfull of ragged souldiers and vnarmed clownes, await and stand against the huge armie of tried warriours of *Solyman* the Sultan of the Turks, who ouerthrew him neere Mohac in Hungarie, the one and twentith of Iuly, in the yeare 1526, the young king lying drown'd in a ditch full of water which his horse could not leape) addeth, that a man might note in *Lewis* three speciall things that he was too forward and ouerhastie in: one, That he became great in a verie small time; another, That he had a beard too soone; and the third, That he had white haires before hee was past seauenteen yeares of age. One might adde hereunto his hastie birth: for when he was borne into the world, he was without skin, which yet he got soone after, the Physicians helping nature. *Lieuin Lemnius* also writeth, That corne and fruit late ripe, are obserued to keepe better than the hastie, which passe away and rot forthwith. A sudden ripening is of no long continuance: therefore wee allow not an ouer-speedie and quicke iudgement in children, nor other gifts of the bodie or mind, which appeare in them extraordinarily; for most commonly such die young. *Quintilian* hath a prettie saying, *That hastie wits seldome beare fruit.* So we see the Spring flowers to be suddenly out, and soone faded: and so the deseigns and counsels that are not mature and deliberatly taken, abort in the bearing, to the ruine of those persons that labour to bring them forth. Therfore the aduise of the Poet *Menander* is very good.

Towards the end of the historie of Bohemia.

Ioh. Leonclauius in his Pandects of the historie of Turkie. Lib. 2. cap. 39.

Lib. 1. of his Institut.

In all affaires take Counsell for thy Guide;
It is the surest course what ere betide.

Worthily therefore is their heedlesnesse, or rather boldnesse and insolencie blamed, who studie and beat their braines how they may hastily take in hand some businesse of importance, and attempt to execute the same, without hauing (first of all) cast and discoursed in their minds what the end thereof may be. *Hannibal* said well to those of his time; *If the gods would giue vs vnderstanding in prosperitie, wee should not onely thinke vpon things after they are come to passe, but should also haue our eyes fixed vpon that which may happen afterwards.* And what other thing (I pray you) doe they that hazard themselues so, but draw euils vnto them (as the wind *Cæcias* gathereth clouds together) and when they thinke to cut off one of *Hydras* heads, see seauen other grow vp in place thereof? For it falleth out most commonly, that to helpe one difficultie, into which they haue rashly run themselues, they fall into many other far more dangerous. *Seneca* knew it well: *There be some affaires* (saith he) *which a man may leaue vnperfect; other some, which it is impossible to see the end of, because one of them begetteth another; and as the waues follow one ano-*

Tit. Liu. Dec. 3.

ther, so the difficulties appeare tyed one to another. There is nothing more easie than to stir confusions vnder a faire pretence, to shake that which standeth firme, and to disturbe a setled estate: But to cleare the troubled water, to settle a building that shaketh *(hoc opus, hic labor est)* is the part of cunning masters, and not for euery man to doe. Whereof it commeth, that rash and inconsiderat counsels endanger oftentimes, yea and bring into horrible confusions both those that inuent them, and those that admit and execute them: all reaping the deadly fruit of their improuidence and hastinesse. But the danger is, when such euils creepe into the counsell of a prince: for, if a priuate mariner neglect his dutie, hee doth small hurt to the passengers; but if the Pilot be drunke, or mad, he sends all to the bottom of the sea: So likewise in publike States, if a particular man commit a fault, he offendeth himselfe more than the State: but if the prince doe amisse, hee ouerthrowes all. *Xenophon* remembring that, vnder the name of *Agesilaus*, beareth fauourably with an ill turne done by priuate men; but condemneth sore a fault done by princes: who with one leaud blow, make an infinite number of wounds.

Lib. 10. *Philip de Commines* wisely asketh this question; *If princes* (saith he) *or their fauourites, or some Common-weales doe amisse, who shall informe of it? who shall exhibit the bill of complaint to the Iudge? who shall take vpon him to iudge of it? who shall punish the offenders? That shall* (saith he) *the complaints and teares of the poore that haue been cruelly tormented; and the sighs and cries of the widowes and orphans, whose husbands and fathers such barbarous ones haue kild: and (to bee short) the sobs and gronings of those housholds which they haue afflicted, rifled and ransomed, shall accuse them before Gods iudgment seat; who being prouoked by so many grieuous offences, suffereth not the offenders to go long vnpunished, but sometimes chasteneth them speedily with such a quicke, plaine, and strong hand, that no man can doubt but he is the most righteous auenger of wrongs.* A little before he had said, *That if men thought there were a God, who leaueth no wickednesse vnpunished, and that there be horrible and euerlasting torments prepared for the wicked; it is likely there would not any be found that would giue themselues to extortion, couetousnesse, or crueltie.* Now, although in the height of the tempests that disturbe a State, the princes may oft times commit many disorders against their liking, as it chanceth to Pilots to be caried by the violence of a storme acrosse some rocks far distant from the hauen: yet one may say, that when their treasure and other things doe faile them, they haue neuer about their eares but mischieuous counsels, which are followed commonly with euents both wretched and pitifull: therefore some say, That rashnesse is a want of counsell, and a certaine precipitation (the cousin of heedlesnesse) by which are committed things vnreasonable, either by violence, or by particular affection, or by contempt. They haue therefore comprehended it vnder precipitation, which presupposeth heedlesnesse, and more (yet) want of counsell: for which cause the Poet *Horace* said wisely, that

Papyr. Masson lib. 2. & 3. of the Annals of France.

Lib. 3. Ode 4.

Force void of Counsell, not of might,
Doth fall downe vnder its owne waight.
The gods also giue good successe
To Force exempted from Excesse:
And they deteste all Powerfulnesse
That nought intends but wickednesse.

Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24. S. August. lib. 5. de Ciuit. Dei. cap. 26. When they of Thessalonica had raised such a mutinie, that the Emperour *Theodosius* (extreamely prouoked therewith) had made many thousands of them being assembled in their Theatre, to be cut in pieces by his Legions; Saint *Ambrose* counselled the Emperour to establish the tearme of a whole moneth betweene

betweene the day of any capitall sentence, and the time of the execution thereof, to the end that violence and wrath might not make him commit faults that could not afterwards be repaired; and that time might giue him leaue to repent him, and to vse mercie, if need were. *Sozomenus*, Saint *Augustine*, and *Iustinians* Code make mention of it. It fareth with these of whom we speake, as it did with him that got vp (saith the tale) vpon a furious horse, which taking the bridle in his teeth, carieth his man quite away, without giuing him the leisure to alight off him: Being met by one, and asked whither he ran so fast? he answered in three words (pointing to his horses head) Whither this wil. So, if a man should aske of the princes before noted, Whither run you? If they will answere truly, they must needs say, Whither our passions will: which sometimes shall be pleasure, another time ambition, or couetousnesse, or anger, or feare, or some such other thought. These be the horses that carie them with a full carreere to their confusion: whereby wee see that many men most commonly get themselues great falles which they neuer feared; and that not so much by their owne fault, as through the inconstancie and reuolution of this worlds affaires, together with the violence of the great ones, that deale so with their inferiors: but when it chanceth that any throw themselues into precipices and dangerous places willingly and with their consent, the blame must not bee laid vpon any other but themselues. And that is the cause why we pitie and compassionat those that we see are fallen into any aduersitie, through the ill fortune which commonly followeth, and (as it were) treadeth vpon the heeles of humane affaires; yea, and we excuse them, and helpe them all that euer we can: Contrariwise, wee controle, blame, and hate the others, which wee know haue drawne any confusion vpon themselues by their owne folly and wickednesse.

L. si Vindicari C. de pœnis. cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc

Polyb. lib. 2. of his histories.

This consideration mooued *Philip de Commines* to taxe those princes, that are chosen of God to sit in the highest place of authoritie, and yet are to be blamed in this that they neuer thinke of their dutie. He addeth, that a man cannot find any fault with melancholy and mad persons: but if it happen that men of vnderstanding, and such as are in good disposition of their bodies, fall by careles nesse and wantonnesse into open calamitie, one should neuer grieue or once be sorie for their fall. We haue a memorable example hereof in a certain king of Scotland: This prince being caried away with some affections of delight and pleasure, for all that he was warned by the voice of God, and the nobles of his land, yet would not leaue his humours, vntill he had lost himselfe with a great part of his Nobilitie: the storie is set downe in these tearmes; *As the king was riding towards his armie, being gone to heare Euensong at Limnuch, there came in an old man, hauing his haire inclining towards red, and hanging downe ouer his shoulders; the forepart of his head bald, and without a hat, cloathed in a blew gowne girt vnto him with a linnen girdle, bearing a graue port and a reuerend face; who demanding to speake with the king, cleft the preasse, and made himselfe roome: standing neere the king, with a rusticall plainnesse he leaned vpon his chaire, and said thus; Sir, I am sent vnto you, to warne you that you goe no further, and if you doe otherwise, it will be ill for you, and for all those that shall attend you. Moreouer, I am commanded to tell you, that if you conuerse with women too familiarly, and follow their counsell, it will bee your shame and ouerthrow. This being said, the old man enters againe into the preasse; and when after Euensong the king had caused him to be sought for, being desirous to question more particularly with him, he could not be found: which was thought the more strange, because not one of all those that had (as it were) felt and noted him, could perceiue how he was gone away.* The Authour saith, he hath set downe this storie after the report of them that were neere the king at

Lib. 9.

that time. But this poore prince ſetting light by ſuch aduertiſements, and the good counſels of the lords of Scotland, who praied him that he would not giue battell to the Engliſh, and inſteed of thinking vpon the afaires of the war, ſpending his time with a yong gentlewoman that was his priſoner, his troopes (being lodged in a barraine countrey, and deſtitute both of victuals and munition, whereby they were forced to breake) was a while after ouerthrowne in a ſet battell, and he kild in the place, with the moſt part of his nobilitie.

Lucian, in the Dialogue intitul. *Philopſeudes.*

I remember that talking one day of this accident with my deceaſed father, he ſaid of theſe raſh enterpriſers, that which *Euerates* reporteth befell him (as *Lucian* diſcourſeth of it.) This *Euerates* being arriued in Egypt, grew acquainted with a magician that did verie ſtrange things: Among other, when we came (ſaith he) into any lodging, this magician would take the doore-bar, or a broom, or a log, which hauing couered with ſome old ragged cloath, he would make to goe and ſeeme a man to all that ſaw it, hauing firſt vttered certaine words. This ſpirit would draw water, make readie our meat, ſet it on the table, ſerue vs, and doe any thing we bad him. When all was done, *Pancrates* (ſo was the magician called) would turne him againe to a bar, a broome, or a log as it was afore. I did all that I could to know this myſterie, but could neuer draw it out of him, though he told me many things elſe. But one day hauing hid my ſelfe in a cloſe place where I was ſure none could ſee me, I heard his enchantment plainely, which was but of three ſillables. And then, after he had commanded a log or a ſtake what he was to doe, he himſelfe would be gone to walke in the market place. The next day ſeeing him buſie there, I tooke me a ſtake, and hauing put ſome cloath about it, ſaid the three words, and bad him goe draw water: which he preſently did, and brought a good paile full. I ſaid vnto him, it is inough; returne to thy former being: but he ſtill continues drawing and bringing, till he had filled all the houſe with water. When I ſaw that I could not ſtop him, and being afraid of the anger of *Pancrates* (who alwaies kept a great ſtur at his returne) I tooke an axe, and cut the ſtake in two pieces, of which, each one taking a paile, drew water and brought it, ſo that of one ſeruant I made two. In this meane-while commeth *Pancrates*, who hauing ſet all right againe, conueied himſelfe from me, ſo that I could neuer tell what became of him. This is *Lucians* fable, who vnder ſuch inuentions bewraieth the folly of arrogant men that enter into ſuch labyrinths as they cannot get out of them againe. *Plato* glanced at this long agoe ſaying, That when a man is growne inſolent becauſe of his dominions and ſigniories, or proud becauſe he is faire, and that his folly doth ſo beſot him that he thinketh he hath no need either of a guide or a maſter, but that he hath inough in him to direct all other men; he is vtterly forſaken of God: then he giueth himſelfe to his paſtimes, and finding men of his ſort, turnes all vpſide-downe, making himſelfe to be feared of many: but ſoone after, the iuſt iudgement of God ouertaketh and puniſheth him, ſo as the wretch doth ruine himſelfe, his houſe, and the common-wealth.

In his lawes.

For proofe hereof, I will alleage that which hath falne out in our time in Germanie, where a certaine prince growne verie proud by reaſon of the ſudden proſperitie of his affaires, beſieged (for ſome daies) a caſtle belonging to a gentleman. The place was yeelded to him by compoſition, which among other articles conteined, That the beſieged ſhould depart, their liues and goods ſaued, and beſtow themſelues where they ſhould thinke good. It hapned, that as he would haue entred with his troupes into the caſtle, a ſouldier of the garriſon that ſtood ſentinell in the top of a tower, and knew nothing of the treatie, diſcharged

charged an Harquebuze a-crock, and kild a Rutter that was ſtanding not far from the prince, who thereupon entred into ſuch a rage, that without all reſpect of the other ſouldiers (without whoſe priuitie the piece was ſhot, and who by the compoſition, were to depart with their liues and goods) he cauſed them all to be hang'd at a tree hard by the caſtle, and their Curat higher than all the reſt, to doe him credit, as he ſaid: violating therein the lawes of armes, and playing a part neuer heard of among the Germans before that time. Now albeit this ouer-haſtie and cruell execution diſpleaſed many counſellors and captaines of this prince, and that in priuat among themſelues they ſhewed a great miſlike thereof: yet fearing the anger of this their maſter, who in his furie would know no man, not one of them durſt open his mouth againſt him. But ſo it fell out afterwards, when his heat was cooled, that both himſelfe and they abhorred this wofull ſpectacle, wiſhing (but in vaine) that it had neuer beene. The euent ſhewed, that God curſed the counſells and deportments of this prince and of his ſeruants, for both he, and a great many that followed him, were within ſome ſpace of time, brought to vtter ruine; the prince ſo indebted, that after he was brought to all extremitie that might be, and forced to flie his countrey, he was at the laſt entertained of a moſt horrible diſeaſe, and taken out of the world with extreame torments. Many ſeruants and counſellors of his made not much better ends: For, the blood of the ſlaine, and the vengeance of God neuer left running after them, vntill they were cleane ſwept away from the face of the earth. The like hapned, in the age going before, to *Charles* the mightie duke of Burgundie. For he, hauing beſieged Granſon, and receiued them that were within to a compoſition that they ſhould haue their liues and goods ſaued; was no ſooner poſſeſſed of the place, but he brake his faith that he had giuen, and vpon a haſtie and raſh counſell made ſome of them be hang'd and ſtrangled, and other-ſome be drown'd; After which faithleſſe part his heart was ſo changed, that moſt proudly contemning his ſubiects, he put his truſt in ſtrangers for the guarding of his perſon, neuer did any thing to be accounted of, many of his enterpriſes had wrong ſucceſſe, feeling war vpon war he was beaten in diuers encounters, and at laſt defeated before Nanci, his forces diſperſed, and himſelfe ſlaine: A prince otherwiſe verie couragious, mightie in wealth, and of good parts. But

Such is moſt commonly
The end of cruelty.

His Epitaph is to be ſeene (ſomewhat rude, but ſutable to the time) in the Annals of the biſhops of Colen, and in the fifth booke of the deſcription of Burgundie, made by *Pontus Heuterus*, to this effect.

Quiet and peace thou (Charles) *didſt aye deteſt;*
Now thou art laid, allow thy bones ſome reſt.

The Apophthegme therefore of king *Lewis* the eleauenth is worthily eſteemed of; *Where Pride and preſumption goe before, Shame and loſſe follow hard after.* For experience ſheweth vs, that ignominie waiteth vpon ambition, and glorie accompanieth humilitie.

To ſhut vp this chapter with ſome ancient examples, we haue one in *Thucidides* verie memorable, and worth the noting. When as the Athenians, without any lawfull cauſe, but onely carried with a proud deſire to ſhew their power, enterpriſed the conqueſt of Sicilia: ſome Thracian aduenturers hired to ſerue vnder their pay, comming too late (the Athenian fleet being put to ſea, and no meanes left to tranſport this new re-enforcement into Sicilia) they were diſ- *Lib.* 17. of his hiſtorie.

missed againe, the citie being not able to giue them entertainment. These Thracians in their returne homewards, tooke by scalado a citie in the firme land of Bœotia, called Mycalessus; rifled the houses and the temples; kild man woman and child, without sauing any, no not so much as the cattle; such aduenturers being the most barbarous and cruell villaines in the world, when they haue once gotten the vpper-hand. All that poore citie was brought at that time to extreame desolation; and the murtherers entred by force into the Colledge, where a great number of schollers were, of which they saued not one, but cut all their throats. This calamitie of the Bœotians hapning through the proud and precipitate counsell of the Athenians, was as lamentable as could be: But the Athenians also paid for it themselues; For euer after, their matters went with the wrong end forward, their armie was wholy defeated both by sea and by land, and themselues at the last brought to miserable seruitude. Another example we haue in *Cræsus* a mightie king of Lydia. He not able to liue quietly in his owne peaceable and florishing kingdome, would needs make war vpon *Cyrus* king of Persia, without any iust cause, onely puffed vp with his riches, and happie successe in his affaires. But first he sent his Ambassadors to the Oracle at Delphos, where they presenting themselues in counterfeit attire, and without telling from whence they came, the prophecying woman said vnto them, as *Cedrenus* reporteth after *Herodotus*:

Herodot. lib. 1.

In the abridgement of Hist.

I know what depth and round the Ocean doth containe,
How many graines of sand vpon the shore remaine:
I know the verie thoughts of a close-silent minde,
And yet king Cræsus, *he, and his folke are so blinde*
That they thinke by their wit, euen now, within this place,
To play a worthie part, and flout me to my face.

At last, the Ambassadors hauing deliuered the true cause of their Embassie, the Oracle made them an answer with two meanings in words to this effect:

Cræsus *the riuer Halys shall passe ouer,*
And after spoile great store of wealth and treasor.

They were his owne goods and treasures which he brought to nought, and not those of *Cyrus*, to whom the Prophet *Daniell* declared (as *Cedrenus* and *Suidas* affirme) according to the reuelations of *Isaie* the Prophet, that he should haue the victorie: for which cause, these Authors say, That after the war was ended, *Cyrus* sent home the Iewes to Ierusalem. To these two former examples we will adde a third, of *Perses* a mightie king of Macedonia. He taking delight in killing of his innocent seruants, and with great pride contemning as well friends as foes, was so taken and ouerthrowne with crueltie and couetousnesse, that from thence forwards one could discerne nought else but foolishnesse and rage in the gouernment of his affaires. Before that, he had made triall of some wit and valor in combats, demeaning himselfe reasonable well: but in an instant, and ere one could tell how, he became a coward, dul-headed, giddie, and troublesome to all, good fortune hauing vtterly left him; a thing that hath chanced to many other, who hauing beene well one day, were the next growne witlesse and miserable, as *Suidas* obserueth in his collection of Histories, after *Titus Liuius*, and *Plutarch*. Therefore *Paulus Æmylius* said wisely, and to our purpose: *That a man in prosperitie should resolue of nothing that sauours of pride and violence against any, nor trust the present state of things: considering the future time is vncertaine, and no man knoweth what will happen before the sunne be set.* Prosperitie lifteth not vp a noble minde, nor can aduersitie deiect and quaile it. And (as *Asdruba*, *Hædus*

Plutarch in the life of *Paulus Aemylius.*

Tit. Liuius lib. 5. Decad. 5.

Hædus shewed in the open Senat at Rome) *It is a rare thing that men should be happie and wise altogether: and the people of Rome remained invincible, because in prosperitie they stood vpon their guard, and remembred their businesse to thinke thereupon with all care and earnestnesse.*

CHAP. XVI.

Of the signes that foregoe such punishments as are deserued by reason of mis-deeds.

IT falleth out often times, that men despise and forego their true goods, as namely, wisdome and good counsell, by helpe whereof they might haue auoided great tempests, and put themselues into some safe harbour, at such time as the dangers drew neere, with which they were to be taken and ouerwhelmed: whereof it followeth by an extreame kind of miserie, that their fortune is taken for desert, and men blame and accuse them euen in the midst of their ruine. Now of this ruine there is not a plainer presage (saith *Philip de Commines*) than when God so taketh away their vnderstanding, that reiecting wise Counsellors, they preferre ignorant, braineleſſe, and vnfit fellowes and flatterers, that neither say nor doe any thing but to please. For, when a prince is once at that point, we may well say that God is rearing of a scaffold, whereon to make some exemplarie punishment of him. This hath beene heeretofore expressed in verses to this effect:

In the Oration of the Orator *Lycurg.* against *Leocrates.*

If the strickt Iustice of Almightie God,
Doe sometimes draw the wicked to the rod,
It first bereaues them of their vnderstanding,
Then blindeth them, that furious, they may run them
(By steep-downe wayes deuoid of stay or standing)
Vnto their death, which their leaud counsels woon them.

Irænæus, an ancient Diuine, hath holily expounded this point, saying, *That they who are most enclined to chuse that which is euill, are wont to lay the blame in God for the miseries which they themselues draw vnto them by their iniquities: considering that to harden* Pharaohs *heart, and to make the people blind, is nothing else before God, but to withdraw his mercie from the wicked, which is graciously imparted to men, of good will. For, so soone as a man forsaketh God, despising good things, he looseth the grace of the holy spirit, all difficulties take hold of him, he seeth no longer the right way, hee opposeth himselfe wilfully against all admonitions, and becommeth so dull, that hee knoweth not how to leaue the euill, nor chuse the good. So we say, that God blindeth and hardeneth him, as the Sun when it setteth, causeth by his absence from vs, the darknesse of the night: for otherwise nothing proceedeth from God which is not good, as from the Sun commeth alwaies heat and brightnesse.* To this agree the words of Saint *Augustine*: *Gods anger* (saith he) *is no trouble of the mind in him, but a sincere iudgement, by which, punishment is decreed against sin. As for Gods thought and remembrance, it is an immutable Decree concerning mutable things.* For the Lord God doth neuer repent him of his doing, as an angrie man would doe: but his decreeing of all things is as firme as his fore-knowledge is certaine. If the holy Scripture did not vse such phrases of speach, how could it applie it selfe so familiarly to all sorts of persons whose good it respecteth, to terrifie the prowd, to rouse the sluggish, to exercise the studious, to edifie the vnderstanding? In the same worke of the Citie of God, speaking of Gods will, he writeth these words: *Gods will is neuer changed: but we are they that change. God seemeth to be changed after a sort, when we see his meekenesse conuerted into anger: and then againe,*

Lib. 4.

Lib. 15. *de Ciuit. Dei, cap.* 25.

Lib. 22.

againe, his seuere iustice into grace and mercie. So then when we change our selues, we find him (as it were) changed in regard of that which hapneth to vs: euen as wee imagine a change in the Sun, according to the strength or weakenesse of our sight. Sometimes it cheereth and comforteth vs, at other sometimes we cannot endure it, but it hurteth vs; not of it selfe, for the nature of it is alwaies one, and is no way changed: but it proceedeth of some defect that is befallen vs. God repenteth not; but through his incomprehensible wisdome he suffreth humane affaires to fall into changes, as he limited the Iewish priesthood, and abolished the Monarchie of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Grecians.

Suidas in his collection of Histories.

Now as there may be infinite examples both ancient and moderne alleaged to this purpose: so without standing thereupon at this time, it shall bee sufficient for vs to consider of that which befell good king *Dauid*, when as against the expresse will of God, and the aduise of his Counsellers (without being forced vnto it, but only mooued with ambition) he commanded the people to be numbred. But although in this action he behaued himselfe vnwisely and insolently, yet might it seeme strange that *Dauid* was spared, and that the plague destroyed such a great number of people, as the Historie plainly declareth. Therefore *Cedrenus* saith, *When some grieuous and extraordinarie punishment is neere the contemners of God, whom he must in his iustice visit, then hee suffereth the princes to commit some wickednesse, to the end we should not thinke that the chastisements are bestowed vnproperly, or by chance; but that we should remember, that the guiltie are iustly taken off. And we must not thinke that it is onely the faults of princes that draw on plagues, famine, strange diseases, and other common ruines of people: both great and small being guiltie of hauing violated the lawes of nature, or of the magistrats, haue their turne, and are chastened one after another. The holy Scripture omitting the great heape of sinnes committed by the priuat men, is content (without making so long a numbring) to put the subiects in remembrance of the fault of the prince, as the cause of the punishment of all. The historie of* Dauid *serueth vs for an example. The wrath of God made readie some rods to scourge Israel with, because of their many sinnes; therupon a wicked spirit setteth on the king to the numbring of the people: Which done, the Prophet* Gad *sent in the morning from the Lord, commeth to* Dauid, *and offereth him the choice, of three yeares famine throughout his kingdome, or of three moneths war and flight before his enemies, or of three dayes pestilence among his subiects. Thereupon he confessed himselfe taken, and seeing himselfe beset with euils, saith, Hee had rather fall into the hands of the mercifull God, than into the hands of cruell men, and so chose the plague. It was in the time of Harueſt: then from the breake of the day, vntill noone, there died threescore and ten thousand persons.* This doth *Cedrenus* gather out of that storie. Whereby we learne, that when vngodlinesse maketh kings and princes become like beasts, so as in contempt of all good counsell, they offer to perpetrate wicked and pernicious things; not their faults alone, but those also of the people, cause and draw on such calamities. To this the wise king *Salomon* had an eye, when he said; *That for the offences of the countrey, there is oftentimes a change of princes.* And the Authour of *Ecclesiasticus* declareth, *That a kingdome is translated from one people to another, because of iniustice.* For as it is not ynough for the preseruation of the bodie, that the head doe well, but the other members also must discharge their dutie: so is it not sufficient that the prince bee faultlesse, if his seruants and subiects be not answerable to him in dutifulnesse and vertue. Therfore the same *Cedrenus* writeth, That in the time of the parricide *Phocas*, who murdered his prince the Emperour *Maurice*, a certaine worthie man complaind to God, and made bold to aske him, Wherefore he had giuen that wicked man for a Commander ouer the Christians? Vpon this he heard a voice without seeing any bodie, that said thus vnto him; *I could not of all men haue found out a worse: the*

2. *Sam.* 24.

Pro. cap. 28.

Cap. 10.

In the historie of *Phocas*.

the mischiefes of the inhabitants of Constantinople haue deserued it. And *Theodoret* writeth very materially; *That the gracious Lord vsing a ballance and a measure composed of Iustice and of Mercie, and knowing that sinnes would fill vp the scale of mercy, beginneth to strike off by his Iustice the faults that are aboue the measure.* Lib.5.cap.1.of his Eccles. hist.

CHAP. XVII.

The Face bewrayeth the Thought. But God onely knoweth the Heart.

THe Authour of *Ecclesiasticus* saith wisely; *That a man may be knowne by his looke, and the vertuous may be perceiued by the marking of his countenance.* This is prooued true as well in the godly as in the wicked, so as many times vices or vertues are discouered by the posture and bearing of the bodie. *Aristotle* was not ignorant hereof, who was wont to iudge of a mans nature, by looking in his face. They (saith hee) that haue their for-head large, are blockish, who haue it round, are collericke. The French-men expresse it by an old by-word, ORGVEILLEVSE SEMBLANCE, MONSTRE FOLLE CVIDANCE, *A proud cariage argueth a foolish conceit.* Touching vices, wee haue a famous example in the Emperor *Iulian*, surnamed the Apostata. So soone as *Gregorie Nazianzen* beheld him, he iudged of his nature and of his mind: thus he saith of him, and the Historian *Socrates* setteth it down: *His ghastly treadings and countenances made me ghesse what was in him; as they count him a cunning diuiner that coniecture well by the things that appeare vnto him. I held not for markes of a good man, those often turnings of the head; that leaping of the shoulders one after another by euen compasse, his looking askance, his rouing eyes full of proud threatnings, his vnsteadie feet, and making of knees almost at euery step. His nose arguing a mocker and a contemner, all his face bewraying nought else but a right Iugler, made for all assayes: He laught ordinarily, and with a ringing noise; made a nod in calling for, or sending away without saying a word; cut off his speech without finishing it; asked many questions heaped together, and impertinent; made answers dis-ioynted, mingled, repugnant, hauing neither head nor taile. And who could set him out at full? Such did I see him before-hand, whom his deportments haue discouered since. If they that were there at that time with me, and marked these things, should heare what I say now, they would remember that I cried out then with these words, What a plague doth the Roman Empire nourish at this present?* Cap.19. In the 2.oratiō against *Iulian.* *Lib.3.cap.19.*of his Eccles. hist.

Likewise of the other side, in the face a man may discerne the excellencie and worth of a man. We haue an example in *Vlisses:* What time a storme cast him naked vpon the shore of the Phæacians, they of the countrey running thither in crowds, and beholding him with wonderment, vsed him with more respect because of his graue carriage, than they did the richest and greatest in all their Island: vpon which occasion the wise Poet *Homer* addeth, That men ought to haue Vertue in singular reputation. And indeed among all nations, Shee is of marueilous efficacie, saith *Plutarch*; for as much as Shee draweth not the good onely, but also the vicious to loue and admire her. There is another memorable storie to this purpose, of the Emperour *Traian*, who hauing besieged the Agarenians in a certain citie, and going about the same in disguised manner, that he might not be knowne, was noted for his gallant old-age, and maiesticall port, how well soeuer he sought to counterfeit and dissemble: so as the enemies making full account that he was the chiefe Commander of the armie, shot many arrowes at him, one of which lighted vpon him that followed the Emperour, and killed him. *It is the custome of the Barbarians* (saith *Curtius*) *to reuerence men of a faire* *Homer* in his *Odissea.* In his treatise of morall vertue. *Dion* in the life of *Traian.* *Lib.6.*of the hist.of *Alex.*

faire and goodly shew; and to thinke, that they (and none other) are capable of high designes, and generous enterprises, whom nature hath graced with some remarkable and excellent carriage. *Suetonius* writeth of *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, that euen from his infancie the guifts of the bodie shined in him, that from age to age they increased, so that he grew a most goodly prince, carrying a fashion graue, venerable, delightfull, & exceeding desierable. This was a thing that the Ancients had a verie great regard of (saith *Cicero*) who maketh two sorts of beautie: one manlike, which he tearmeth Dignitie; the other womanlike, which he calleth Goodgrace. In his perfect Orator he ioyneth them togither. *How much Dignitie & Grace* (saith he) *hath the face, which preuaileth most next to Speech?* yong *Plinie* saith as much: *The vigorous and tall stature of the bodie, the graue port and venerable countenance, doe they not bewray the prince both neere at hand and a far off?* We read that the Ancients attributed to *Pompey* the great, for a most goodly guift of nature, an honourable forehead, and a pleasing countenance. And indeed the forehead is a marke both of gentlenesse and of seueritie.

Lib. 1. Offic.

Alexand. de Alexandria lib. 2. cap. 19.

The Ancients made as great reckoning of the eies, because in them the image, nature, and thought of man is much discouered and seene. For as lions by the stirring of their tailes, and horses by the playing of their eares demonstrate their affections: so the eies represent the imaginations of mens thoughts. In them we see both vices and vertues; we perceiue the mind troubled, and quiet; the heart merrie, or otherwise affected: briefely, the eies for the most part shew the beautie, or foulenesse of the face, and distinguish life from death. *Lieuin Lemnius* disputeth hereof both largely and learnedly, saying among other things, That Physitions in the diseases of their patients, doe carefully obserue the constitution of their eies. If they be spotted with red, or blood-shot, it is a signe of furie and frenzie proceeding from the inflamation of the braine. If they be wan, of the collour of lead, and set all ouer with black spots, they boad the decaying of naturall heate, and the end of life. The eies that are alwaies rolling, that twinckle and turne continually, and without release, presage the losse of ones wits, and bestraughting. The languishing, moist, running, cast-downe, dimme, trembling, fierce, vnsteaddie, swolne, hollow, set, dull, halfe-shut, doe signifie in whole persons diuers passions of the minde: in sick, an indispositon of the braine, proceeding of superfluous or defectiue humours, of ouer-much heate and cold, to the endangering of life. Gogle-eies, squint-eies, eies that are turn'd, that are poare-blind, or looke awrie or askew, haue the muscles wrested or shrunke by some error of nature: and because this defect is about the braine the mansion place of the vnderstanding, as it disfigureth the sight outwardly, so doth it (in some sort) infect the mind with vnruly affections. We haue a notable example of the eies in *Titus Liuius*, who reporteth, That the Samnites were of opinion that the eies of the Romans sparkled like burning candles. And the souldiers of the garrison of Aquilea, who by a sudden sally rushed out of an Ambuscadoe vpon *Attila* who was followed with a small troupe, and was not knowne to them, confessed a while after, that nothing daunted them so much in that charge, as the eies of *Attila*, which all the while he was fighting with them, seemed as if they had beene full of fierie sparkles. Not without cause then did *Cornelius Tacitus* write, That in battells the eies are the first that are conquered. And we read that *Marius* did with his looke so astonish the executioner whom they of Minturnæ had sent to kill him, that he return'd without doing any thing; whereupon the Minturnians pursued him no further, but suffred him to goe his way.

In the Miracles of Nature *lib. 4. cap. 6.*

Lib. 7. Decad. 1. Nicol. Olahus in the life of *Attila, cap. 8.*

In his Descrip. of Germanie.

Plin. cap. 67. of famous men, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius.*

Here may we infer that which *Aristotle* and *Adamantius* obserue in their treatises

tises of Physiognomy: How that they on whom Nature bestoweth reddish eies, are impudent & bold; drie eies are signes of naturall choller; moist, of drunkennesse; the inflamed and staring, of venerious intemperancie, of blockishnesse, and inclination to plaies; the diuers colloured and sanguin, of craft and violence. *Achilles* in *Homer* obiected to king *Agamemnon*, that he had dogs-eies, taxing him of impudencie; becausse dogs commonly haue eies spotted with red. They that haue the blood dreggie and thick, are most of them fierce, leaud, inhuman, cruell, without conscience, without feare, without religion, bereft of all pietie and humanitie: There are a number of such found among minstrels, mariners, swine-heards, porters, cariers, and men of war, who for the thicknesse of their blood, and the turbulent spirits that stir and carrie them, haue their consciences asleepe, and their vnderstandings obscured with vices, as *Lemnius* obserueth. Thus the temperature of the bodie sheweth that which is hidden within. For we see most commonly that the sanguin are bold, quick, rash, and impatient in trauell: The flegmatike turbulent, passionat, patient, aduised: The chollerick light, nimble, proper, of hastie iudgement: The melancholick, heauie, simple, but of iudgement graue and ripe, as *Faustus Longianus* hath diligently noted. In like manner, they that haue the skin thin and of a fine greine, are commonly more ingenious and prudent: therefore dul-heads were called by the Greekes *Pachydermes*, as who would say, people of a grosse skin, and of a course paste. These predictions by *Metoposcopie*, (which is the iudging of the inward passions and affections by the only looke of the face) are not held for vnlawfull, in the iudgement of *Bodin*, who putteth this distinction, that some of them are naturall, as sudden blushing signifieth shame; and pale collour, feare: othersome rather human than naturall, as sparkling eies, and that are spotted with red (such as *Sylla* and *Cato* the Censor had) are markes of a violent spirit. According to this coniecture, they that haue flat crumped noses, are impatient & chollerick: contrariwise, long noses haue more prudence and patience. God himselfe speaking to *Moses*, among other titles which he attributeth to himselfe, calleth himselfe slow to wrath; *Erech appaïm*, which signifyeth one that hath long nostrils, or a long nose, to expresse vnder human termes the long patience of God. But omitting his high consideration, that which we haue noted in men, is also found true in birds that liue by prey, the nature of which is knowne by their feathers. For the hawke that hath a yellow plume, and shining like gold, is esteemed the noblest and most couragious of all other, by Faulconers, who haue out of their long practise obserued, that such birds are of a hardie, gentle, tractable, & quiet nature. He whose feathers draw towards white, is iudged by them to be strong and forcible, but not so much as that before. If he be of a red collour, they haue tried him to be proud, bold, curst and wild. But, if the red incline towards yellow, they hold him for a bird easie to be man'd, and of great valor: If towards black, he is fierce, hardy or resolute, but strong. The black and ashcollour'd are the worst. These be the obseruations of *Belisarius* duke of Nerito.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 16.

In his 5 booke of Duell. chap. 7.

Suidas in his Collections.

In his *Dæmonom. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

Exod. 34. 6.

In his Faulconrie.

Thus then doth the mind discouer it selfe in the face, and outward apperance: for the chollerick grow hot, they that are afraid wax pale, and cold. Yea, and if we take good heed to the countenance of one and the same person, we neuer see him scarce in one and the same tune: sometimes we see choller painted there, soone after, calmnesse, and presently sorrow: Now he wilbe of a merrie cheere, and then suddenly sad and heauie, or troubled with some other passion, according as the seuerall images of things shall strike his apprehension, which will present a thousand collours in the face. This being so, some Diuines haue

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taken occasion hereupon to say that by these signes and monuments of the mind, the deuill may coniecture what the thoughts of our hearts are, and according to them lay his traps, and nock his arrowes to shoot when and where he seeth cause. If we consider the heart apart by it selfe, the power of Sathan doth not extend it selfe so far as that he can know our thoughts and deliberations. He proudly taketh that power vpon him, as we haue seene in the 15 chapter of this booke: and I am not ignorant that there be diuers opinions touching this point. It hath beene told me by a kinsman of mine, a gentleman of good birth and qualitie, that he once saw in great Cairo an Egyptian enchanter, who bragged that he could discouer not onely things hidden, but also the thoughts of hearts: whereof he made a notable proofe in the presence of this gentleman, and of another called *Alexander de Schulenbourg*. But my kinsman thought verily that the deuill suggested this secret vnto his bond-slaue, as he had a little before bewraied, by their discourses that had asked him of many things. For they had agreed among themselues afore-hand what they would thinke of when they should put him to his deuination. It may be also that the wicked spirit doth suggest to the curious that which he knoweth they desire: & if they receiue his suggestion into their thought, he can easily reueale it to his bond-slaues. *Chrysostom* aduertiseth vs of this deceit, in these words: *The deuill inspireth not temptation into man, but he considereth euerie mans desire, and as he seeth the man affected, he taketh occasion thereafter to seduce him. And where it is alleaged, That humane vnderstanding dependeth of the imaginations and figures of the things, not hidden to Sathan; that is not repugnant to this that we say: For admit it were so, yet though he will, he cannot see whereabout our vnderstanding is occupied; much lesse doth he perceiue what the will resolueth thereof: because the will doth not run after the likenesses of things, but followeth the vnderstanding.*

Ierem. 17.10. But the holy Scriptures (vpon which we must wholy rest our selues) doe teach vs, That God alone knoweth the hearts, as the Prophet *Ieremie* saith: and the Church singeth

Psal. 44.20,21.

If we had our Gods Name forgot,
And helpe of idols sought:
Would not God then haue tried it out?
For he doth know our thought.

1. *Reg.* 8.39. 2. *Chron.* 6.30. In the definitions of Ecclesiast. instructions. *Act.* 1.24. *Ioh.* 2.24,25. And *Salomon* in the dedication of the Temple, saith to the Lord, *Thou alone knowest the thoughts of men.* Therefore Saint *Augustin* saith well; *We know for certaine, that the deuill seeth not the inward thoughts; but we haue learned by experience, that by the mooving of the bodie, and the discouering of the passions, he gathereth something thereof. But he alone knoweth the secrets of thoughts, to whom it is said; It is thou onely which knoweth the hearts of all men.* Saint *Iohn* would also teach vs that, when he saith; *That* Iesus *did not commit himselfe vnto the Iewes, because he knew them all; and had no need that any should testifie of man; for he knew what was in man.* To this agreeth the 28 article of a determination concluded at Paris by the Sorbonists, in the yeare 1398. touching some superstitions newly crept in, which determination is wholy inserted by *Bodin* in his *Dæmonomania: That our intellectuall thoughts are caused immediatly from heauen, and that by some magicall tradition one may discouer them, and iudge certainely of them.* An error; say the Sorbonists. But doctor *Peter Martyr* expoundeth this question at length, and soundly, *Whither the deuils can see mens thoughts?* as before him *Macarius* among the Ancients made an Homily thereof. *Iohn Wier* hath both learnedly and orthodoxically prooued by testimonies out of the holy Scriptures, and out of the Fathers, That the deuill knoweth not

Vpon the 28 chap. of the 1 booke of *Samuell.* Homil. 62. *Lib.* 1. *de Impost.*

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the thoughts of men, and alleageth out of *1. Cassianus* these words; *There is no doubt, but that the vncleane spirits may attaine to the qualities of our thoughts, which they gather by the signes and tokens of the outward sences, that is to say, by our countenances or wordes, and by the deeds wherein they see vs most occupied. But they cannot in any wise pierce into those which are not yet come foorth from the bottome of the mind.* *Lactantius* said fitly and holily, *That the bridle of Consciences is to beleeue that wee liue in the presence of God; who both seeth what wee doe, and knoweth what wee thinke, and heareth what we say.* Let vs adde heereunto one saying more out of Saint *Augustine* in these wordes: *God searcheth and beholdeth the heart; hee is both the Witnesse and Iudge of it, hee approoueth and crowneth it: it is ynough that thou offer him the will.*

Collat. 7. cap. 15.

In his booke of wrath. *cap.* 8.

Vpon the 134 Psalme.

To close vp this chapter, I thinke it good to annex heereunto certaine prayers taken out of the Morning Hymne made by *Prudentius*, an ancient Latin and Christian Poet, who attributeth this properly to God, That hee alone knoweth and soundeth our hearts, thoughts, and actions:

Gods holy cheerefull light vnto our soules giues light,
And cleansing mists, it makes vs cleane in his eye-sight:
So as we may not speake that which is false or soule,
Nought earthly or obscure may turne into our soule.
Not once all day our tongue, that vsed lying vile,
Our hand, or glauncing eye our bodies may defile.
A Censor liues aboue, that all our workes doth see
From morning vntill night: Seuere and Iust is hee.
He Witnesse is and Iudge, he sees more than the Sun, (more sees he!)
As well far off as neere, all that on Earth is done.
He onely sounds the depth of euery human mind,
And no man euer could his Sou'raigne Iustice blind.

The Philosopher *Seneca*, as great a Pagan as he was, (albeit some imagine he was a Christian, and familiar with Saint *Paul*) was not ignorant of these things: as also *Lactantius* highly commendeth one sentence of his, being this that followeth: *The Deitie* (saith he) *is I know not what great thing; yea greater than a man can thinke. We serue it as we liue: let vs prouide it may approue vs. A conscience close shut vp auaileth nought: we are all naked before God.* *Lactantius* addeth, *Let vs then clense the conscience that lies open to the eyes of God, and carie vs alwaies in such sort, that we may remember we must yeeld an account: and let vs thinke continually that it is not men that behold vs vpon some earthly stage, but that we are looked vpon from heauen by a witnesse that shall be our Iudge, and from whom no man shall be able to hide, or denie that which hee shall haue done, when this Iudge shall require an account thereof.* The Ægyptians in times past meant to represent this by an open eye, expressing God by such a Hieroglyphicall character. For euer as the eye seeth all that is set before it, so doth God know and behold all things. To this purpose, *Thales* being asked, If the works of men were vnknowne to the gods? No, nor yet their thoughts, answered he; to the end that we, beleeuing that the Deitie doth pierce into the very bottome of our hearts, may not thinke it sufficient to be good in shew, but that we may also endeauour to haue pure and sound consciences.

Lib. 6. cap. 24.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Sacrifices of the Pagans. And of the diuersitie of Religions.

Lib. 17. of the historie of the gods.

THe ancient Pagans, namely the Romans, vsed an infinit number of ceremonies in their Sacrifices. *Lilius Gyraldus* hath discourſed thereof both largely and exactly, gathering out of the Grecians and Latinists all that could make for the purpoſe. *Gaſpar Peucer*, a great learned man, hath ſet foorth ſome particulars thereof in his Commentarie of deuinations; the which I will heere write out. When the Prieſt had brought the beaſt for ſacrifice, and had ſet it neere the Altar, he ſtood and laid one hand vpon the Altar and then made a praier, in the which *Ianus* & *Veſta* (the principall gods in all ſacrifices, and to whom the vowes were made firſt of all, becauſe the opinion was that by them men might eaſily approch to the other) were the firſt named; and there was eſpeciall care had, that in this praier *Iupiter* ſhould be called the moſt Good and moſt Great Father: likewiſe, that all the other gods ſhould be called vpon and named Fathers. But to the end that no one word might be forgotten, or pronounced amiſſe, there muſt be a prompter or Reader, who pronounced by writing, and ſaid the words to the Prieſt; beſides, hee had an aſſiſtant ioyn'd with him, to take heed that no word were left or skipt ouer. Another cauſed ſilence to be made, and the Trumpetter cried, that they ſhould looke well that no vnluckie thing were heard: for if any extraordinary let ſhould happen, if the Prieſt miſt neuer ſo little in his oriſons, there was oftentimes neither heart nor liuer found in the entrailes, or elſe there was found two. This being diſpatched, the prieſt began his ſacrifice by immolation, which was a paaſt made of wheat flowre wet with water and ſalt, like our common paaſt: this mole, lumpe, or ſeaſoned dough was laid vpon the beaſts head that was to be ſacrificed, ſome male incenſe being put vnto it; ſometimes inſtead of dough they vſed certaine fruits, and all the ceremonie was called Immolation, becauſe of the firſt part; as who would ſay, a laying on, or placing of the mole or lump. Anon after, the Prieſt ſcattered wine all about, but before the ſcattering, he tooke ſome in a little boule of wood or of earth, and taſted of it, and then offered it to the ſtanders by, to doe ſo likewiſe: and this ceremonie was called Libation; which being done, he tooke off the haire from between the beaſts hornes, and caſt it into the fire for a beginning of the ſacrifice: then turning himſelfe towards the Eaſt, he paſt a crooked knife ouer the top of the head vnto the taile of the beaſt: and laſt of all, after he had preſented and dedicated the beaſt to the gods, he commanded ſome other prieſts (whoſe charge it was) to cut his throat, which they did forthwith: ſome other receiued the blood in baſons, others flaied and waſhed the beaſt, or kindled the fire. The beaſt being waſhed very cleane, preſently the Flamine or chiefe Prieſt turned and ſearched the entrails with an yron knife, noting preciſely, whether all the aforeſaid ceremonies had been well performed, and whether the gods were propitious. This yron knife was long, with an Iuorie haft ſet with braſſe nailes of Cyprus, and the pommell of ſiluer: for it was not lawfull to touch the entrails with the hand, for feare that the filthineſſe of ſome particular men ſhould mar and make void the ſacrifices. After all was well reuiewed and ſeene, the Prieſts that cut vp the ſacrifice, tooke out certaine portions of the entrails, and of euery limbe of the beaſt, rubbed them with wheat flowre, preſented them in paniers to the high prieſt, who laid them vpon the Altar, and burnt them in the fire; into which it was forbidden to caſt any wood of the oliue or lawrell tree, or any other that bare a very thicke rind, or whoſe ſtocke was hollow, or had holes, to burne the

Lib. 7. cap. 9.

ſacri-

sacrifice of the gods with, because such kinds of wood were held for vnluckie presages. The pieces of flesh offered to the gods being consumed, the sacrificers fell to feasting, and as long as the feast lasted, sung the praises of the gods, and daunced about the Altars at the sound of certain songs, and some instruments of musicke. These be the words of Doctor *Peucer.*

Now as the Romanes haue carefully obserued and reteined the ceremonies of their sacrifices: so we may gather out of *Titus Liuius*, that they haue often by publike authoritie condemned new Idols and superstitious religions brought in by some particular men. Not onely the bodies (saith he) began to languish, but also a fantasticall & new-deuised religion crept into the minds. Some Deuiners (that make sale of superstitious souls) caried into houses certain new ceremonies: In the end, the chiefe men of the citie not able to endure this shamefull disorder, to see in euery lane, street, and chappell strange and new inuentions for appeasing of the gods, charged the Ædiles to take order, that men should adore no other gods but those of Rome, and that in their seruice they should follow the ceremonies that were most vsed in the countrey. In one place, where he describeth the second Punicke war, he saith; So long did the warre last, and the happie and vnhappy euents gaue so diuers a shaking, not so much to the fortune as to the minds of men, and a kind of superstition come from other places had taken such hold of the citie, that men or gods seemed to be changed, and growne other than they were wont to be. The Roman ceremonies were despised, not in secret only, betweene wals, and within houses; but also in the streets, in the market place, in the Capitoll a man should see flocks of women sacrificing and praying to the gods, but not after the fashion of the countrey. The Priests and Deuiners had gotten the masterie of human thoughts. The Ædiles, & Triumuiri or criminall Iudges (being roundly shaken vp by the Senate, because they opposed not themselues against this disorder) as one day they would haue driuen some companie from the place, and ouerthrowne the prouisions for some sacrifices, were in danger to be soundly beaten. This euill being grown to such head, that there was no hope to haue it redressed by the inferior Magistrats, the Senat authorised *M. Attilius* Prætor of Rome, to free the people from those superstitions: who in a solemne assemblie read the decree of the Senat, ordaining That they who had bookes of predictions, orisons, or the manner how to sacrifice, should deliuer them into his hands; expresly forbidding any to offer sacrifice in publike, or in any sacred place after the new manner. Thus saith *Titus Liuius.*

Lib. 4. 1. *Decad.*

For this cause *Cicero* condemning nocturnall and strange Ceremonies, magnifieth the seueritie of the ancient Romans, and the authoritie of the Senat and Consuls, who with force of armes punished and put downe the celebration of the feasts of *Bacchus.* For extraordinarie nouelties haue alwaies bin suspected of the Romans, as also the conuenticles of people gathered together in one place, fearing that sedition would follow thereof. Vpon this consideration the young *Plinie* obeying the commission of the Emperor *Traian*, dispersed the congregations of the Christians. And many tyrants haue suffred those that made profession of the true Religion to liue peaceably at home, but would not suffer them to assemble, nor communicate together. *Dio* writeth, That the knight *Mecænas* counselled *Augustus* to maintaine with all care the old Roman superstition, and to force all other superstitions to follow that: yea and to represse and punish as wel in regard of Religion, as of the common state, such as would bring in an innouation or new ceremonies in Religion: because vnder colour hereof many alterations were projected, and mischieuous factions made, which would bring forth

Lib. 52.

conſpiracies,ſeditions,and ſuch other confuſions,the enemies of a ſtate. To this the Lawyer *Martian* had regard when he ſaid, That it is not forbidden that men ſhould aſſemble together becauſe of Religion: but that the ſame is not permitted but to the fraternities or ſocieties that are allowed. In another place he ſaith, that no fraternitie or fellowſhip is lawfull,if the Senat and the Emperor doe not approoue it. In this ſenſe *Tertullian* ſaid, That there was an ancient ordinance, importing,that none ſhould be canoniſed or deified by the Emperour without the approbation of the Senate. And therefore, *Tiberius*, when hewould out of his Imperiall authoritie haue put Chriſt into the number of the Gods,was withſtood by the Senate,and letted from proceeding further. And it may be, that ſuch decrees haue beene drawne out of the lawes of *Romulus*, or of the twelue tables,prohibiting the Romans to worſhip other gods than thoſe of their countrey. *Cicero* following ſuch decrees ordaineth in his lawes; *That none ſhould haue his gods apart, nor ſhould worſhip in his houſe any new or ſtrange ones, except they haue beene firſt receiued by publike authoritie. That all ſhould haue the chappels builded by their fathers, and be content therewith.* The conſideration whereof occaſioned the Pagans to perſecute with all extremitie the Religion of the Chriſtians, as new,and repugnant to reaſon and to the diſcourſe of humane wiſedome. The perſuaſion of *Æmilian* gouernor of Africa vnder the perſecution of *Valerianus* and *Galienus* Emperours,ſheweth what opinion the ancient Idolaters had of our Religion: ſee here a fragment of his Oration to *Dionyſius* biſhop of Alexandria and to other Chriſtians driuen into exile. *I haue acquainted you particularly with what gentleneſſe our lords entreate you. For they ſuffer you to liue peaceably, ſo as you would returne to that which verie nature teacheth, to worſhip the gods that are the protectors of this Empire, and to forget your manners and faſhions repugnant to Nature; What anſwer yee hereunto? I thinke, ſeeing they perſuade you to become more wiſe, that you will not vnthankefully diſdaine their clemencie.* In the Edict of *Maximinian* one may ſee the accuſations that thoſe old Idolaters alleaged againſt the Chriſtians.

Lib. 1. *&* 3. *De Colleg. & corp.*

Cap. 5. *de Apologetic.*

Euſeb. lib. 7. *cap.* 10. of his Eccleſi. hiſt.

Euſeb. lib. 8. *cap.* 18.

Moreouer,as this pretence and collour was a plauſible thing with the wiſemen of the world,ſo likewiſe the ſecrets of the truth were not reuealed vnto them: which was the cauſe that they eſteeme the articles of the Chriſtian religion as diſcourſes of mad men; witneſſe that which Saint *Luke* writeth in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: For when Saint *Paul* yeelded a reaſon of his faith and doctrine before *Portius Feſtus* the gouernour, and *Agrippa* the king, *Feſtus* accuſed him that too much learning had made him mad. Therefore Saint *Auguſtin* hath ſaid verie well, *That in ſo great a diuerſitie of opinions, no man can ſafely diſtinguiſh fooliſhneſſe from true Wiſedome, if he beleeue not that God is, and that aboue all things he embrace his holy Word by Faith.* So as,they that will frame themſelues to Religion, muſt begin by Faith. A little after he ſetteth downe this difference betweene the Chriſtians and Pagans,that the one ſort command men to beleeue in Chriſt, without asking wherefore; the other will haue men yeeld an euident reaſon for it. But not the Romans alone haue beene ſtrickt obſeruers of the ceremonies, and haters of nouelties, but other Nations alſo haue done the like. The Scythians were not ſo barbarous and vnapt to be taught, but they could conceiue what after-claps might fall, if all men ſhould be ſuffred to bring in and follow at their pleaſures, new deuotions, in an age ſo ſuperſtitious: and therefore they kild their king *Scyles*. He could not away with the cuſtome of the countrey, but liked that of the Grecians better, among whom he had beene brought vp from his child-hood,and that ſo far foorth as he was inducted into the fellowſhip of *Bacchus*. The Scythians, who condemne the Grecians becauſe of

Chap. 26.

Lib. de Vtilit. credendi. cap. 13.

Valer. Maxim. lib. 1. *cap.* 1.

Herodot. lib. 4.

of their Bacchanalls, and cannot be brought to beleeue that a God ſhould be the inuentor of ceremonies where the perſons ſhew themſelues furious and mad; perceiuing that their king was of that ſect, eſtabliſhed his brother *Octamaſades* in his place, who hauing intrapped *Scyles* that was fled towards *Sitalces* king of Thracia, made his head be ſtricken off. So carefull obſeruers were the Scythians of their cuſtomes, and ſeuere puniſhers of thoſe that offred to bring new-fangled ſuperſtitions into their religion.

I doe not alleage theſe things, as if I would approoue the opinion of thoſe who hold, That two contrarie religions may not indifferently be tollerated in one kingdome or countrey, thinking it a thing that cannot hold but it muſt bring great trouble to the ſtate. For as we muſt confeſſe, that when the prince or magiſtrat, to maintaine his greatneſſe, beareth with the one ſide and treadeth downe the other, and vnder pretence of religion ſtirreth vp leagues and factions, there muſt needs grow ſeditions thereby, ſuch as haue beene ſeene both heretofore and in our time: ſo we may hold for certaine, That ciuile wars will ceaſe, if the prince beare his drawne ſword equally betweene both parties, without leaning either to the right hand, or to the left, except it be to take off the heads of the Authors of tumults ſeditions and factions, without reſpect of perſons. To ſay truely, and pollitickly withall, the profeſſion of true Religion neuer brings of it ſelfe any changes or alterations of States well eſtabliſhed: but the changes come when the prince mainteineth and wilfully endureth an old ſuperſtition, without any true reaſon or ſound iudgement, but onely becauſe it ſo pleaſeth him. The verie Turkes ſhew themſelues more equall and indifferent, who in their ſpacious Empire tollerate diuers Religions, without forcing the conſciences of their ſlaues in regard of their bodies. That is ſeene at this day in Ieruſalem in the Temple of our Sauiours ſepulchre, where the Latins, Grecians, Armenians, Georgians, Mareonites, Abyſſins, and others (making profeſſion of Chriſtianiſme) haue their peculiar ceremonies, which they exerciſe quietly in the ſame place one after another, although there be great hate and grudge betweene them. It is reported of *Solyman* Emperour of the Turkes who died in the ſiege before Ziget, that when he was admoniſhed by the father of the Mahometiſts whom they call Muphti, and by the Cadileſchers or Arch-biſhops, and by ſome of his Baſſaes, to baniſh out of his territories the Iewes, the Chriſtians, and others of religion contrarie to the Turkiſh, or elſe compell them to become Mammelucks and to turne Catholikes of *Mahomet*; he ſhewed vnto them out at a window (that looked towards a garden ſet with ſundrie hearbs and flowers) a certaine ſquare that was full of flowers all of differing collours, ſaying vnto them; *As yond difference and diuerſitie of hearbs and flowers doth not any way hurt, but exceedingly recreate the ſight and ſmell: ſo the ſundrie Religions that are in my Empire are rather a helpe than a charge to me, ſo long as my ſubiects liue peaceably, and obey in all things my commandements. It is better therefore to let them liue after their faſhion, and to follow their owne Religion, as my predeceſſors gaue them leaue to doe, than to raiſe troubles, and to ſee my ſtate brought to deſolation. For that were to pluck vp all theſe flowers, and to leaue but one collour: and then what ſhould I doe elſe but vncloath this garden of his liuely hue and beautie?* The like mooued the Emperour *Nerua* in former times, to inhibit by Edict all calling of any man in queſtion for the matter of Religion. *Alexander Seuerus* had the ſame conſideration, who for all he was a Pagan, allowed the Chriſtians a temple within the citie of Rome; *Traian* and *Adrian* graunted the like before him. Finally, *Conſtantine* ſurnamed the Great proſpered euerie way, becauſe he ſuffred the Chriſtians to haue certaine

places appointed them for the exercises of their Religion, maugre the oppositions of all the ancient idolaters for the hindring of the same.

In Germanie, the establishing of peace in the cause of Religion, ratified, and often confirmed by the states of the Empire, doth still continue, to the great aduantage and benefit of the whole nation: and so far is it off that such establishment engendreth troubles or seditions; that (contrariwise) the cruell wars and vnreconcileable rancours raised before vnder the cloake of Religion, are, and haue beene of a long time represſed and quenched. So that we see in diuers places husbands, wiues, fathers, mothers, children, brothers, sisters, and kinsfolks liue quietly in their households, in their affaires, trades and trafficks, and without any stir acquit themselues of their charge and duties. And this is seene especially in a verie famous Imperiall citie, which containeth within her walls fiue States of the Empire that haue place & voice in the Diets, and adhere to the ceremonies of Rome: neuertheless the same citie maketh profession of a contrarie religion, enioyeth peace, and among so many contrarie sides maintaineth her libertie in rest and quietnesse. If we may not hope for one onely true Religion, in all Christendome, and a full reuniting of the hearts of all those that are called Christians, yet God grant that these times somewhat peaceable may last and continue alwaies. For there are but too many turbulent spirits, whose feet and hands itch, and who desire nothing else but to be stirring, or (as it is in the old prouerbe) to see the water troubled that they might fish therein. Whereby we may gather, that wise men doe (for good cause) detest the crueltie of those who thinke, that the best way to keepe their ceremonies, is, with sword and fire in one hand, and with ropes and water in the other, to set vpon all those that run not a course with them in the matter of human traditions. I speake not of obstinate Heretikes, that ouerthrow the articles and ground of Faith, nor of seditious fellowes that trouble publike States, and will not acknowledge the superiorities and powers that are ordained by God. Religion would be free, it taketh no root in forced minds, there is nothing gotten of it by violence. *Who will impose this necessitie vpon me* (saith *Lactantius*) *either to beleeue that which I condemne, or not to beleeue that which I approoue?* For there is nothing so voluntarie as Religion, which, in a mind that abhorreth it, decaieth and fadeth away. And this sheweth (as was said not long since by an Ambassador of a mightie king) That
» the soule (the noblest part of man, and a beame of the diuine Essence) when it
» commeth once to be illuminate by the light of the Gospell, cannot be so pressed
» with the miseries of war, nor constrained by rigor of torments, that it can em-
» brace a doctrine which she iudgeth to be false, idolatrous, and profane: consi-
» dering, that neither flatteries, nor promises, nor violent courses, nor tortures,
» are the things that discouer the truth of saluation to make the same to be recei-
» ued: but that commeth by a louing and gracious conference, by Counsels and
» quiet disputations, such as the ancient Church had some, but our time hath not
» yet seene any of them.

Saint *Augustine* is of opinion, That a man should persuade and maintaine Religion rather by instructions and admonitions, than by commandements and threatnings: Therefore if therein ye offer violence, and force the consciences of men, you make (saith he, speaking to princes) that your subiects become worshippers of your mantles, and are no more the seruants of God. This rough dealing begetteth in mens hearts contempt of Religion, and is the cause, that the conscience in stead of the pure seruice of God (making doubt of that seruice which she is drawne vnto by force, or abhorring it in her selfe, and not able safe-

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ly to returne to that which shee was made to leaue) begins to grow careleſſe, and then to run into diuers thoughts, and at laſt plungeth her ſelfe in the gulfe of profanitie, carnall libertie, and atheiſme: for mens conſciences are not commanded as their tongues are. Of theſe violent courſes commeth robbing and ſlaying, contempt of great men, conſpiracies againſt their perſons and ſtates: many taking pleaſure to torment the conſciences of men, to the end that by this inuention they may open the gap to the miſeries which their ſeditious leagues, and their ambitious, madde, and cruell counſels haue brought foorth: witneſſe the great kingdom ſo much beaten with the winds of the League, of ſedition, of profaneneſſe and atheiſme. Such euils neuer take place in their hearts that loue their Religion ſincerely, and onely for her ſelfe, not for any other reſpect: for (as Saint *Auguſtin* ſaith) There is none but God that is the king of conſciences. Furthermore, it was neuer ſaid, heard, or ſeene, that one Chriſtian put another Chriſtian to death openly, by the hands of a tormentor, for matter of Religion, though they agreed not together in ſome articles, ſo long as there was no manifeſt blaſphemie or impietie. I will note one example of *Priſcilian*, who was once a Biſhop: He being declared an heretike in ſome Synods, and namely that of Burdeaux, by Saint *Martin* and other Orthodoxall Biſhops, vpon the falſe and intollerable opinions by him ſet abroch: it hapned that *Itacus* and *Vrſutus*, Biſhops likewiſe, mooued with the zeale of Chriſtian Religion, accuſed *Priſcilian* to the Emperour *Maximinus*, and followed the cauſe ſo hotely, that *Priſcilian* and ſome thouſands of his followers were put to death. For which cauſe *Sigebert*, a Monke of Saint *Benets* Order, procured, that S. *Martin* and many other Biſhops aſſembled againe, ratified the condemnation of the hereſie of the *Priſcillianiſts*, and (of the other ſide) excommunicated *Itacus* & all his adherents: yea, and from that time all they were called *Itacians*, and held for heretikes, who, according to the opinion of *Itacus*, maintained that they who erred in matter of Religion, ought to be put to death. Finally, *Dominicus*, author of the Order of the *Iacobins*, was the firſt that among Chriſtians brought vp the puniſhment of fire for Religion: and ſtill at this day the Friers of his ſect reteine and hold the title of Inquiſitors of the faith, and make themſelues terrible in many places by reaſon of their crueltie and rigour. It is ſaid, that his mother, when ſhe was with child of him, and readie to lie downe, dreamed that ſhee was deliuered of a great dogge bearing in his throat a burning fire-brand. It is likely that this fire-brand ſignified the fires that this good Frier firſt kindled; whereby an infinit number of people in Chriſtendome haue ſince been burnt and conſumed to aſhes.

CHAP. XIX.

The execrable ſacrifices and wicked actions of Iulian *the Apoſtata. Memorable Collections concerning humane Sacrifices.*

ALthough the life and death of the Emperour *Iulian* be ſet foorth by *Ammian Marcellinus*, *Libanius*, and other followers of that prince, in the tearmes of honour, with great commendation of his wiſdome, pietie, juſtice, temperance, and other vertues: yet the other Hiſtorians, namely the Eccleſiaſticall, agree together in the rehearſall of his wicked deportments, and horrible death: for they write, how that *Iulian* being wounded with a blow of a launce as darted from heauen, in a certaine battell he had againſt the Perſians, taking a handfull of his owne blood, hee threw it vp into the aire with theſe blaſphemous words

words against our Sauiour Christ, from whose seruice he was vngraciously reuolted: *Galilean, thou hast got the victorie in the end.* Thus writeth *Theodoret*, *Cassiodorus* in the Tripartite Historie, and *Nicephorus*, who also reporteth, that *Iulian* at the point of death, with a force altogether extraordinarie, opened his eyes, and cried out (seeing) *Iesus, Nazarite, glut thy selfe.* Saint *Ierome* writeth of his death as followeth: The Emperour *Iulian* going to make warre against the Parthians, vomited out seauen books against *Iesus Christ*, and felt (as himselfe was wont to say) that from the beginning he had to doe with the Galilean: at last he receiued the reward of his stinking tongue, his bodie being pierst through with a launce. After that *Iulian* had abandoned himselfe to the seruice of Idols, he grew the craftiest persecuter of all, ouerthrowing more people by faire speeches, promises, rewards, and publike employments, than all the other Emperours had done by tortures and punishments. He was so subtill and so beaten in cosining tricks, that he induced the poore Iewes to rebuild the Temple of Ierusalem: but they were diuerted from their enterprise by earth-quakes, and thicke flames of fire that came vp from the foundations. But he had a death worthie of his life: for (to spight and vexe the Christians, whom he had euer since his reuolt persecuted and afflicted many wayes by his cunning sleights and odious practises) he published certaine Edicts, set open the temples of Idols, and commaunded that all should offer sacrifice to them; In his coyne hee caused *Iupiter* to bee grauen, whom he made to set the Diademe about his forhead, *Pallas* to apparell him, and *Mercurie* to giue him the Scepter. He ordeined also that in his Statues, *Iupiter* should be represented like to him, comming (as it were) out of heauen, and presenting vnto him the Diademe and purple Robe, markes of Imperiall dignitie; besides, *Mars* and *Mercurie* beholding him, and with a winke of the eye, giuing (as it were) a certificate, that he was both eloquent and valiant. Moreouer, hee determined to establish againe the Oracle of *Apollo*, which since Christes birth (as all other Oracles) had beene made dumbe at the appearing of the Prince of Light and Truth, ouerthrowing the power of darkenesse. For this end hee sent *Oribasius* his Physician and Treasurer to the citie of Delphos, who being arriued there, and going about his businesse, the wicked spirit spake, and told him in plaine tearmes set downe by *Cedrenus*, this which followeth:

Lib. 3. cap. 25. Lib. 6. cap. 47. Lib. 10. cap. 35.

Ruffin. lib. 1. ca. 32, of his eccles. historie.

Sozom. lib. 5. Cap. 16.

In his abridgment of hist.

Goe hence, and tell your Prince, that now
The Curtaine wrought so curiously
Is fallen downe; and none heereby
My words regard or once allow.
The Bay-tree whence all Oracles came
Is vanisht: and the water of skill
Whose Christall Brookes did yeeld such fame
Shall bee in silence buried still.

To this agrees the Verses alleaged by *Porphyrius* in the booke of sacred Philosophie, in this sence:

Ah, woe is me! Three footed stooles lament:
For your Apollos *speech is meerely drownd.*
A heauenly Light workes mine extinguishment,
Whose force, with force, doth cast me to the ground.

Wee reade, that the like (welneere) befell the Emperour *Augustus*, who hauing made a sacrifice of a hundred oxen, sent to demaund of the Oracle at Delphos,

phos, who should succeed him in the Empire. The wicked spirit after a short pause, declared in three Greeke verses why the Oracles had left speaking, and answered of Iesus Christ newly borne, and of his power, this that followeth:

A new borne Hebrew Babe, King of the Gods most blest,
Commands me to dislodge, and hie me hence apace
Into the deepest gulfe of the most darksome place.
Therefore our Altars leaue, and neuer aske the rest.

This Oracle receiued, *Augustus* was no sooner returned to Rome, but he caused a great altar to be set vp in the Capitol with this Inscription, ARA PRIMOGENITI DEI, that is, *The Altar of the first borne God.*

But to come againe to *Iulian* the Apostata: it is written of him, that not content to haue committed these faults aboue mentioned, hee vsed to helpe himselfe with magicall sacrifices most detestable: for, going from Carras against the Persians, he went into a caue, where hee made certaine horrible sacrifices, which hauing ended in the presence of some that were his most familiars, hee made all the doores be shut and sealed, appointing good guards before the same. But the newes of his death in that warre being brought, some curious persons coueting to know what *Iulian* made to bee so carefully guarded, opened the doores of the caue, where being entred, they found a woman hanged by the haires, her hands stretched abroad, her breast opened, out of which this cruell Apostata had pluckt the liuer, to know by inspection thereinto, what should be the issue of his voyage against the Persians. *Cedrenus*, *Godfrey* of Viterbo, and *Abbas Vrspergensis* in their Chronicles, write, That in Antioch and elsewhere in caues and secret places, there were found coffers full of dead mens heads, and many bodies in the bottome of welles, which were the remnants of *Iulians* sacrifices. *Ælius Lampridius* reporteth, That the villanous monster *Heliogabalus*, once Emperour of Rome, practised this manner of cruell ceremonie called *Anthropomantia*, chusing (to that end) many faire young Gentlemen throughout all Italie, and whose parents were liuing, that the sorrow and mourning for them might be the greater. But the wretch went not long vnpunished for his so hainous offences: for within a while after he was murdered, and his bodie cast into a priuie, where it lay vnburied, and there rotted. *Dio* witnesseth, that the Emperour *Adrian* (a prince otherwise adorned with many vertues) esteemed greatly of such sacrifices, so farre, as in Ægypt hee offered vp *Antinous* his Bardash, as faire a youth as any was in his time, and after placed him in the number of the gods; caused a citie to bee builded in honour of him, called *Antinoa*, and images to bee set vp throughout all the Roman empire, of which some are yet standing at Rome. The Emperour *Valerian* was much giuen to such trades and sacrifices of Sathan; hee slew and offered children, pluckt out their entrails, to gheesse by them what was to come, renting the creatures of God, and persuading himselfe that such abominations would bee a great furtherance to his affaires. But all his gouernment was vnfortunate, and at the last (defeated in a set battell) hee was taken prisoner by *Sapor* king of Persia, who vsed him for a foot-stoole to get a horse-backe on: and hauing languished some yeares in this miserie, he was afterwards flaied aliue most pitifully.

In the life of *Adrian.*

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Such horrible and most execrable oblations were once much vsed among the Hetruscians, of which a man may see yet at this day the ceremonies in tablets of marble, and one among the rest at Perousa, verie whole and plaine, which

which I haue beheld with great admiration. Now to omit the sacred Histories, where we read that sacrificings of men haue beene practised among the idolatrous and reuolting Iewes after the manner of the Pagans; it appeareth that such sacrifices haue beene much vsed in France. Vpon which occasion many thinke (and of this number is one *Geruasius*, alleaged by *Robert Gaguin*) that the citie Arles in Prouance hath taken her name, the Ancients hauing called it Aralata. For in a place that is hard by the citie, called La Rochette, there stood two pillars, and vpon them an altar of stone, vpon which the people (meeting there euerie yeare the first day of May) offred human sacrifices for the prosperitie of the citie. Their custome was to buy three yong men, vpon whom they bestowed good store of daintie victuals, and fatned them a whole yeare; and after at the day appointed they cut their throats vpon this Altar, and with their blood sprinkled all the people standing deuoutly round about the pillars. This bloodie ceremonie was abolished by Saint *Trophimus*, one of the seuentie and two disciples of our Sauiour Christ, sent out of Iudea into Prouance; who taught such as heard and beleeued him, That they were not to besprinkle their bodies and garments with the blood of sinnefull men; but their soules, with the precious blood of Iesus Christ. These furious & mad superstitions are yet at this day in vse among the Caribes a people of the West Indies, as *Ierom Benzo* affirmeth after others. They carrie with them to the war an Idoll named *Chiappe*, and before euer they put themselues into the field, they cut the throats of the faireſt and lustiest prisoners they haue, of which they make many sacrifices, and rub this Idoll all ouer with their blood, and after that, with the flesh of the bodies they make great cheere among themselues. Who so desireth to know more of such wicked and cruell sacrifices of the Heathen, shall finde the ceremonies of them briefely and exactly gathered out of ancient Authors by *Lilius Gyraldus* in his Historie of the gods, and seuenteenth booke.

Lib. 19. of the Hist. of France.

Lib. 2. of the New world.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Penates, of the Palladium, and of the bucklers named Ancilia, among the Romans. Memorable obseruations of other Images and fatall pictures.

THe Vestalls were so much honoured among the Romans, that if any one of them would walke foorth of the cloister of their goddesse *Vesta*, it was not lawfull for her to goe without hauing certaine Mace-bearers before her, and a great traine of ladies of the citie wayting on her, because of the reuerence euerie one bare to their order. These religious virgins kept verie carefully the sacred fire in a secret place, worshipped the Palladium, and the gods Penates brought from Troy, for a luckie pawne of the lastingnesse of the Roman Empire; with so many ceremonies or superstitions, that it was not lawfull for any to come neere the said things, saue the Vestalls & the chiefe bishops. It is the manner of poore idolaters, the more such bables and deuises are hid from them, the more earnestly to desire them; and to thinke that some great misteries and much vertue lie hidden vnder them. Such is the nature of the common people that they thinke all is good and profitable which they vnderstand not. They write that these Penates or gods brought from Troy, were two images but grossely hewen, hauing faces like two yong children, sitting, and holding each of them a dart. Some thinke that the Palladium, rescued by *Æneas*, was an image of *Apollo* or of *Neptune*: others, that it was a Troian *Pallas* shewed at Rome,

Alexander ab Alexandria. lib. 5. cap. 17.

Rome, at Lauinium, and other places. To be short, Authors differ about it, and it skilled not greatly if there were no newes at all of these Idols, nay it were a good turne if they had neuer beene. But seeing it is so, let vs proceed with that we meane to say, and lay open the miserie of the Pagans, and the horrible blindnesse they haue beene stricken with for the space of so many ages. *Pierius* telleth diuers things of this Palladium, and holdeth that it was a buckler that fell from heauen as the idolaters beleeued. *Apollodorus* writeth, That one named *Ilus* (hauing built a citie called Ilium by the commandement of the Oracle in a chappell vpon a little hill of Phrygia called Ates) praied *Iupiter* to giue him some signe; the next morning at breake of day, he spied before his tabernacle the Palladium, which *Iupiter* had caused to slide downe to the earth. It was an image of three cubits hie, hauing the feet set in such sort as it seemed to walke, carrying a jauelin in her right hand lift vp, and in the other, a distaffe and a spindle. The same *Apollodorus* fastning one fable to another, discourseth of the Palladium somewhat ridiculously: I will set it downe briefely that it may more and more appeare, in what bottomlesse pits of error these wretched idolaters and infidels haue beene plunged. He saith, That *Minerua* hauing beene noursed and brought vp in the house of *Triton* the father of *Pallas*, these two maids gaue themselues to the following of armes, and one day there fell a quarrell betweene them; in the which *Minerua* being vpon the point of doing *Pallas* some hurt, *Iupiter* affrighted therewith put his buckler before, whereat *Pallas* being agast and looking back, was hurt by *Minerua* and so fell downe: *Minerua* exceeding sorie for that was done, made an image resembling *Pallas*, and fastned this buckler to the breast thereof, and then placed the image (for loue) hard by *Iupiter*. A while after a sore pestilence reigning, *Electra* had recourse to this Palladium, and carried it away with her into the countrey where Troy was builded. Afterwards *Ilus* in remembrance of *Electra*, greatly reuerenced the temple which she had caused to be built. *Cedrenus*, a Greeke Historian thinketh that the Palladium was a statue of wood, representing *Minerua*, who is also called *Pallas*. The fame was (saith he) That this Palladium had such vertue through charmes, enchantments, and other such deuilish arts, that the citie where it was kept could neuer be lost. A Philosopher and Priest being a witch named *Asius*, brought and presented it to *Tros* king of the Troians at such time as he tooke in hand to build Ilium: and *Tros* for this priests sake called all his countrey Asia, which before was named Epirrhope. We may see in *Homer*, in *Virgil* and others, that the Pagans were so fetcht in and so miserably deluded that they gaue credit to all these fooliſh toies. The Grecians insisting vpon Oracles, thought that the Troians should remaine inuincible and their citie impregnable, so long as they should be guarded by the Palladium. Therefore *Vlysses* with great cunning stoale it away: and from his hands it fell into the hands of *Diomedes*, who warned by an Oracle (so saith the fable) gaue it to *Æneas* comming into Italy, full sore against his will. And thus was this idoll brought and aduanced into credit. At the length it vanisht into smoake: for in the time of *Nero*, the greatest part of Rome being burnt with some of those temples (and namely that of the goddesse *Vesta*) the Penates, and the Palladium of the Romans were consumed to ashes, witnesse *Cornel. Tacitus*, though I am not ignorant that some other Authors are of another opinion.

Lib. 42. of his Hieroglyph.

Lib. 5. of the Origin. of the gods.

Lib. 15. Annal.

Concerning the bucklers called Ancilia, the Romans had them in deuout keeping. When in the time of *Numa Pompilius* the citie was so infected with the pestilence, that no sacrifices or expiations could remedie the euill: it is said,

There

There fell from heauen a buckler of brasse into *Numas* hands, in which buckler the future aduentures and deeds of the Romans were contained. They thinking that the safetie of their citie consisted in this buckler, and fearing least it might be stolne away, caused eleauen other such to be forged by an excellent workeman called *Mamurius*, who made them so like that a man could not discerne the true one from those that were counterfeit; and being consecrated to the god *Mars*, they were all committed in keeping to the priests named *Salij*. The Ancilia were of an ouall shape, more long than broad, as appeareth by a figure of one of them in the other side of an image of *Antoninus* the debonaire, represented by *Pierius*, and in the faire booke of the ancient funerals published in Italian, with exquisite figures, by *Thomas Porcachi*. The ancient Amorrhites had the like idols of gold erected vpon precious stones, and had in great estimation, which they called, Holy Nymphs. These idols, when they were inuoked and praied vnto, shewed to their seruants what they were to doe, if we may beleeue *Philo Iudæus*; who saith further, That an Angell of the Lord seeing he could not burne, nor breake those images, threw them into a bottomlesse gulfe of the sea.

Lib. 42. of his Hierogl.

In his Antiquit. of the Bible.

We should haue spoken more than inough of these Sathanicall cosining tricks (which we ought to detest and tread vnder the feet of our thoughts) if immediatly after and a long time since the Christian truth was manifested in the world, there had not beene seene in publike namely among the Grecians, many such fatall images worshipped with great superstition. They were called *Stichioses*, or *Stæchiodes*; the most part of which were broken or beaten downe by the Latins after they had possessed themselues of Constantinople, saith *Nicetas*, as followeth. The Latins determined to throw downe the renowmed Statues called *Stæchiodes* (because of the iust proportion and simmetrie of all their parts) being accounted the forts and fences of Constantinople, and inuented to serue for a rampier against the enemies that would enter into it by force, or surprise: I know not if with reason and truth, or no; aboue all they resolued to throw downe those that were contrarie to their Nation. They caused diligent search to be made for them, and spared neither those, nor the images of brasse, but they were pluckt downe from their pillars and cast into the fire; no, nor yet the left foot of the brasen horse placed vpon a quadrangle of marble in the Bulls street, with all his trappings and furniture; hauing his eares prickt vp, and neying (as it were) at the sound of the trumpet, carrying a man of a couragious and heroicall representation: a worke most admirable, because of the exquisite workemanship of all his parts and members. Some say this horse is the Pegasus, and the knight *Bellerephon*: others affirme, That the man is *Iosuah*, as his furniture sheweth, because stretching his right hand towards the chariot of the Sunne and of the Moone, he seemeth to stay it, and holdeth in his left hand a globe of brasse. Hauing broken off this foot of the horse, they found within the same a mans image, resembling welneere a Bulgarian, which image was transpierced and tied fast with a naile souldred with molten lead that enirond it of all parts. The Latins made this image to be molten; not for that they feared the Bulgarians (as any man that would mistake them, might imagin) but because they sought all meanes to settle themselues in the possession of Constantinople, hauing an eie to all occurrents they would let nothing stand that they thought might preiudice and hinder them. The same *Nicetas* reporteth, That the Emperour *Emanuel* lead away with the same superstition (being vpon the point of going to make war in Hungarie) caused a image, ominous to the Hungarians

At the end of the Annals.

Lib. 5. of his Annals.

Hungarians to bee throwne downe, and a tombe called the Romane, to be repayred, thinking by such exploits to bring an alteration to the affaires of the two States, by extenuating that of Hungarie, and establishing that of the Empire.

Theophylus Emperour of Greece is taxed likewise for hauing giuen credit to the magicall impostures of the Patriarch *Iohn*. It hapned one day that a certaine nation subiect to the Empire mutined, and rose in armes vnder the leading of three Captaines, who assaulted *Theophylus* in three seuerall places, which put him to a shrewd after-deale: The Patriarch came and exhorted the Emperour to take courage and to hope well, prouided alwayes that he would bee ruled by him. His counsell was, to haue three great brazen hammers made, which should bee put into the hands of three strong men, who at a certaine houre of the night should meet in the Euripus of the Cirque, where among other statues of brasse, there stood one that had three heads: and when the Patriarch should bid strike, these men were to strike at those heads with all their force, till they made them fall to the ground, as if it had beene at one stroake. The Emperour liked this counsell well; after mid-night, the Patriarch hauing on a secular habit because he would not be knowne, came with the three men to the statue, and hauing vttered a charme which tooke away all vertue from the Statue, enioyned the men to strike vpon the heads by turnes one after another. Two of them laid on so stoutly, that they feld two heads to the ground: the third made that which remained to hang a tone-side, but it was not beaten downe. The like hapned to the Captaines of the Rebels: for when they came to handie-stroakes with the Lieutenants of *Theophylus*, two of the captaines were slaine in the place: the third was wounded, but not to death, yet in such sort, that not being able to goe any more to the war, and his troups growne weake, they returned home to their houses. The same *Zonara* writeth of *Alexander* brother to *Leo*, That hauing asked the Soothsayers if he should liue any long time, they answered him, He should; so as he would cause tuskes and stones to be fastened to the Boare of brasse that stood in the Theatre: and that this was the signe that he should hold out against his brother *Leo*. They ghessed well in the comparison that they made of this man (giuen ouer to gourmandize, and all that belongeth thereto) with a hogge: and he (more beast than the verie beasts) giuing credit to these Soothsayers, did what they had counselled him. The same Author, in the life of the Roman Emperor surnamed *Lacapenus*, saith, That there stood vpon the top of the Arch of the Xerolophe, towards the west, a statue representing *Simeon* Duke of Bulgaria, and that the Emperour was counselled by some to breake downe the head of this statue, promising that thereupon the Duke should presently die: As soone said, so soone done; and at the same instant *Simeon* died of a paine in the stomacke, of which within a little while after newes was brought to the Emperour. *Euphrosyne* wife to the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* (caried away with the like superstition, and desiring to know what was to come) caused the snowt of the Calydonian Boare to bee cut off, who with bristeled haire and open throat set vpon a Lion in a great place of Constantinople. Moreouer, she made other statues to be mangled, and some to haue their heads pasht and battered with stroakes of hammers, saith *Nicetas* in his Annals: where he writeth, that afterwards, the Emperour *Isaacius Angelus* caused this Boare to bee remooued into the great palace, meaning thereby to represse the rage of the people, vnruly and like to a Boare. In the same place he describeth at large a certaine statue of *Minerua* standing vpon a pillar in

Zonara in the third Tome of his Annals.

Lib. 3.

the great place of Constantinople, which was broken in pieces by the people, saying, That this Image had beene made and set vp to draw the Westerlings to the conquest of Constantinople.

Of this kind of superstitious or magicall statues, was that which the Annals of Turkie, printed not long ago, make mention in these tearmes: As *Mahomet* the Turkish Souldan, after the taking of Constantinople, rid vp and down the citie, rauished with the sight of so many stately buildings, comming into the Atmindan, he cast his eye towards a pillar which had three Serpents of brasse winding about it from the head to the foot of the same pillar, seeming to bee but one though they had their three heads. He asked what it signified, and after hurled a battle-axe which he caried in his hands, against the pillar, and therewith strucke one of the heads, and broke off the nether lip; presently there were seene in Constantinople a great number of serpents. Whereupon some counselled him not to touch that serpent any more, for as much as it was long of that statue that there had not been any serpents in the citie till that time. Hence it is, that at this day the same pillar is yet standing: and though (after the nether lip of the brazen serpent thus broken) there entred serpents into Constantinople, yet they neuer hurt any body. There was besides a horse of brasse standing there, and vpon the same a knight, which *Mahomet* made to bee beaten downe: and it was said that this statue kept the plague out of the citie. Vpon this storie, *Iohn Leonclauius*, addeth for exposition this that followeth: *Atmindan* signifieth in the Turkish language that place of Constantinople which the Greeks called *Hippodromos*, that is, the place where they ride and run horses. This pillar of serpents interlaced from the bottome to the top (where their three heads appeare placed in a triangle) is yet standing. I haue heard that *Constantine* in times past placed vpon the same the three-footed-stoole of *Apollos* Oracle in Delphos: whereas it is said, that this image was the cause that no serpents came into Constantinople, such was the opinion of the Greekes, as *Mahomet* vnderstood it. I haue a booke a Manuscript of the buildings of Constantinople, wherin are to be seene many and sundrie such like significations of statues, taught and reuealed by *Apollonius Tyaneus* a famous Magician, as the moderne Greekes affirme at this day. That which the Annals adde of the breaking of the horse of brasse, might breed some scruple in superstitious mindes, and make them thinke that these Idoles should haue some vertue: considering, that now euery yeare in the moneths of Iuly and August, the plague doth ransacke and sweepe away the people of Constantinople. That Summer when I was there, it was thought that in the space of foure moneths there died an hundred and fiftie thousand persons of the plague. The yeare following there died not much fewer.

In his anotat. vpon the Annals of Turkie, *num.* 130.

Lib. 8 *cap.* 33. hist. Franc.

Heere we may not forget that which *Gregorie* of Tours writeth in a certaine place: The report went (saith he) that the citie of Paris had in old time beene (as it were) consecrated, so that it could not receiue any harme by fire: and there was neuer seene within it any Serpent or Batt. Not long agoe, as they were scowring the vaults of the bridge, to carrie away the filth, whereof they were almost full, they found there a Bat and a Serpent of Brasse, which being caried away from thence, euer since there haue been seene an infinite number of Bats and Serpents in the citie.

Experience hath verified, that they who giue light credit to statues, predictions and other such superstitions, though other-whiles they escape vntoucht, or perhaps receiue some aduauntage by it; yet in the end they finde no good by medling with such things, which may easily bee prooued by an infinite number

number of Histories. Among other Examples, that which fell out in the last siege, and lamentable taking of Constantinople, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three is verie memorable. The mindes of the Grecians were bewitched with many fooliſh opinions both old and new, by the helpe of which they hoped to repell the violence of the Turkiſh armie: beſides, they wholly relied (in a manner) vpon an Oracle or ancient Prediction, which was, That a mightie enemie ſhould once be poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of Conſtantinople: but when hee ſhould come into the Market place, ſurnamed of the brazen Bull, hee ſhould be beaten backe and driuen out of the citie by the citizens and Inhabitants, that ſhould meet in the ſame place to make head againſt him. When the Turkes (after many a poynt made) had in the end woon the breach, and beaten backe thoſe that defended it, the moſt part of the Conſtantinopolitans making a ſword and buckler of the ſaid Prediction, ranne in the Market place: whither they drewe the reſt vnto them, hoping from thence to giue their enemies the chaſe, and to ſaue their countrey in that fatall place of the citie. But it fell out quite otherwiſe: for the Greekes grewe ſo faint-hearted, and the enemies purſued their victorie with ſuch furie, that in ſtead of valorous reſiſtance, they met with none but miſerable run-awayes, flying away in crowds by the gate that goeth towards the ſea, and throwing themſelues by thouſands into the Frigats which they there found to ſaue their wretched liues. The guards that warded at that gate, had ſuch a confidence in this falſe Oracle, that ſeeing the people running thither-wards, they ſhut the gate; and becauſe they would not be compelled to open it, they threw the keyes ouer the walles: ſo that the coſinage of the ſpirit of errour was plainely ſeene in the cruell death of the Greekes, and in the ſacking of their head-citie. Wherefore many thinke that this Prediction was the cauſe why the citiſens and ſouldiors ſhewed themſelues ſo looſe and daſtardly, in giuing ouer the walles and breaches of the citie, and retyred vnhappily into that fatall place which they thought was their Sanctuarie; in a word, That they forſooke too ſoone, and before they were forced, the rampiers, which the enemies tooke (as it were) without any paine, hauing an open and free entrance into the citie.

To conclude this chapter, that which *Roderick de Toledo* writeth of a certaine fatal coffer, is no leſſe memorable. King *Roderick* caried away with couetouſnes, made this coffer be opened, a little before the Alarbes and the Saraſins at the inſtigation of the Count *Iulian* (of whom we haue ſaid ſomething in the ſeuenth chapter of the firſt Booke) entred into Spaine; where they defeated the kings armie, kild the king himſelfe, and ſubdued the countrey. There was at that time (ſaith he) a pallace at Toledo which had neuer beene opened in many kings times, and was kept ſhut with many gates; this pallace *Roderick*, againſt all mens opinions, cauſed to be opened, hoping to find great treaſures within it: But he found nothing there but a coffer, and within it a ſheet, about the ſides whereof were written in Latin caracters theſe words in ſubſtance; *When the locks ſhalbe taken off, and the pallace opened, and the coffer look't into to ſee what is in it; it ſhall come to paſſe, That certaine people of the likeneſſe of thoſe that are painted in the ſheet, ſhall inuade Spaine, and bring it vnder their ſubiection.* The king hearing this, was exceeding ſorie for the opening, and commanded that the coffer and the caſtle ſhould be ſhut againe. In this ſheet were ſeene the pictures of the Alarbes, on horsback, with turbans on their heads, hauing long coates of ſundrie collours, holding bowes and cimiters, with cornets diſplaied and lifted

Lib. 3. of the hiſtorie of Spaine. cap. 7.

ted high. This painted sight amated the king, and all the great lords of his Realme. Surely, Sathan is euermore like himselfe: for hauing before the comming of IESVS CHRIST, by his Oracles and doubtfull answers (which were destroied by the power of the Sonne of God) seduced most wretchedly the greatest part of the world; he hath since continued by superstitious meanes, and magicall deceits (being his crafts-master and full of cunning deuises) to set vp fatall Statues, Figures, Idols, Images, and pictures, for the deceiuing of curious consciences, so much as possibly in him lieth.

The end of the third Booke.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

What Royall ornaments the Diademe, and the Hat named Citaris were. Obseruations vpon the gouernment of Constantin.

Laurentius Valla a gentleman of Rome, and Chanon of Saint *Iohns* of Lateran, hath written a discourse touching the Donation falsely attributed to the Emperour *Constantin*: In the which, he makes himselfe good sport with the botcher that patcht vp that donation; shewing, that he was ignorant and doltish, and courseth him almost from one end of his declamation to the other, by reason of his absurdnesse euerie way most ridiculous: Especially in this, that he taketh the Diademe for a Royall crowne of pure gold, set with precious stones. This ignorant block (saith he) either hath forgotten or neuer knew that the Diademe is a wreathe of cloath or of silke; as the Apothegme of *Seleucus* witnesseth, of whom it is reported, That when the Royall Diademe was brought vnto him, before he tied it about his head, he held it a long while in his hands, fastning his eies vpon it, and then cried out; *Oh cloath more noble than happie! who so knew the great cares, dangers, and miseries that thou hidest within thee, hee would not take paines to lift thee once from the ground.* That the assertion of *Valla* is like to be true, it appeareth by many places of ancient Histories, specially by one, remarkable in *Iustin*, who saith, *That* Lysimachus *alighting off his horse was sore hurt in the fore-head with the point of* Alexanders *Iauelin, and they could find no meanes to stanch the blood but by tying his fore-head with the Diadem which* Alexander *willingly tooke from his owne head to bind vp the wound withall: which was a presage to* Lysimachus *that one day he should be king.* We read also, That a certaine flatterer hauing put vpon the head of one of *Cæsars* images a crowne of Lawrell woun'd about a white band, the Tribunes commanded this band to be taken off, and sent the flatterer to prison, feigning therein to gratifie *Cæsar*, who was wont to make as if he were angrie when any man spake of a king. These Stories doe shew, That the same which we call a Diademe, was a band either white, or of diuers collours, which the kings tied about their heads, and queenes likewise, to the end all might know them by such a marke; and it was first inuented by *Bacchus*; for before, kings, in steed of wearing Diademes about their heads, carried iauelins,

Plutarch. in his Morralls.

Lib. 15.

Plutarch. in the life of *Cæsar.*

C. Rhodigin. lib. 24. *cap.* 6. of his Anti-lectures.

Plin. lib. 17. *cap.* 56. *Iustin. lib.* 143.

or long staues which the Greekes call *Skeptra*, a word that is yet in vse, and which we call Scepters. If this that we haue said be not inough to satisfie, considering that Diademes haue beene particularly affected of the kings of Persia, one may read that which *Arrianus* writeth of *Alexander*; Who some few daies before his death went into a boat to goe and see in the marshes nor far from Babilon, many sepulchers of the kings of Assiria: at which time a sudden puffe of wind blew off the attire that was vpon his head, and the diademe that was tied about it. The tire that was of some weight, fell into the water; the Diademe being carried away with the wind staied in certaine reeds hard by the monuments, where a mariner went to fetch it, and brought it againe to *Alexander*, who tooke it for a presage of his death. *Plutarch* writeth of *Monima* the Milesian, wife to *Mithridates*, That this king hauing wooed her verie earnestly, in so much as he sent her fifteene thousand crownes, yet she would neuer condescend to his desire, till he had promised her marriage, sent her the Diademe, and called her Queene. Afterwards, *Mithridates* hauing receiued an ouerthrow by *Lucullus*, and fearing least his wiues and sisters should fall into the hands of his enemies, as he fled, he dispatched away a groome of his chamber called *Bachides*, to goe and tell them, That they were to free themselues from thraldome by voluntarie death: *Bachides* bad them chuse what death they thought would be least grieuous to them. *Monima* taking the Diademe from her head, tied it about her neck to strangle her selfe with it; but being not strong inough, it brake: at which she began to say, *O cursed and vnhappie cloath! wilt thou not serue me (at least) in this wofull seruice?* and therewithall she cast it to the ground and spit vpon it, and so held out her throat to *Bachides* to be cut. One of those Romans that were called by the name of *Metellus* was surnamed *Diadematus*, for that of a long time he vsed to goe and come through the streets of Rome, hauing his fore-head bound about.

Lib.7.

In the life of *Lucullus.*

Plut. in the life of *Coriolanus.*

The kings of Persia vsed to weare a high Hat, called Citaris, or Cidaris; with a blew band spotted with white, the crowne thereof standing vp and pointed. Which *Plutarch* meaneth when he speaketh of *Darius* the elder sonne of *Artaxerxes*, whose father gaue him the priuiledge to weare the point of his hat standing vp. Of this we may produce another notable testimonie out of *Arrianus*, who writeth, That *Baryaxes* the Mede, being taken and brought by the gouernour *Atrobates* to *Alexander*, woare on his head the hat with a high point, calling himselfe king of the Persians and Medes. *Quintus Curtius* also writeth, That *Alexander* hauing laid aside the fashions of the Grecians, bound his head with a Diademe of purple, mingled with white such as *Darius* was wont to weare, and apparelled himselfe after the Persian manner. The kings of Armenia vsed this ornament of the head, saith *Plutarch* in these tearmes: *Tigranes* taking his Royall hat from his head would haue laid it at *Pompeius* feet, &c. This hat he calleth Citaris. All this that we haue alleaged sheweth the wrong tale of this forger of the Donation, in that which he writeth of the Diademe. *Iustus Lipsius* sheweth both learnedly and distinctly the difference betweene the Diadem, and the Persian hat which had the sharpe crowne. The vse of the Diadem is now adaies very common among the Turks; they call it Tulipant, and we Turban: marrie, that which the Souldans weare, is set with sundrie precious stones, and is made fast on the hind-part of the head. *Iohn Leonclauius* writeth, That *Iohannes Saxonius* a Germane of the countrey of Holsatia and a Gold-smith, dwelling in a towne neere Constantinople called Pera, made a very sumptuous one for the Souldanesse, wife to *Amurath* the third, when *Mahomet*, afterward Souldan was circumcised.

In the life of *Artaxerxes.*

Lib.6. of the Viages of *Alex.*

Lib.6. of his Historie.

In the life of *Pomp.*

In his Annot. vpon the 6 booke of the Annals of *Tacitus.*

*Cap.*199. of his Pandects of Turkie.

ciſed. As for the Turban, it is a long band of linnen which the Turkes wind about their head, wearing this attire for a badge of valour: and they ſay, that this linnen puts thoſe in mind that goe a war-fare, not to thinke of their returne, but rather to die in the bed of honour, ſeeing they carrie that with them which they may be buried in.

Now for as much as we are entred into ſpeech of this Donation of *Conſtantine* publiſhed heretofore, and in our time in ſo many parts of the the world; namely by *Bartholomew Picerna*, and *Auguſtine Steuchus*, who affirme, that the ſame is written in Greeke in the Popes Librarie at Rome, and that they haue turned it into Latin: we will put the Reader in mind, that the Ancients long after *Conſtantines* time knew not of any ſuch thing, neither is it ſet downe in the old Decrees, as is maintained by *Antoninus* Archbiſhop of Florence, who is ſince canoniz'd and put into the number of Saints. Now it is found inſerted into *Gratians* Decree, in the diſtinction 96. *Can. Conſtantinus.* The inſcription calleth it Ancient: but *Nicholas Euerard*, a Ciuilian, maketh a ieaſt of it, and playing vpon the word *Palœa*, or *Palea* (the ſignification whereof the barbarous Canoniſts knew not, but thought it was a word ſignifying Straw) ſaith, That this ſtraw hath brought foorth great ſtore of graine to the Church, whereby her riches are infinitly increaſed; and after hee alleageth among other authorities, that of *Albert de Roſatis*, who writeth, that hee had heard from the mouthes of certaine great perſons, that when this inuention was firſt foyſted in, a voyce was heard crying; *This day a poiſon of aſpes is ſowen in the Church of God*: and that the ſame was found written in certaine old Regiſters; and that in the time of *Boniface* the eight, a learned Preacher had openly fore-told, That the church of Rome ſhould at laſt deſcend to ſuch pouertie as it was in the time of *Sylueſter*, by the ſame degrees that ſhee was gotten vp to the abundance of her temporall riches. *Pius* the ſecond hath ſaid more yet, by report of *Felinus*, in his life time Auditor of the Rota at Rome, to wit, That he wondred at the fooliſhneſſe of the miſerable Canoniſts, who diſputed (ſpeaking of the Donation of *Conſtantine*) of a thing that neuer was. Theſe be *Euerards* words. But beſides *Laurentius Valla*, & many others, as *Raphael Volaterranus*, *Nicholas Cuſanus*, Cardinall, *Æneas Syluius*, afterwards Pope; alſo *Andrew Alciat* a famous Lawyer, and *Huldericus de Hutten*, a Knight of Germanie, haue prooued by manifeſt and ſtrong arguments, that this Donation was a meere inuention deuiſed for benefit and gaine. And *Iohn Auentine* hath theſe words: *That which is alleaged of Pope* Sylueſter, *and of the donation of* Conſtantine, *is a thing inuented for benefit, falſe, fooliſh, and repugnant to it ſelfe: and I wonder that there are any ſo fooliſh as to beleeue it, and ſo impudent as to maintaine it, ſeeing Pope* Pius *the ſecond, a man well skild in ſuch matters, doth ieaſt at ſuch inuentions, as fables and old wiues tales &c.* And indeed the authoritie of this donation, which did heretofore dazle wel-neere all the world, is now growne ſo weake, as it is ſcarce ſpoken of or mentioned; and there be none but ignorant aſſes, or flattering paraſites that now adayes make reckoning of it.

Now albeit a great Spaniſh Lawyer, named *Didacus Couarruuias*, after he hath rehearſed the opinions of thoſe men that haue ſpoken for and againſt this donation, concludeth at laſt, that the moſt receiued opinion is, That the ſame donation is good and effectuall; ſaying, That it was a thing might be, and it muſt not bee denied becauſe the ancient Authors ſpeake not of it; ſeeing the common opinion is, that *Conſtantine* made it: yet notwithſtanding, it appeareth that he finds himſelfe much troubled about it; for he ſaith preſently after (not daring to ſpeak his mind in Spaine, no more than *Bartolus* durſt in Italie, where diſcourſing of this

In the 1. part of his Chron. towards the end.

In loco Legali à veriſimili.

In L. bene à Zenone in X. Col. 6. de quadr. præſcript.

In dialogo. In C. ſoluta de Maior. & Obedi.

Lib. 7. cap. 19. of the work entit. *Parergon iuris.* In his Annals *Lib. 2.*

Lib. 4. cap. 16. variar. reſolut.

this donation in the Vniuersitie of Bolonia, he said to his hearers, Take heed, we are vpon the lands of the Church; and therfore I say that this donation is auailable, though it be well knowne that he was of another opinion) that besides this donation of *Constantine*, the Popes haue a great many tales and ordinances wherby to maintaine well and sufficiently their Iurisdiction at Rome, and the reuenues they haue there and in the other cities, which the Church of Rome and the holy Apostolike See possesseth by the donation of Christian princes, of which *Alciat, Steuchus, Castaldus, Remundus* and others by him alleaged, doe make mention. Whereby it appeareth, that *Couarruuias* thought it was needfull to draw proofes from other places to maintaine the Popes Temporaltie, and Saint *Peters* patrimonie; and that this donation was not of any great force. And surely, whatsoeuer is counterfeit cannot long hold out, but the falsitie thereof will appeare either soone or late. Whereunto another moderne and learned Lawyer of Spaine, called *Ferdinandus Vasquius* seemeth to haue respect, who because he dares not denie or impugne this donation, goeth more cunningly to worke, calleth it in doubt, and at last yeeldeth to the opinion of *Laurentius Valla*. *It may bee* (saith he) *that the consent of people is come thereto: or that these princes being vnlawfull possessioners, haue transported the right thereof (such as they might haue) so as with time the same is conuerted to a lawfull possession.* Let vs adde that which hath been said of the creation of successions, or rather with *Laurentius Valla*, That it is a forged donation. *Iohannes Iouianus Pontanus*, a great personage, vseth this subtill dissimulation: For hauing reckoned vp in order the Seigniories which the Popes haue in Italie, so far is he from speaking of the donation of *Constantine*, that contrariwise he saith, *That it is not a difficultie easie to resolue, namely, to shew by what skilfull meanes the Popes haue gotten so great an Empire: That they may haue attained vnto it by armes, we must not thinke, but rather quite contrarie: for in times past they were peacefull men, and wholly compounded of deuotion.* But who (I pray you) dares maintaine that this excellent Historian (to omit the ancients, as *Eusebius*, who hath written in fiue Bookes the life of *Constantine*; *Socrates, Theodoret, Euagrius, Ruffinus, Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, Osorius, Beda, Zonaras, Nicephorus*) was ignorant of that which the Aduocates and defenders of this donation say of it? If hee had made any reckoning of the authoritie thereof, he would not haue left it out, and alleaged other reasons which he thought more auaileable for the establishing of the temporall domination of the Popes. This is plainely to be seene by the silent confession of *Onuphrius Panuinius* an Augustinian, who maketh no mention at all of this donation, which he would not haue forgot (he, that knew all the secrets of the Popes, and had searched into their Registers) if it had been a thing fit to be receiued. *Bodin* writeth, how he had read in the Table of the Vatican Librarie, That a certaine *Iohn*, surnamed of Fingars, wrote this donation long agoe in golden letters; and that in the bottome he added a verse halfe Latine, such as this, *Quem fabulam longi temporis mendacia finxit:* meaning, that this fabulous tale had been inuented of a long while. The more libertie the Church had in the time of *Constantine*, the more her ambition increased: and the Christians seeing the persecution ceased, began to desire diadems and triple-crownes, saith the Lord of *Plessis*. It is out of all question, that *Constantine* did by his Testament diuide the empire of the East, and of the West among his sonnes: and that the dominion not of Italie alone, but also of Rome, and of all the circuit thereof remained in the hands of his successors for the space of a hundred and fortie yeares, vntill the yeare of Christ 401. If the beginning of the temporall domination of the Popes within Rome, and in Italie were exactly collected out of Histories, it could

Lib. 1. *de quæst. illustris. cap.* 5. *num.* 26.

Lib. 1. of the exploits of *Ferdinand.* 1.

In the life of *Sylvester.* 1.

Lib. 1. of his Commonwealth. *cap.* 10.

In his treatise of the Church.

it could not be denied, but that the same began at what time the Exarcks were abolished, in the yeare 800, and that by the liberalitie of *Charlemaine*; but enlarged afterwards by *Lewis* the Debonaire, and other Emperours that were Germans.

I haue heard a pleasant storie of credible persons, touching this Donation, and I will not forget it: The Pope hauing brought vnder his power the Marquisate of Ancona, sent his Legate to the Venetians, to know of them, by what right they attributed to their Seigniorie alone, the customes and other iurisdictions in the Adriaticke sea, seeing they could shew no priuileges or charters for the same? They answered him cunningly, *That they wondred why any man would require them to shew foorth their Priuiledges, seeing the Popes had the Originals thereof, and kept them in their chests as most precious relicks: that it was an easie matter to find them, if they would looke well vpon the donation of* Constantine, *on the backe side whereof these priuiledges were written in great letters.* There needs no commentarie vpon this right answere of the Venetians. *Sebastian Monticola*, a Ciuilian of Padua fathereth this answere vpon *Ierome Donat* Ambassadour of Venice. When Pope *Alexander* the sixt (saith hee) asked him merily, Of whom the Venetians held these rights and customes of the sea? he answered him presently; *Let your Holinesse shew me the Charter of Saint* Peters *patrimonie, and you shall find on the backe thereof the Graunt made to the Venetians of the Adriaticke sea.* With the like policie of a forged Donation Pope *Iohn* the seauenth would haue seazed vpon the Abbay of Saint *Denys*, after the death of *Charlemaine*: but his sonne *Lewis* the Debonaire hauing smelt the deceit, sent the Pope home againe with a flea in his eare, as *Aimonius* writeth.

In his Treatise *De Patria potestate pag.*54.

*Lib.*5.*cap.*37.

CHAP. II.

A memorable discourse of certaine famous Lakes.

THe Lake *Di Garda*, called in times past *Benacus*, is the pleasanteſt Lake in all Italie, when it is calme: if it bee stirred with windes, there is much danger in sailing vpon it. Of this we haue experience daily, and *Virgil* hath described it long agoe thus;

Tuğ, fluctibus & fremitu assurgens Benace marino.

Swelling with waues, and roaring like the Sea.

*Georg.lib.*2.

Now although many Authors (namely *Strabo* among the ancient, *Iulius de Iulio à Cænobio* Ciuilian, among the moderne; *Gregorius Iossa* of Bergomo, and *Albert Leander*) haue plentifully sung the praises, and set foorth the benefits of this Lake; yet *Sabellicus* in a few words hath comprehended many things. Let vs heare him speake: This lake is the most delightfull of all that be in Italie; of more length than largenesse. The length thereof from the West of Winter to the North is about thirtie miles: look how much the riuer Mincius taketh from it in the South, so much doe the Sarque, & the Ponal giue it againe in the North. The water of this lake is so cleare, that a man may see to the bottome, except in the very midst, where it is so deepe that one cannot pierce the depth thereof. Looke how pleasant it is in calme weather, so fearefull is it being mooued with the wind, and is no lesse terrible and stirring than the Ocean, saith *Virgil* in the place before mentioned. It breedeth many good fishes, namely Carps, the fishing whereof lasteth from the end of Autumne, to the Spring-time; as dangerous to fishers (because they must cast their nets very low) as profitable. The shore of each

» each side is set thicke with Oliue-trees, and beautified with gardens full of Ly-
» mon-trees, Orenge-trees, Pomgranat-trees, and Apple-trees of Paradise. That
» part which butteth vpon the territorie of Verona, is embelished on the right
» hand with the cities of Pescara, Lagisa, Bardolina, Garda, (of which this Lake
» hath taken the name) the Towers, and Masec. On the other side ouer against it,
» one may see a little further in the water, Sirmion, where the Poet *Catullus* was
» borne. Then on the other shoare are, Riuoltella, Minerba, Feliciana, Portuesa,
» and Saloda the head citie of the countrey. From thence the high mountaines
» reach towards the North, so far as Riua and Penetra, belonging in old time to the
» territorie of Trent. Aboue the castle of Penetra, there is a village called Naco,
» whereof many coniecture that this Lake was in times past called Benaco, or Pe-
» naco; that is to say neere to Naco. Thus writeth *Sabellicus*. Now this I haue ob-
serued, That this Lake, and the other memorable Lakes which I haue seene, doe almost ordinarily grow great, or are made and compounded of riuers and brookes that fall downe from the high mountaines, and run violently thorow the streight valleis vntill they haue gotten the plaine field, where they roll faire and softly as if they had lost their breath, and so by certaine chanels (where they take their force againe) goe and yeeld themselues into the Lakes which receiue them. Witnesse hereof the Lake of Como, called of the Ancient Latinists *Larius*; a word that signifieth a prince in the old language of the Hetruscians, who called a prince, Arens and Larum: as who would say, that the Lake Larius is the prince of Lakes. It is formed or infinitely greatned by the faire riuer Abdua which comming out of the mountaines of the countrey of the Grisons, tumbleth by the Vale of Teline into this Lake, of which *Strabo*, *Plinie* and *Virgil* among the ancient writers make mention. In our time, *Paulus Iouius* bishop of Nocera, hath set it out verie exactly, and described all the singularities thereof. This same riuer commeth out of this Lake neere to a citie called Leuc, or Lecco, and is called commonly Abda or Adda; one may see it run crosse the Lake without mingling it selfe therewith, so that one would say it runneth in the smooth field hauing its waters differing from those of the Lake, which it compasseth halfe about. There is another Lake called Verbanus, or the greater Lake, into which the Tesin, a famous riuer in Italy dischargeth it selfe.

Lib. 4. *Lib.* 2. & 3. *Lib.* 3. *Georg.*

We haue in Germanie the pleasant Lake of Constance, called in times past Acronius; which hauing receiued some number of streames and riuers, though it be not so long, broad, and deepe as the Lakes aboue mentioned, yet doth it second them, being crossed by the Rhine, king of the riuers in Germanie, which passeth thorow the Lake with a cleane course, holding within it selfe his blew waters, and neere to Constance goes out of the lake and keepes on his course of a hundred and fortie German leagues, vntill he disgorgeth himselfe into the Ocean of Holland. This Lake is called of *Ammian Marcellinus*, *Lacus Brigantiæ*, or *Brigantius*, which some translate, the Lake of Brægentz, and is described at large by him. It is called also Podamicus, and Brigantinus, because of some ancient people thereabout named Brigantini, of whom *Bodin* thinkes the name of Brigands is deriued, as the Assassins come of those people of Persia mentioned in the ancient Historie, that would venter to kill most traiterously the great lords that went from these parts to make war beyond the seas, as *Paulus Æmilius* in his Historie of France, and others doe make mention.

Lib. 15. of his Historie.

In his Meth. of histories.

Lib. 7.

The renowmed Lake Lemanus, reaching from Geneua vnto the parts about the countrey of Valay, being seuenteene leagues in length or thereabouts, and foure or fiue broad in some places, verie deepe, exceeding faire, hauing store of

good

good fish, encompassed with a number of townes, is briefely described by *Solinus* and *Ammian Marcellinus*. The Rhosne, a verie swift riuer, but faire, falling from the Apennine mountaines, and making many windings and turning by the countrey of Valay, passeth thorow this Lake in length, out of which it goeth foorth at the hauen of Geneua where the Lake ends on the West; and running with a crinkeling course so far as Lions, holdeth on his race (to the great commoditie of the countrey) till he haue passed thorow Daulphiney, and so yeelds himselfe beneath Arles in Prouance into the Mediterranean or Mid-land sea. This is worth the noting in the Leman Lake (surnamed the Lake of Geneua, or of Lausanna) that he swels greatly in the moneth of Iuly (and the Rhosne likewise) as well at his entring in, as at his going foorth: and (contrariwise) is low in winter: which yeeldeth matter of much diuers dispute.

Cap. 8. *Lib.* 15.

By this that we haue said it appeareth, That many Lakes seeme to be (as it were) the receptacles and the bridles of impetuous and violent riuers which are there asswaged, till hauing gathered new force, and entring againe into their owne beds and chanels, they continue their course to the last. But of this there is one strange exception in the Lake of Palæstina, called of some Asphaltites, but most commonly, the dead Sea: For it doth not onely take in, but also holdeth still the famous riuer Iordan; as *Cornelius Tacitus* obserueth, and setteth downe in these tearmes; *In Palæstina is Libanus, a high mountaine the which (a verie strange thing) in the extreame heates of that countrey affoordeth woods for shadow, and shelter for snowes. The same breedeth and sendeth foorth the riuer Iordan, which goeth not out into the sea; but hauing run thorow two Lakes, is arrested by a third, verie spatious like a sea; the water whereof is stinking, and the stinke pestiferous to the neighbouring inhabitants: it is not stirred with the windes, nor endures any fish or fowle. What is cast vpon the water flotes, and sinkes not: so that he which cannot swim is borne vp, as well as he that can. At a certaine time of the yeare it foameth vp a kinde of thicke matter called Bitume, which experience hath taught to gather and put in vse, as other things.* To this testimonie of *Tacitus*, let vs annex that of *Iustin* the Historian. *In this countrey* (saith he) *there is a Lake, the which for his greatnesse, and because it neuer fleets, is called the dead Sea; for it is no whit stirred with windes, the bitume (wherewith the water is couered) withstanding their force. It carrieth no boats, all things without life sinking downe so soone as they are laid vpon it, and beareth nothing if it be not ouerlaid and pitcht with allum.* But whereas *Tacitus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others say, That this Lake beareth vp that which is cast into it, it is otherwise, as I haue vnderstood by some: and *Theuet* (among the moderne Authors) writeth, That he saw some Arabians throw an asse into this dead Sea, and the asse with his pannell sunke to the bottome, and was neuer seene after.

Lib. 5. of his Histories.

Lib. 36.

Lib. 19.

In his Cosmographie.

But to come again to our Meditation: Either that which is disgorged into this dead sea must needs be swallowed vp by the sands of Arabia the desert which is hard by, or the said sea must haue certaine caues and conduits, into which the water of Iordan and of the other riuers is gathered, to run vnder the ground, and to come foorth againe some other where, as they write of the Mare Caspium or Hircanian sea, called of some The great Lake of the world: Into which an infinite number of riuers doe run, and therein make (as it were) their *Randezvous*; but non can tell (for truth) where all these waters goe and discharge themselues, for there is not any issue to be seene. For this cause the Spaniards haue giuen the name of the Caspian sea, to a marueilous great Lake in the Island Hispagnola, because a great number of huge riuers run into it, of which none are seene to goe foorth againe: The Indians call it Haneygaban. *Paulus Iouius* writeth

*Lib.*14. teth of the Caspian sea these words; *It hath no issue or vent that one can perceiue, but in all likelihood is swallowed vp of some gulfes vnder-ground: a wonderfull thing! That so many riuers as run in thither cannot make it ouerflow, nor grow nor wax sweet. Stretching it selfe from the South towards the North ouall-wise, it sheweth as great as the Euxine* *Lib.*5. *sea, if the fen Mæotis now called Zabacca were taken from it.* That which *Strabo* writeth of the Lake Fucinus is worthie to be remembred: to wit, That by times it swels vp to the verie mountaines, and then at other times it so decreaseth, that the places of the countrey which it had ouerflowne are all drie, in so much as men plow there, and till and sow the ground, and reape the fruits thereof. This commeth by the euacuating of the water through certaine conduits vnder-ground: and afterwards, the springs meet againe, and returne, and driue one another forward, as we read it hapneth to the riuer Amenan, passing by Catana in Sicilia, which being vanished away for some yeares, appeareth againe, and runs and flowes as before.

No lesse wonderfull is that which is reported of a Lake in Carniola, which in old times was called Lugeum, but now the Lake of Gyrcknitz, of a little citie hard by so called. *Ortelius* hath drawne it most finely, and described it as well, In his Theater. after *Lazius* and *Vuernerus*, as followeth: *This Place (for so I tearme it, not knowing well whether I should call it a Lake, Mere, or Field) yeeldeth euerie yeare to the inhabitants of the countrey corne, fish, and venison. It is enuironed of euerie side with mountaines, and for a league and halfe is more long than broad. In most places it is eighteene cubits deepe; where it is least, it is of a mans height. Out of the mountaines that inclose it, run certaine riuers euerie one in his chanel: out of the East three, and foure out of the South. The farther that any of them run the lesse water they haue, which sinkes into the ground; vntill at the last these waters are swallowed into certaine stone ditches, so made by nature, that one would thinke they were hewen by mans hand. These ditches when they are so full that they can receiue no more, beat back both those waters that come, and those alreadie receiued, with such swiftnesse, that a horse-man though neuer so nimble, hath much adoe to saue himselfe from this back-water when it once begins to run. Then these waters spread themselues ouer all that space of a league and halfe, and so make a Lake. But within a while after, they depart againe, as swiftly as they came, and that not onely by those ditches of stone, but by falling into the ground, thorow which they passe as if they were powred thorow a siue. Which the inhabitants seeing, who watch when the waters begin to goe away, they run and stop (so well as they can) the greater passages and conduits, and then in troupes fall to fishing which they find not onely pleasant, but also verie rich, for they salt the fish, and make good returnes of it in the neighbouring places. The Lake being dried, they till the ground, and sow such places as were not sowne before. In the places alreadie sowne the corne ripens, and they fall to haruest, the land being so good, that within three weekes after the water is gone, they cut their corne. Who will not reuerence the wonderfull power of God in his workes?*

CHAP. III.

Notable Obseruations touching Treasures.

I Once knew a gentleman, who in the war of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth against the protestant princes, to saue his wealth from the hands of pilferers, turned the course of a riuer that was hard by his castle, and in the channell thereof made a deepe pit, wherein he hid his wealth and substance of worth, thinking it the safest and secretest place that was in the world. Which hauing done, he retired into a place of strength, taking with him all those that he thought

thought were priuie to the hiding of his treasure. But the Spaniards had so good noses, that either by coniuration, or some other deuise, they discouered the cash, and hauing turned the riuer, drew foorth of the pit all that was lockt vp within it. With the like hap were other Spaniards accompanied in the discouerie of the treasures hid in Comagra, an Isle of the West Indies: for when one of the Cacicks of that Ile, named *Comaco*, had hid in a place that was full of canes and reeds great store of hangings and couerings, certaine vessels of earth and of wood, more than two thousand and fiue hundred pounds of wrought gold, thinking to saue it from the hooking hands of the Spaniards, they constrained the Indians that they had taken prisoners to discouer all, by meanes of cruell tortures they put them to. The like hapned to the Turkes after the taking of Constantinople: where they found so much treasure old and new, that the value thereof was inestimable: whereupon *Leonard de Scio* crieth out (and with good cause) *Poore, miserable, and vnhappie Grecians that counterfeit pouertie! The treasures that you would not employ to saue the citie, are now apparant and in open view to your confusion.* *Temir*, or *Tamerlan* the Scythian, commonly called the Whip or Wrath of God, deuised a notable tricke to hooke and hedge in the treasures and wealth of the people of Asia. When all the world was in alarme, because of the terrible power and good successe of this great warriour, who knew it well ynough, and therefore was afraid that the terrour of his armies would make all men hide in as secret places as they could, their precious stones, iewels, gold, siluer, and such curious moueables as might easily be shut vp and conueyed away; he dispatched certaine souldiers of his in the habit of Marchants, to goe to the remotest and richest cities, with camels laden with rich boot that could not so fitly bee hidden, enioyning them to sell all at a low rate, to the end that the cheapnesse might prouoke the Asians to buy, and so to part from their siluer before, they hid it in the earth, or else to draw it out againe, if they had hidden any, seeing so great gaine in the buying of that boot. Which done, he came vpon those cities with such celeritie, that they could haue no leasure to hide that which had been sold them a little before: by which secret sleight, without any great adoe, he pilfered the Asians of all that they had both open and in secret. Although too much greedinesse and rapine caried him to such violent courses, yet on the other side there is great commendation of his temperance and iustice. One day as he was in Syria, a Plow-man made his appearance before him, who, as he was holding the plough, had found a great pot full of peeces of gold: as they that stood about *Tamerlan* maintained that this treasure belonged to him, he commaunded some of his people to looke vpon the peeces; and then asking them If the coyne were of his fathers stampe or no, and they answering him that it was Roman money; Why then (quoth he) seeing it is not the coyne of my predecessors, let the plow-man haue it, to whom God hath giuen the same.

That wee may not digresse too farre; in times past such cashes vnder riuers haue been found out by those who haue curiously sought for them. To compare great things with small, the Emperour *Traian* found the treasures which *Decebalus* king of Dacia had hid not farre from his palace, vnder the current of a riuer called Sargetia. The king with the helpe of some prisoners had turned the course of this riuer, and then causing a hole to be made in the chanell, hid therein a very great summe of gold and siluer coynd, with many other precious things, and certaine liquors of great worth, that they might be preserued there. When euery thing was set in order, he put them to death that knew ought of the same, to the end that none might bewray it: but a certaine prisoner named *Biculis*, that had

Benzo li. 1. c. 20.

In his discourse of the taking of Constantinople.

Dion in the life of Traian.

had some inkling of it, reuealed all to the Emperour. Thus writeth *Dio.* Therefore wee reade in the old Inscriptions in Marble, this that followeth touching such a discouerie:

IOVI INVENTORI DITI PATRI TERRÆ MATRI DETECTIS DACIÆ THESAVRIS CÆSAR NERVA TRAIANVS AVG. SAC. P.

Iornandes in his history of the Goths.

The Goths after the decease of their king *Alaric*, who died at Consensa in Calabria, made some such secret hidings, and to prouide that the Italians might not find out his place of buriall, and least they should (in reuenge of the wrongs hee had done them) spoyle and ouerthrow all, they bethought them of a bold enterprise: For with great labour of men they turned the riuer called Buseus, which passeth through the citie, and in the midst of the channell digged a graue, where they laid the bodie with many rich iewels, and after let the riuer returne againe to his former bed, and for feare least the place should bee reuealed and made knowne, they kild all the prisoners that might haue any notion thereof. *Pandolphus Collenuchio* reporteth the same storie. *Nero* suffering himselfe to bee caried away by the report of a base fellow, dreamed of great treasures in Lybia, but he found them not: contrariwise, because of his vaine seeking for them, he was alwayes after accounted a man of small iudgement, and altogether miserable. *Suetonius* saith something of it, but it is more grauely set downe by *Cornelius Tacitus* in these tearmes: *After this, fortune began to delude* Nero, *through his owne vanitie, taking hold of a promise made by* Cesellius Bassus, *who being an African borne, and busie-headed, built an assured hope vpon the shadow of a dreame which hee had in the night. And being come to Rome, and hauing bought accesse to the prince, he telleth That there was a caue found in a field of his of a huge depth, wherein was contained a great quantitie of gold, not coyned, but in masse, both rude and old: for there lay very heauie brickes on the one side, and on the other, pillars standing vpright: all which had layne hid so many yeares to encrease the wealth of the present time: And as coniecture doth shew,* Dido *the Phenissian fleeing from Tyrus after shee had built Carthage, hid that treasure there, least the new people with ouer great wealth should become wanton and riotous, or the kings of the Numidians being otherwise their enemies, for greedinesse of their golde, should be incensed to make warre against them. Whereupon* Nero, *neither well assured of the credit of the Authour, nor certaintie of the businesse, nor yet hauing sent any to view and learne whether a truth was reported; of himselfe increaseth the rumour, and sendeth some to bring it away as a prey alreadie gotten. Galleyes and choise vessels were appointed to hasten the matter: the people (for all that time) through the credulousnesse of the discouerer, talked of no other thing but of that treasure, though not reporting of it all alike. Withall it so fell out, that the Quinquennall pastime being represented euery fift yeare, was then the second time celebrated: wherein this treasure ministred to the Orators their chiefest subiect to commend the prince; saying, That the earth was not content to bring foorth her vsuall fruits onely, nor gold mingled with other mettals, but a new store, and that the gods presented wealth in all abundance; and many other things with great eloquence, and no lesse seruile and base flatterie they fained, being assured of easie beleefe in the hearer. In the meane time riotousnesse grew greater by vaine hope, and the old wealth was consumed, as though new were offered that might serue to wast prodigally many yeares: yea, and largesses were alreadie giuen out of it; and the expectation of riches was in part a cause of the publike pouertie. For* Bassus *hauing digged his owne ground, and other large fields round about, auouching boldly this or that to be the place of the promised caue: and not onely followed with souldiers, but the countrey people, being also taken vp to further the worke, leauing at length his giddie humour, and marueiling that his dreames neuer prooued false before, he was then so foulely deceiued, to be rid of shame and feare, hee killed himselfe. Some haue*

Lib. 2. of the hist. of Naples.

Lib. 16. of his Annals.

haue reported, that he was impriſoned, and preſently againe enlarged, his goods firſt ſeazed to the princes treaſure. Thus writeth *Tacitus.*

Richard King of England (ſurnamed *Cordelion*, becauſe of his valour) was yet more vnhappie, in that he offered to take away by force from a gentleman certaine treaſure found vpon his land. This gentleman hauing retired himſelfe with his treaſure into a citie of Limoſin called Caulac, or Chalon, was there beſieged and aſſaulted by *Richard*, who was ſhot by one from within the towne into the right arme with a poyſoned arrow, of which, hauing not ſought remedie betimes, he died ſoone after. The Annals of France ſay, That in this treaſure were the ſtatues of an Emperour, his wife, his ſonnes and daughters, of ſuch heigth and bigneſſe as they were of when they liued, being made as if they were ſitting at the table, all of pure maſſie gold, their names, and the yeare when all was caſt, being therein mentioned. *Tiberius* an Emperour of Greece had good hap to find treaſures: Hee ſeeing that many as they paſſed by a Croſſe, would euer go of the vpper ſide thereof, led with deuotion, commanded that this croſſe ſhould be taken away and ſet in ſome other place: They that were taking it vp, found vnderneath (beyond all hope or expectation) very rich treaſure: he found beſides, the huge wealth of *Narſes*, which he had hid in his houſe a little before he died, hauing k[illed] all thoſe that knew any thing thereof, ſaue a young child whom he made to giue his promiſe with many oathes and execrations, that hee ſhould neuer ſpeake word of it to any bodie. But when this child was growne old, and long after the deceaſe of *Narſes*, he reuealed the matter to *Tiberius*, who found in the place an incredible maſſe of gold and ſiluer. That alſo is very ſtrange which *Aimonius* reporteth (being alſo obſerued by *Paradin* in his heroicall deuiſes (of *Gontran* king of Burgundie, who dreaming vpon a time that hee found treaſure hid in a caue within a certaine mountaine; being awaked, ſent ſome to dig in the ſame place, and there found it. *Wierus* maketh mention thereof, and diſcourſeth learnedly how it could be: and alſo thinketh, that ſome ſuch thing befell *Henrie* Archbiſhop of Rheims, by report of the Frier *Helinandus*. No leſſe memorable is that which hapned in Apulia about the yeare one thouſand and ſixtie, in the time of *Robert Guiſcard*, Prince of Calabria, Apulia, and the Iſles adiacent, by report of a Hiſtorian, namely *Pandolphus Collenuchio*: There was found at that time a ſtatue of Marble, hauing about the head a circle of braſſe, with this inſcription; CALENDIS MAII, ORIENTE SOLE, AVREVM CAPVT HABEBO, That is to ſay, *The firſt day of May, at Sunne-riſing, I ſhall haue a golden head.* There was not any found that could declare this riddle: at laſt a Saraſin then priſoner, put himſelfe forwards, and offered to expound the Inſcription, ſo as they would promiſe he ſhould be ſet at full libertie. The prince aſſuring him of it, and the firſt day of May being come, at the riſing of the Sunne, the Saraſin obſerued the ſhadow of the circle that was about the head of this image, and in the ſame place where the ſhadow was, made them to dig: which they did, and when they were come very deepe, found innumerable treaſure; which came in good ſeaſon to the prince, for it ſerued to defray great charges in the warres which he made at the ſame time: and the Saraſin, beſides the grant of his libertie (which he preferred before all other things) was bountifully rewarded of the prince with many rich gifts.

Neither may we forget that which chanced in our time at Nicaragna in the Weſt Indies, by the report of *Benzo*: Some eight leagues and halfe off a village (or row of cabins) which the Spaniards haue named Leon, there is a certaine mountaine, and on the top thereof a marueilous great hole, at the which there

Du Haillan lib. 9. of the life of Philip Auguſtus

Paul. Diacon. Lib. 3. cap. 6.

Lib. 3. of the hiſtorie of France.

In Apologet.

Lib. 3. of the hiſtorie of Naples.

In his hiſtorie of the new world. *li. 2. c. 16.*

come foorth such flames of fire, that the brightnesse of it is seene in the night more than fiue and twentie leagues off. There were that thought it was some veine of molten gold that caused and kept in this fire, whereupon a Iacobin frier would needs make proofe of it. He therefore caused a chaine to be forged, and at the end thereof tied a bucket of iron, and so got him to the place accompanied with foure other Spaniards; being come thither, they let down the bucket into the hole by the chaine, but the bucket and some of the rings of the chaine were molten off and staied behinde. The frier being in a great chafe returnes to Leon with his companie, and blames the smith for that he had made the chaine too small; the smith presently falls to worke againe, and makes another chaine much greater than the former, wherewith the frier and his fellowes goe againe to the mountaine, and let downe the chaine furnished with another bucket, as they had done afore. But they sped as ill, or worse than at the other time: for vpon the casting in of the bucket there came foorth of the hole such a great flake of fire, that the frier and the rest had like to haue laine by it, and they might well account it the greatest good hap they euer had to escape with their liues. But they were so sore affrighted as they had no desire to stir the coales any more, but got them home with shame inough, and would neuer say any thing either of chaine, bucket, or treasure. *Gomara* calleth this mountaine Masaia, and the Iacobin *Blaise de Ynnesta*, and then addeth, That this new *Empedocles* and two Spaniards with him couetous to know what it was, made themselues to be let downe in three baskets some fadomes within this furnace of *Vulcan*, carrying the bucket tied to an iron chaine, which they let downe to the bottome the length of seauen score fadome: but so soone as it felt the fire, it melted off, with some rings of the chaine, wherewith the frier and his fellowes afraid made themselues quickly be drawne vp, hauing lost their labour, their time, and their charges.

There haue beene many in times past (and so there are still at this day) who blinded with couetousnesse and hope of gaine, helpe themselues with magick and other detestable meanes, to discouer and draw either to themselues or to some others, the treasures that are hid in the earth: a thing that hath seldome had successe, sometimes wretched ends: whereof we haue a memorable example recited by *Wierus* after some others. In the yeare 1530. the wicked spirit shewed to a priest within a Crystall, certaine treasures hid in a place neere to the citie of Noremberg. This priest accompanied with a friend of his hauing digged in the place that was shewed him, found in the bottome of a caue, a coffer kept by a black dog that was lying by it. As he would haue gone into this caue, he was there kild, and the earth falling downe dam'd vp all the hole as it was before. A strange and pitifull thing to see the great folly and blindnesse of men, who, to heape vp riches that suddenly passe away, precipitate and cast themselues headlong into so many miseries, and euident ruines both of their bodies and of their soules. This wicked spirit (to whom the magicians attribute the keeping of treasures, and whom they know and obserue by his proper name) is worshipped of them like a mightie king, and hath vnder his leading (by their account) threescore and twelue legions of other wicked spirits. When he charmeth the eies of the magicians, he appeareth vnto them in a terrible shape which may not here be described, nor yet the exorcismes, circles, caracters, images and figures, which the execrable curiositie of magicians doth vse to discouer hidden treasures with apparant danger, and yet most commonly in vaine. This that we haue touched, plainely sheweth the efficacie of error that is permitted

Lib. 2. cap. 4. of the Deceit of deuils.

mitted to Sathan and his Angels, the louers of lying and deceit, delighting in nothing but horrible villanies and murthers, deteined in darkenesse and bound with terrible chaines of obscuritie, to surprise and deceiue most wretchedly curious, profane, and wicked soules. But Iesus Christ, the Sonne of God, came into the world to defeate and bring to nought the workes of these wicked spirits.

For the rest, *Bodin* makes a long discourse vpon this point; to wit, Whither magicians by their skill (or rather illusions) can purchase to men the good will and loue of others, beautie, pleasures, honours, riches, skill, abundance of wordly wealth? and after all saith thus: *Touching riches, it is well knowne that there are great treasures hidden, and that Sathan is not ignorant of the places where the same lie: neuertheless there was neuer any Sorcerer that got the worth of a crowne by his occupation, as they themselues confesse. We see commonly, that the rich who make themselues sorcerers, thereby to grow more rich, fall into pouertie; and they that are poore, liue beggars all their life. Also it is certaine, that riches are called in the Scripture, Blessings; because it is God that giueth them. So* Iacob *said to his brother* Esau, *Take of the blessing that God hath giuen me (when he presented him with the droues of beasts which he had honestly gotten by the fauour of God.) But why doth not Sathan impart some of his treasures hid in the earth, among his slaues, but lets them starue with hunger, and beg their liuing miserably? We must needs say, that God will haue it so, and that the deuill hath not the power to doe it, for by such meanes he might (peraduenture) draw many men to his bent.* Let vs adde hereto that which Saint *Luke* writeth, speaking of Saint *Paul* and *Barnabas* who confuted the idolatrie of their time. They (to diuert the Gentiles from the seruice of Idols, and of men, whom they worshipped as gods, and relied vpon their fauour for wealth and abundance of all good things; and to persuade them that they should worship the onely true God creator and giuer of all good things) spake to the Iconians as followeth: *O men, why doe ye these things? we are euen men subiect to the like passions that ye be, and preach vnto you that ye should turne from these vaine idols vnto the liuing God, which made heauen and earth, and the sea, and all things that in them are: who in times past suffred all the Gentiles to walke in their owne waies. Neuertheless he left not himselfe without witnesse, in that he did good, and gaue vs raine from heauen, and fruitfull seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladnesse.* We must therefore giue thankes to this so bountifull a God, for so many good things that he giueth, and not aske them of any other, nor procure them by vnlawfull meanes. To the same purpose another writer saith, That although wicked spirits promise riches and honours to men, yet of themselues they cannot giue the value of a rush: They haue not any thing at their commandement, but make shew of illusions to their seruants, who thinke the same to be sound and diuine. But we haue shewed by many examples and reasons, that gold and siluer and other such riches are in the hands of God, who bestoweth them where, and to whom, and when he thinketh good. The Prophet *Haggei* bringeth in the Lord to say, *The siluer is mine, and the gold is mine saith the Lord of Hosts.* And God saith by *Esay* to king *Cyrus, I will giue thee the hidden treasures, and the riches that are kept most secretly.* Briefely, the holy Scriptures confirme this point vnto vs in so many places, as we need make no doubt thereof.

Lib. 3. *cap.* 3. of his *Dæmonomania.*

Genes. 33.

Act. 14, 15, 16, *&c.*

Psellus in his Tract of deuills.

Cap. 2. 8.

Cap. 45. 3.

CHAP. IV.

Notable and strange Robberies. Of the Treasure of Venice.

Lib.1.cap.15.

Here is a certaine French booke set foorth in our time (entituled *An Introduction to the treatise of the conformitie of ancient wonders, with moderne,&c.*) in the which many notable pilferings are related, and some of them (to my seeming) almost incredible, as well for the bold parts, as the cunning tricks of the theeues. I will here set downe some of them, as they are found there. In the time of king *Francis* the first of that name, a certaine theefe apparelled like a gentleman, as he was diuing into a great pouch which *Iohn* Cardinall of Lorraine had hanging by his side, was espied of the king, being at masse, and standing right ouer against the Cardinall; the theefe perceiuing himselfe spied, held vp his finger to the king, making a signe that he should say nothing and he should see good sport. The king glad of such meriment towards, and that he should haue cause to laugh, let him alone: and within a while after comming to the Cardinall, tooke occasion in talking with him, to make the Cardinall goe to his pouch: who missing what he had put therein, begins to wonder, but the king who had seene the play, was as merrie on the otherside. But after the king had well laught, he would gladly that the Cardinall should haue had againe what was taken from him, as indeed he made account that the meaning of the taker was: but whereas the king thought that he was an honest gentleman, and of some account, in that he shewed himselfe so resolute, and held his countenance so well; experience shewed that he was a most cunning thiefe, gentleman-like, that meant not to iest, but making as if he iested was in good earnest. Then the Cardinall turned all the laughter against the king who vsing his wonted oth, swore by the faith of a gentleman, That it was the first time that euer a theefe had made him his companion: the other theeuish trick was plaid in the presence of the Emperour *Charles* the fift. He vpon a day commanding a remooue, while euerie man was busied in putting vp his stuffe, there entred a good fellow into the hall where the Emperour then was, being meanely accompanied and readie to take horse: this theefe hauing made a great reuerence, presently went about the taking downe of the hangings, making great hast as if he had much businesse to doe; and though it was not his profession to set vp and take downe hangings, yet he went about it so nimbly, that he whose charge it was to take them downe, comming to doe it found that some bodie had alreadie eased him of that labour, and (which was worse) of carrying them away. But the boldnesse of an Italian theefe was as great, who plaied this part at Rome in the time of Pope *Paul* the third. A certaine Cardinall hauing made a great feast in his house, and the siluer vessels being lockt vp in a trunke that stood in a chamber next to the hall where the feast had beene, whilst many were sitting and walking in this chamber wayting for their masters, there came a man in with a torch carried before him, bearing the countenance of the steward and hauing a iacket on, who praied those that sate on the trunke to rise vp from it because he was to vse the same; which they hauing done, he made it be taken vp by certaine porters that followed him in, and went cleane away with it. And this was done, while the steward and all the seruants of the house were at supper.

In the same chapter there be other strange and notable tales of diuers theeueries: but it sufficeth to haue pickt out these three which I take for the most memo-

memorable among them: I will here adde a fourth, which seemeth incredible, and excelleth all the rest for valour and boldnesse. *Sabellicus* setteth it downe with all the circumstances, and it is thus: A certaine Candiot called *Stamat*, being at Venice when the treasure was shewed in kindnesse to the duke of Ferrara, entred into the chappell so boldly, that hee was taken for one of the dukes domesticall seruants: and wondering at so much wealth, in stead of contenting himselfe with the sight, he resolued from thence-forward to commit some notable peece of theeuerie. Saint *Marks* Church guilded with pure gold very neere all ouer, is built at the bottom round about within and without with peeces or tables of marble. This Grecian theefe marueilous cunning and nimble, deuised to take out finely by night one of the tables or stones of marble against that place of the Church where the Altar stands, called The childrens Altar, thereby to make himselfe an entrance to the treasure: and hauing laboured a night, because the wall could not in that time bee wrought through, he laid the stone handsomely into his place againe, and fitted it so well, as no man could perceiue any shew of opening it at all; as for the stones and rubbish that he tooke out of the wall, he caried it all away so nimbly and so cleanly, and all before day, that he was neuer discouered. Hauing wrought thus many nights, hee got at length to the treasure, and began to carie away much riches of diuers kinds. I did once see this treasure, and wondred at it, being admitted among the traine of the Ambassador of *Fredericke* the Emperor. For besides an infinite number of precious stones set in worke, I saw there twelue crownes, and as many brest-plates of gold, set with an innumerable sort of jems, whose brightnesse would haue dazled the eyes both of the bodie and of the mind: moreouer, pots of Aggat and other stones of price, the eares exceeding highly esteemed because of their value: also, shrines, candlesticks, and many other implements for Altars, which were not only of pure gold, but also garnished with so many stones of worth, that the gold was nothing in comparison thereof. I speake not of the Vnicornes horne, which is infinitely estimated, nor the dukes crowne, nor the other peeces of exquisit worke, which this Greeke had caried away all by leasure. But (as it is commonly said) Adulterie and Theft was neuer long time hid; and because this fault could not be so soone discouered, it so fell out that the Author thereof laid it open, and the theefe bewraied himselfe. He had a compeere in the citie, a gentleman of the same Isle of Candie, called *Zacharias Grio*, an honest man, and of a good conscience. *Stamat* one day taking him aside neere to the Altar, and drawing a promise from him, that hee should keepe secret that which he would tell him, discouered from the beginning to the end all that he had done: and then carries him to his house, where he shewes him the inestimable riches he had stollen. The gentleman being vertuous and conscionable, stood amazed at the sight, and quaking at the horror of the offence, began to reele, and could no longer stand. Whereupon *Stamat* (as they say) like a desperat villaine, was about to haue kild him in the place, and as his will of doing it increased, *Grio* mistrusting him, stayed the blow, by saying, that the extreame ioy which hee conceiued in seeing so many precious things, of which he neuer thought to haue had any part, had made him (as it were) besides himselfe. *Stamat* content with that excuse, let him alone: of the other side, *Grio* receiued in gift of him a precious stone, & of exceeding great value, and is the same that is now worne in the fore-part of the dukes crowne. So, making as if he had some weightie matter to dispatch, forth he goes of the house, and hies him to the palace, where hauing obtained accesse to the duke, he reuealeth all the matter, saying withall, that there needed expedition, otherwise

In the third Decad, *lib.* 6. of the historie of Venice.

» otherwise *Stamat* might rouse himselfe, looke about him, disguise himselfe, shift
» lodging, or saue himselfe otherwayes with the best of his bootie. To giue the
» more credit to his words, he drew forth of his bosome the precious stone that
» had been giuen him: which seene, some were sent away with all speed to the
» house, who laid hold of *Stamat*, and all that he had stollen, amounting to the va-
» lue of two millions of gold, nothing thereof being (as yet) remoued. So he was
» hanged betweene two pillars; and the Informer (besides a rich recompence
» which he at that time receiued) had an yearely pension out of the publike trea-
» surie, for so long time as he liued.

Lib. 8. of his hist. of Venice, & 14.

Petrus Iustinianus reciteth the same storie after *Sabellicus*, and withall setteth downe another of our time that fell out in the same citie of Venice. A Neapolitan found meanes with counterfeit keyes, to vnlocke the common Treasurers chamber, and the yron chests that were therein, full of the common treasure, and caried away eight thousand crownes. But within few dayes hee was taken, and by sentence of the Tenne, after hee had his right hand cut off, was hanged at an high gibbet set vp of purpose in the place called the Realte, neere to which the robberie had beene done. To the aforesaid description of the treasure of Venice set downe by *Sabellicus*, I thinke not amisse to annex that which *Philip de Commines* a witnesse worthie to be credited, reporteth to haue himselfe seene.

Lib. 2. of the war of Naples.

There is at Venice, saith he, *Saint* Markes *Church, one of the faireſt, and beſt furniſht that a man ſhall ſee; in it lies the Treaſure ſo much ſpoken of all the world ouer: the ſame conſiſteth of certaine very rich Ornaments of that Church, of Pearles in number foureteene, not poliſhed; twelue golden Crownes, with which in times paſt they vſed to decke and ſet foorth twelue women. But on a day as they were ſolemnizing that pompe, it happened that certaine Theeues tooke and caried away thoſe women with their crownes, who being afterwards reſcued and recouered, their husbands gaue and dedicated theſe crownes to Saint* Marke, *and built a Chappell, into which the Lords of the Councell enter once euerie yeare, namely, the day of the recouerie of the women.* In a little Italian booke setting out the memorable things of Venice, wee read that among the riches of this Treasure, there is also the Dukes Cap, made not long ago, which is estimated at aboue two hundred thousand crownes. This treasure hath been made vp into such a heape, partly by the spoile of Constantinople, at such time as the French and the Venetians ouercame it, and of other cities conquered: and partly by presents giuen to that Common-wealth by diuers princes. There be some that tell an old fable, That this treasure was brought to Venice by foure rich Marchants, two of which thinking it vnfit the treasure should haue so many owners, resolued to poison the other two: which two (not knowing the determination of their companions) purposed the same likewise of their part; so that they were poisoned all foure, and died without heires: whereupon the Seigniorie of Venice seazed on all the wealth which they had left; and this (they say) is signified by the foure Images of Porphirie that stand by the great gate of the common palace, embracing one another. This the Author of that little booke saith. This treasure they vse to set out at shew euery yeare at certaine solemne feasts, vpon the great Altar in S. *Markes* Church: and I doe not thinke that in all those countries which we call Christendome, there is any so rich; although that of S. *Denys* in France be very faire, marueilous rare, and of great value.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the stone called Phengites. Also, of the strange agilitie and nimblenesse of some.

WHen the Emperour makes his entrance into the Imperiall cities, the custome is, that the Deputies of the same cities in kindnesse, and for congratulation of his comming, present him with certaine gifts; as in old time the prouinces offered to the Consuls, or Proconsuls, a certaine present called *Honorarium*, which was not required as a thing due, but accepted as a matter of kindnesse. These gifts are most commonly great cups of gold, or other vessels curiously wrought, and of great value, filled sometimes with peeces of gold, stamped with the marke of the cities that haue the priuiledge to coyne money. It hath been told me by a great and worthie man, that in one of the chiefe cities of Germanie, such honourable presents being giuen to the Emperour *Maximilian* the first in the presence of some of his greatest fauourites, they were left in his chamber, and set vpon the cup-boord euen as they were presented vnto him: at which time in the streets some pleasant pastimes and shewes were made to delight the emperor with, and to honour him the more; which all the Courtiers were earnestly set to looke vpon, hauing taken vp all the windowes of the Emperours chamber, that they might see with the better ease. One of the Emperors greatest familiars, thinking his lord and master would be as busie in beholding the sports as the rest, (making as though hee left his place in kindnesse to a greater man that stood by him) withdrawes himselfe backe into the chamber by the cup-boord, and seeing all was cleere, puts his hand into the cup that was giuen, and takes out a handfull of gold, and puts it vp into his pouch, assuring himselfe that no bodie saw him. But the Emperour who seemed as if hee thought of nothing but of the shewes, tooke heed to some thing else; for hee wore on his finger a ring set with a certaine stone, which would shew all that was done behind him: wherefore casting his eye vpon it, hee looked where one would not thinke he did. The pastimes ended, as the Courtiers were standing in the chamber, waiting what the Emperour would say, he called him that had fingred part of the present, bidding him to put his hand into the cup, and to take out as much as he could of that was in it. The theefe not knowing whereto such largesse tended, and confounded with the sting of a guiltie conscience, tooke but a very few of the peeces; which hauing done, the Emperour willed him to tell them: while all the rest waited very attentiuely, not knowing what this ceremonie tended to, and thinking these peeces should bee distributed among them all: the Emperour smiling said to the theefe, Draw mee out the other peeces that thou didst put vp into thy pouch ere while, that I may see whether thou didst gripe more then, or now. The poore soule confounded with that word, and taken in the pit-fall, begins to mumble, and to frame some excuses and praiers, and in the end empties his bag vpon the table, and tels before them all the peeces of gold hee had put vp. The number of which being farre greater than those he tooke the second time; the Emperor said vnto him, Take all these peeces to thee, to defray the charges of thy iourney, and be gone, and take heed thou neuer come any more in my sight. Thus the Courtier was banished the court with shame ynough. But no man need maruell that there are rings made with such art, that by helpe of them a man may see that which is done behind him; for in times past walles were built wherein such mirrours were set. *Suetonius* saith,

saith, That *Domitian* alwaies fearefull of some treason, caused the walles of the galleries where hee vsed to walke, to be garnished with the stone called Phengites, to the end that by the light thereof he might see all that was done behind him. At Venice, there are rings sold at this day, which doe not onely serue for looking-glasses; but also by meanes of them a man may see all that is done behind his backe.

But to returne to the other part of our Meditation; I haue seene oft-times, with wondering, in the prince of Bamberg his court, a certain peisant of Germanie, nourished and brought vp (as himselfe auouched) in the mountaines thereby among beasts: who was so actiue and nimble of his bodie, that all that saw him in his motions and tumbling tricks were amased, and thought he vsed enchantments, which yet I doe not thinke he did. That which was most admirable in him, was, that he shewed his agilitie not standing, but walking vpon his feet and hands, like a dog or a cat. In the same court there was a dwarfe who would get vp vpon this peisant, as vpon a horse, making him turne and winde all manner of waies, as a rider would doe a Spanish jenet; but when the peisant listed, he would easily throw his dwarfe, for all that euer he could doe to sit fast. Sometimes he was baited with verie mightie mastiues, and with English dogs that the prince had: and by a certaine barking which he counterfeited naturally, and a furious snarling like a dog, would giue them the chase, and make them run apace out of the hall. That done, he would set himselfe to leape vpon his feet and hands, forwards and backwards with a nimblenesse incredible, and would scramble vp by the coines, towards the roofe of the hall faster than an ape could doe: albeit otherwise he was a rusticall fellow, heauie and of a grosse making. I saw him twice as I was at the princes table (after he had thrown his dwarfe, and driuen away all the dogs that were in the roome) leape vpon the shoulders of one of the guests, and from thence vpon the table, without ouer-turning dish or cup, and then cast himselfe with such a spring vpon the floore, that one would haue said it had beene a squirrell or some wild cat. He did vse to skip as fast from place to place vpon the tops of towres and of houses built point-wise, as our house-cats would doe: And so many other parts of a cat and an ape he plaied, that men would talke of his tricks in many places, as of a thing extraordinarily strange, and neuer heard of. I would not haue made any mention of him in this booke, if I had not seene with mine eies his tricks of actiuitie, and that there were not many persons yet aliue, worthie to be credited, that haue seene him. When I wrote this chapter the man was aliue in his owne house with his wife.

Lib. 44. We read the like of *Habides* sonne to *Gargoris* king of the Curetes. *Iustin* the Historian writeth of him thus. The Curetes dwelt in the forrests of the Cartheſians, in the which it is reportrd the *Titans* made war against the gods. One of their most ancient kings called *Gargoris* was the first that taught the meanes to gather honney. His daughter hauing suffred her selfe to be defiled, and being brought a bed of a sonne, he gaue order that whatsoeuer it should cost him, the little bastard that was such a dishonor to him, should be made away. But the child was still preserued by strange meanes, and at last (as it were in recompense of so many perills it had escaped) became king. First of all, *Gargoris* hauing commanded that it might be laid foorth in some solitarie place to be deuoured of wild beasts, the beasts suckled it. When it was brought back againe to the kings pallace, he made it be cast into a narrow way by which the great beasts vsed to returne from the fields, the cruell king chusing rather that his grand-child should

shouldbe trodden to death, than simply kild. The beastes not hauing touched him(but contrariwise he being there nourished abundantly with the milk of certaine goats and cowes) the king commaundeth him to bee throwne to hungrie dogs that kept a barking and baying for hunger; they not touching him neither, he is laid before swine, which doe also spare him, yea and the sowes suckle him. At the last,he sends him to bee cast into the sea, where the waues begin to beare him vp as in a cradle,and lay him softly vpon the shore opposite a farre off,where a Hynd finds him,and feeds him, preserues and brings him vp very tenderly, so that being growne somewhat great,he would runne swiftly like the Stags, with which he leaped and skipped in the mountaines. Finally, he was taken by a trap, and presented to *Gargoris*, who knew him to be his graund-child by the features of his face, and by markes that had been set vpon him when he was new borne: and wondering at his so many excellent deliuerances, he proclaimed him heire apparant to his crowne. Here we may infer that which *Solinus* reporteth of *Ladas*, who was so nimble-footed,and ran so speedily vpon the sand, that there appeared not any print of his feet: and of *Polymnestor*, a young Milesian lad, who being a shepheard,did for a wager ouertake a Hare in coursing. To these pleasant stories gathered out of profane Authors, we may adde serious ones and most certain. The Scriptures say, That *Hasael* the brother of *Ioab*, lieutenant of king *Dauids* armie, ran as fast as a wild Roe. And in the historicall Recuels of *Suidas*, there be strange things written of a Greeke, the words bee these: Vnder the Emperour *Leo* who succeeded *Marcian*,a certaine person named *Indacus* was very famous,a valiant man, of a good footmanship, strong of his left hand, and that would run faster than any other; one might see him at parting, but he vanished presently like lightning, seeming as if he flew ouer mountaines and steepe places,rather than ranne. It was affirmed, That hee could rid more way in one day (without being a whit wearie) than the best Post could haue done with so many horses of release as he could take, without staying in any place. When he had made in a day, much more way than a post could make with all his speed, the next day he returned to the place from whence he departed the day before,and went againe from thence the next day for some other place,and neuer left running, nor could stay in a place. The moderne Voiagers witnesse, That in the Ilands newly discouered in the West, many Americans are exceeding swift, in so much as they run after Stags, and ouertake them with fine running. Among others, *Peter Martyr*, Milanois, speaketh thereof as followeth: They say that in a part of a country called Zauana,in the prouince of Guaccaiarima, at the farthest end of the West,there are men that liue by the fruits which they gather in the forrests,being lodged in caues and grots of the mountaines, who were neuer tamed,and haue no conuersation with other men; they dwell sometimes heere, sometimes there,without tilling,sowing,or reaping, and haue no language that one can bring into art: they are seene sometimes; but no man can come neere them, for if they chance to shew themselues, and espie any man that is not of their sort comming towards them, they flie away faster than Stags; and such as haue seene of them,say,That the Hariers of France are but Tortoises in comparison of them.

Cap. 6.

2.*Sam.*2.*v.*18.

In his 3.Decad.*lib.*8.

To end this chapter, if that which we read in the additions to the historie of *Lambert* of Schafnabourg,touching the doings of the ancient Almaines,be true, there is somewhat which we may wonder at. In the yeare 1543, there was in the parts of Hesse, a lad taken, who (as hee reported afterwards, and so it was found true) when he was but three yeares old was taken away, and afterwards nourished

nouriſhed and brought vp by wolues. Theſe wolues when they got any prey, would alwaies bring the beſt of it to a tree, and giue it to the child, which did eat it: in winter and time of cold, they would dig a pit, and ſtrew it with graſſe and leaues of trees, and there-vpon lay the child, and lying round about it, preſerue him from the iniurie of the weather: after, they would make him goe vpon all foure, and run with them, till by vſe and length of time, he could skip and run like a wolfe; being taken, he was compelled by little and little to goe onely vpon his feet. He would often ſay, That if it had beene in his power, he could haue taken more delight to haue conuerſed among wolues, than among men: he was carried to the court of *Henrie* Lantgraue of Heſſe, to be ſeene. In that yeare the like caſe hapned in the Grange of Echtzell: for a boy of twelue yeares old following wolues in the next forreſt, was taken in the winter ſeaſon by ſome gentlemen that were hunting the wolfe. Who will not wonder at ſuch conuerſing betwixt creatures ſo differing? Neuertheleſſe cuſtome made it ſo agreeable and pleaſing, that this boy had rather be a companion to wolues than to men whom humanitie and inſtinct of nature ſhould aſſemble in troupes and companies. Theſe ſtories verifie this common ſaying, *That Cuſtome is a ſecond Nature, and ſometimes goeth beyond it*: the efficacie thereof being ſuch, that it maketh vs many times loue things naturally, harſh and vnpleaſant, ſo far foorth, that we take ſingular contentment in ſeeing and handling of the ſame.

CHAP. VI.

Subiects doe commonly follow the manners of their Princes.

I Haue obſerued in the court of the Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond (a verie good prince) That many great lords did not onely apparell themſelues with his collours, but alſo had the like veſſell and furniture that he vſed. The great ladies followed the Empreſſe, ſo that fur'd garments and other common weeds in former time deſpiſed, were then had in great requeſt, becauſe the Emperour and Empreſſe diſdained not to weare them. In which caſe there falleth out no new or ſtrange matter: for pearles and precious ſtones are mounted to that value we ſee them at, becauſe the rich haue enhaunſt their price, not the poore. To ſet out this with ſome example; *Sabina Poppæa* (who wanted nothing but honeſtie, and whom *Nero* ragingly loued) had a haire yellow like amber, whereof *Nero* made ſuch reckoning, that he ſung verſes of it vpon the harpe: and thereupon all the daughters of Rome and of Italy deſired verie much to weare that collour in their perri-wigs, dreſſings, bracelets, and attires: and amber, which before was not reckoned of, grew verie deere, becauſe *Nero* eſteemed greatly of it. Hence it is that *Plinie* writeth (ſpeaking of the preparation of a paſtime of fencers) That there was brought thither ſuch a great quantitie of amber, that the knots of the netting which was hang'd all about the place of exerciſe, to keepe that the wild beaſts went not out, were garniſht with graines of amber: which ſheweth, that the examples of great men are of much efficacie in matters of importance, as well as in thoſe that be of ſmall conſequence. *For* (as *Velleius Paterculus* ſaid of the Emperour *Auguſtus*) *a good Prince when he doth well, teacheth his ſubiects to doe well: and as he is the greateſt in the State, ſo is he the greateſt in example.* When the people caſt their eies vpon their Prince, who is placed aloft and in view of all, they conſider diligently all that he ſaith and doth, and prie into all the ſecrets of his actions, as it were thorow narrow

Lib. 37. *cap.* 3.

chinkes

chinkes and holes. We haue hereof an example in the statues of *Pasquin* and *Marforius* at Rome, whose priuie inuectiues in certaine libels there set vp, bewray and bring to light the least things that are done by the Pope, the Cardinalls and other courtiers in their priuie chambers. So as one may say, that if the liuing haue not the libertie at Rome to speake and to reprooue the wickednes of the great, yet the mouthes of stonie statues cannot be stopped, but they will blab out all that is most hidden. *Gyraldus* writeth, That the ancient Roman Poets had the same priuiledge, and that they vsed to set vp their compositions in a certaine chappell neere to the gardens of the knight *Mecænas*. *Suidas* witnesseth, That in Alexandria vpon certaine daies, some (to whom that charge belonged) went throughout the citie drawne vpon chariots, and when they came into a place, or before a house that they thought fit, they would there stay, and pronounce the truth allowd, freely, and without any iniurie or harme done to them. For they studied how they might find out the bad dealings of the citisens, and lay them open in plaine tearmes, and thereby bring to passe that all might liue in their dutie and calling.

Dialog. 4. of the Hist. of Poets.

But not to goe from our purpose, it should seeme (as a certaine writer saith) That the verie walls doe blunder out the sayings, doings, and deportments of Princes, yea euen that which is most secret and hidden: in so much as they cannot speake a word, nor tread a step, but is presently carried abroad: and (that which is most of all to be weied) their least faults are pried into, and diligently marked by all their subiects. Besides, both great and small doe so frame themselues to imitate their manners, that by their example they will soone change their owne customs & opinions though neuer so old and inuererat. Therefore *Iohn du Tillet* is of opinion, that before all other things the king should haue speciall care to see that his court be maintained in all godlinesse and vertue. For if the court be reformed, the countrey wilbe conformed accordingly. Contrariwise, if the Prince and his household be viciously giuen, his subiects abandon themselues to the like vices. An ancient Poet, though an ill master in many other things, confesseth this, when he saith

Ant. Viperan. in his Treatise of the king, and of the Realme, *c.* 13.

In the second booke of his Remembrances.

Such is the Court, that no man brings his fashions there to see,
But all men frame their manners, as they find the kings to be.

In the ninth booke of his Epigrams.

The Poet *Claudian* thought also the same, when he wrote that

The subiects frame themselues in euerie thing,
According to the pattern of their king.
And nothing swaies with man (inconstant) more
Than doth his Princes carriage and his lore.

In the Panegyr. of the fourth Consulship of *Honorius*.

And in his poeme of the praises of *Stilico*:

Panegyr. 1.

As doe the gouernors, so people frame their grace:
And souldiers alwaies march after their captaines pace.

This is verified by a notable example mentioned in the Historie of Scotland. After that the king called *Iosina* tooke delight in conferring oftentimes with Physitions & Chirurgions, his lords and gentlemen did so quickly frame themselues to this humour of their prince, that for many ages after there was not one noble family in Scotland, but it was verie expert and cunning in dressing and healing of any wounds of the bodie. The same Historie commendeth king *Iames* the fourth, for that he following the custome of his predecessors was a verie deft Chirurgian. In the 16 chapter of the booke afore going, we haue made mention of the duke of Burgundie *Philip* the Good, saying, That after his example, all the lords (almost) and gentlemen of his countrey had their haire cut.

Buchanan. lib. 4.

Lib. 13.

*Lib.*8. of his Commonwealth. *Lib.*2. *Class.*10.

The ancient Prouerbe saith, *That the little dogs doe that which liketh their Mistresses:* so fareth it with the subiects of any State: which *Plato* noteth especially, and the same hath beene obserued by one *Montanarius* of Padua, an excellent Poet in his time, and much esteemed of *Barnardin Scardeon*, who hath collected some Monostickes or single verses of his in Latin, comprehending certaine memorable sentences. The first agreeth with this our Meditation, which saith; *Qualis conuictus, talis formatio morum*: meaning, that a man doth frame his manners after theirs with whom he conuerseth.

In the Instit. of a historie.

Gregorius Nazianzenus in one of his Orations disputeth at large of the dangerous imitation of the vices that are seene in princes, saying among other things: That there is not any cloth so apt to take die, nor pestilent sauour so readie to disperse it selfe in the aire for the infecting of creatures, as the minds of the people are disposed to repleniſh themselues with the dissolution and vices of great men rather than with their vertues. For (as *Sebastian Foxius* a Spaniard saith) Examples doe so greatly mooue the minds of men, that they thinke themselues bound to doe that which they see others doe, and therefore they conforme themselues to others vices and villanies. We are apes to counterfeit other mens sayings and doings, as we see apes will imitate what they see vs doe. So the life of one wicked man inuadeth (like a contagious sickneſſe) and corrupteth the maners of a great many. Thus wicked fathers are the cause and example of wickedneſſe to their children. The storie of king *Lewis* the eleuenth is a sufficient proofe hereof. For he would neuer endure that *Charles* his sonne (respecting belike, his indisposition, as *Vincentius de la Loupe* saith) should learne any more Latin than these fiue words; *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*; that is to say, *Who so cannot dissemble cannot reigne:* and so tooke foorth his sonne a lesson taught by a wicked master: For the Emperour *Tiberius* loued nothing that he thought louely in himselfe, but dissimulation, as *Cornelius Tacitus* saith. This Counsell of *Lewis* the eleauenth was receiued by the Frenchmen with such ill eares, as there was not any kind of learning but they turned their backs to it. But the same Author writeth, that *William du Bellay* lord of Langey, hauing ioyned the glorie of Learning with the honour Armes, was the first that shewed at that time to the French, That to be Learned & Noble are gifts that may well agree together. Contrariwise, when king *Francis* the first (lead with a commendable zeale) maintained the sciences and learned men, many following his example, did the like. The gentlemen of France (saith the said Author) in all ages haue had Learning in such detestation, that liberall arts, and handie-crafts were all one thing with them. When their children were come to such yeares that they were able to rule, and endure trauell, they were placed in great lords houses, where they exercised riding, and hunting, till they came out of their pageship, and then they were arranged into companies and bare armes. But now, by the goodneſſe of God, and through the liberalitie of king *Francis* towards the professors of arts and sciences, and students in good letters, that is turned to praise that was before reputed blame. Therefore *du Tillet* said verie well, That Learning confirmed Nobilitie, and defended it from baseneſſe. *Bodin* obserued the same, when he said (to explane this sentence of *Plato, That the subiects are like the Magistrats*) that we need not seeke examples thereof elsewhere but in king *Francis* the first, who hauing once begun to loue learning, abhorred of his next predeceſſors, was presently seconded by all the nobilitie of France, and then by the other estates, with such diligence, that there were neuer so many learned men in France as in his time.

In the first booke of the Offices of the crowne of France.

*Lib.*1. where he speeketh of the great Counsell.

In his Method of Historics.

It

It is strange that the Frenchmen did so degenerat from their ancestors, and become so great enemies to learning before their kings reclaimed them by their example; when as *Strabo* doth much commend them for that they were well affected to the studie of the liberall sciences: The good order that was established in the citie of Marseilles, did so moove (saith he) and entice the most noble men among the Romans, that in steed of trauailing to Athens, whither in times past they vsed to goe to studie, now they goe to Marseilles. After their example, the French enioying peace and quietnesse, haue left the exercise of armes, to apply themselues to learning, and that not one or two, but almost all they that dwell in the cities, where they haue certaine masters (which they call Sophisters) rewarded out of the common treasurie, and liberally recompensed of the priuat men, as also the Physitions are. *Bodin* addeth, that the Germans did the like, of whom he saith; Whereas in times past they had (as it were of an inueterat hatred) renounced all good learning, now they are so happily affected that way, that they seeme to surpasse the Asians in gentle manners, the Romans in militarie discipline, the Hebrewes in Religion, the Grecians in Philosophie, the Ægyptians in Geometrie, the Phenicians in Arithmetike, the Chaldeans in Astrologie, all people in diuersitie of handie-workes. *Philip de Commines* saith wisely to this purpose, That knowledge maketh men either better or worse, according to the nature and inclination of euerie of them: but more likely, better. For the more a man vnderstands that which becommeth him, the more is he ashamed of the neglect of his dutie: and although he abstaine not altogither from doing of it; yet he will take heed how he exceedeth. I haue tried this to be most true by many, that were held back from wicked dissignes onely by their learning, and knowledge. To this we must ioyne the feare of God: For the learned know better than the ignorant, what the hainousnesse of sinnes is, and how highly God is offended with the faults of wicked men. Therefore ill instructed Princes doe not comprehend the weight of the charge they haue receiued from God; and they that lead and carrie them neuer speake of it, for feare least they should incur their displeasure: or if there be any one that giueth good and faithfull aduise, he hath no bodie to second him, and he is held but for a Pedante.

*Lib.*4. *Lib.*10.

To end this chapter with some ancient examples, and to shew that the faults of princes want no followers, we haue thereof a proofe in *Nero:* for *Suetonius* and *Cornelius Tacitus* report in his life, That this prince gadded vp and downe the streets to infamous houses, and leaud places in slaues attire, that hee might not be knowne, accompanied with such as snatched away wares from mens stals, wounded such as met them, caring so little whom they quarelled with, that *Nero* himselfe receiued blowes, and caried away the marks in his face. And when it was knowne at the last that it was *Cæsar* which plaied those pranks, it grew to an occupation, so that neither men nor women of any account were spared, but a great many abusing with all licentiousnesse *Cæsars* name, practised the same insolencies as they were together, and such rule was spent all night long, euen as if they had been in some citie taken by assault and were leading away prisoners into captiuitie. That which *Athenæus* reporteth (after *Theopompus*) of *Philip* the last king of Macedonia, is worth the rehearsing. This king hauing much treasure and wealth, instead of bestowing it well, made hauocke thereof, and sent it packing, being growne a very spend-thrift, and followed with a crue like himselfe that gaue their minds to nothing else but to spend excessiuely. The cause of all which insolencie and excesse was the king himselfe, who, of one side, spending beyond

Lib. 4. *cap.* 20.

all measure, and of the other side so couetous as possibly might be, heaped vp, gaue away, did all things without any iudgment, or proportion whatsoeuer: Hauing vsed to be at the warre, hee neuer had the leasure to looke into the state of his receits or disbursements. Besides, his friends and familiars flocked to him from diuers parts; some from Macedonia it selfe, others from Thessalia, and others from other places, a rabblement gotten together of Barbarians and Grecians, not commended for their valour, wisedome, and vertue; but insolent, villanous, and bold. Such were this kings fauourites. And no maruell if he were accompanied with fellowes of his owne humour, seeing the same *Athenæus* alleageth another place of *Theopompus* touching this king, where he saith, That he reiected vertuous men, such as were well affectioned to the good of his estate, and contrariwise enterteined ding-thrifts, drunkards, and gamesters, vsing them with great respect and reuerence. Therefore this counsell of *Euagrius* is wholesome, That a prince ought to be regarded, not because he commandeth others, but for that he knoweth how to gouerne and conteine himselfe in such sort, that he giueth his mind no entrance to any filthy pleasure, but keepeth himselfe so far from the reach of dissolution and disorder, that his life may serue for a patterne and example of vertue to his subiects to follow, that thereby they may grow the more wise and warie. Finally, this sentence drawne out of good Authors by an excellent man, and which hath beene approoued by the change of times, and by diuers euents, standeth, and shall euer stand for most true, *That the affections, intents, studies, and actions of priuat men agree, accord, and sute with the manners and deportments of Princes.* For we see commonly, that the subiects casting their eyes vpon the life of their princes, as vpon a bright looking-glasse, behold with regardfull heed their sayings and doings: From thence a desire of following them proceedeth; whereof consequently are bred either vertues or vices.

Lib.6.cap.6.

Lib.3.cap.3. of his Eccles. historie.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Owle, an vnluckie bird: and of Pope Iohn *the* 24.

Haith. Armen. in the hist. of the Tartarians cap.16.

ALthough the Tartarians of Asia haue the Owle in great reuerence, because he preserued (in some sort) their first Emperour *Changius Cam*, who lay hid in a thicket ouer which an Owle sat, when he fled from his enemies, they following him, and not thinking that any man would haue hid himselfe in the place where an Owle was: and albeit they thinke those men of warre luckie that weare vpon their head-peeces, and in their hats some feathers of an Owle; yet *Plinie* placeth him among the birds that are accounted vnluckie. *The Owle* (saith he) *is a bird that boadeth a funerall, one of those that are most abhorred, chiefly of the publike Sooth-sayers and Bird-gazers, inhabiting places vnhabitable, fearefull, vnapprochable; monster of the night, that sings not, but groanes and complaines. Therefore he is taken for a bringer of ill lucke, if he be seene in cities, or flying by day.* Hence it came (as witnesseth the same *Plinie*) that Rome was oftentimes clensed after the meeting or seeing of an Owle: and it was verily beleeued, that in the 619 yeare of the foundation therof, and the yeare following, the seeing of this bird had presaged the ouerthrow of the Roman armie before Numantia. Among the strange sights that preceded the death of the Emperour *Commodus Antoninus*, it is said, That an Owle was spied sitting ouer his chamber, both at Rome and Lanuuium. And among those that were seene before the decease of the Emperour *Valentinian*,

Lib.10.cap.12.

Ælius Lamprid. in his life.

Ammian

Ammian Marcellinus saith, That an Owle was pearched vpon the ridg of the imperiall Stoue, where he sat hooting and crying; and for all that they could do with stones and arrowes, it was not possible to fell him or to driue him away. To say somewhat of our own time, In the yeare 1542, about the 11 of December, there was an Owle that with his monstrous and extraordinarie crying, did put the inhabitants of the citie of Wirtzbourg in Franckland into a terrible fright: after which there followed pestilence, cruell warres, and other calamities described at large in their Annals. As I was reading and considering these things, I remembred that which *Nicholas de Clemangis*, an excellent Doctour and Archdeacon of Bayeux, reporteth in his disputation of the Oecumenicall Councell of *Balthasar Cossa*, who being made Pope called himselfe *Iohn* * XXIIII. Thus he writeth: This perfidious *Balthasar*, who was lately throwne out of S. *Peters* seat, foulely by him stained, at the instance of some had foure yeares before sommoned a Councell at Rome, where some strangers met, but in a small number, with a few Italians and Courtiers: He held some Sessions, which were spent in handling of trifles no whit concerning the good of the Church. And when before the first Session they had (after the vsuall manner) sung a solemne Masse of the holy Ghost, the Fathers of the Councell being set in their places, and *Balthasar* aboue all the rest in his pontificall chaire, behold, a horrible Owle (the continuall messenger of death, or some other disaster as they say) comes out of his hole, begins to make a fearefull crie, and taking his flight, sets himselfe vpon a high beame in the midst of the Church, ouer against *Balthasar*, whom he stared in the face. They began all to wonder, that a bird (not vsing to flie but by night and hating the light) should come in the open day among so many people: wherefore they concluded (as there was cause) that it was some ill presage; *See*, said they one to another, *what spirit doth gouerne heere in the likenesse of this Owle!* After, looking one vpon another, and casting their eies vpon *Balthasar*, they could not forbeare laughing. As for *Balthasar*, (whom the Owle neuer left staring vpon) he begins to blush, to sweat, to bee troubled and marueilously perplexed in his mind; and not knowing how otherwise to remedie this confusion, dismisseth the Assembly, & departeth to his palace. The second Session followed, in the which this Owle made his appearance (without being called, as I think) and setled himselfe in his accustomed place, still turning towards *Balthasar*; who seeing his bird come againe, was more troubled and confounded than before, and not able any longer to abide the sight of him, commaunded that hee should be beaten away with showtings and with clubs. But the bird, not mooued with any noise they could make or any thing they threw at him, was no whit afraid, till beaten downe with bats and clubs, hee fell stone-dead to the ground before them all. This storie was told me by a faithfull friend of mine, who at that time came directly from Rome. The strangenesse of the matter hauing made me perplexed, I adiured him with great vehemencie, that he should not hide the truth of these things from me: whereupon he sware vnto me that he had told me nothing but what was true indeed: And said further, That all they who were present at the sight, began to contemne and mocke the Councell, which by little and little vanished, and did nothing of any worth. These be the words of the Archdeacon of Bayeux, who liued in the time of the Emperour *Sigismund*, when the Councell was held at Constance, in the yeare 1417, in which time hee published his disputation containing this storie, and some other treatises besides. This *Iohn* the foure and twentieth, being degraded by the Councell of Constance for many enormities he committed, fled away in disguised attire, and in the way was met

Lib. 30.

1542

* Some call him *Iohn* 23. but such will not allow of Pope *Ioan*, but raze her out of the reckoning.

1417

with by the Count Palatine, who kept him a long while prisoner in his castle of Mansheim, where they vse yet to shew the chamber in which hee was imprisoned, and where (they say) he made some Latine verses, being a man learned, and of great iudgement, as *Platina* and others affirme. The verses wee offer to the Reader, here after following: because it is a rare thing to see a Pope learned, and a Latin Poet:

Qui modò summus eram, gaudens & nomine, Præsul,
Tristis & abiectus nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelsus solio nuper versabar in alto,
Cunctaq́ gens pedibus oscula prona dabat.
Nunc ego pœnarum fundo deuoluor in imo;
Vultum deformem quemq́ videre piget.
Omnibus è terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant,
Sed nec gaza iuuat, nec quis amicus adest.
Sic varians fortuna vices, aduersa secundis
Subdit, & ambiguo nomine ludit atrox.

PAPA FECIT.

To this effect in English.

I that of late enioy'd the higheſt Prelats place,
Now ſad and all forlorne doe waile my wretched caſe.
I ſat aloft erewhile, deckt with the triple Crowne,
And all men kiſt my feet with humble falling downe:
Now I am head-long throwne into the pit of woe,
I ſhame to ſhew my face, all men abhorre it ſo.
From all parts (with good will) they brought me gold and fee,
But now no gold I get, no friend will viſit me.
Thus Fortunes rolling wheele doth wretched things adioyne
To happie; thus are we deceiu'd with her falſe coyne.

By the Pope.

Afterwards *Balthaſar* was releaſed, hauing acknowledged *Martin* the fift for his lawfull ſucceſſor, and kiſſed his pantofle, to the great wonder of all men. This humilitie of his did ſo mooue Pope *Martin*, that preſently after he receiued *Balthaſar* among the number of the Cardinals, and made him Biſhop of Tuſculum. But within ſome few moneths, being worne out with ſorrow (as it was thought) hee died at Florence in the yeare 1419, and was buried in ſumptuous ſort, and with great ſolemnities in Saint *Iohn Baptiſts* Church, at the inſtant ſuit of *Coſmo de Medicis* his heire. There was an Epitaph made for him (ſaith *Iohn Bale* in the ſixt booke of the life of the Popes) the concluſion whereof is, That the example of *Balthaſar* ſhould teach the Popes his ſucceſſours to bee no ſellers of Benefices.

1419

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Fighting and tugging of Birds. Also, speciall obseruations touching Serpents, or Dragons.

Plinie writeth, That euerie yeare there is an armie of Birds, that flieth out of Æthiopia towards great Troy, where they giue themselues battel at *Memnons* tombe, for which cause these birds are called Memnonides. *Cremutius*, an ancient writer saith, he knoweth for certaine that these birds doe euerie fifth yeare renew this fight in Ægypt, about the territories of *Memnons* pallace. In like manner the Guinney hens fight in Bœotia: but leauing the old tales of *Plinie*, let vs heare what *Iouianus Pontanus* a famous Historian writeth of the fighting of birds. A little before the end of the yeare 1461. in the plaine betweene Beneuent and Apicium, there began a cruell conflict betweene the Rauens and the Kites, which was a miracle, and prognostication of the battell that was fought a while after in those parts; or else, a naturall quarrell among these rauening birds, because of the prey of grashoppers bred in those spacious fields some weekes before. There were two conflicts, in the first whereof the Kites had the better, because they were armed with sharper and more crooked clawes, flying more firmely, and with a longer continuance: therefore the Rauens left the field, and were put to flight; but after a few daies, hauing re-enforced their troupes (as if they had obtained succours of their allies) they returned with more strength than they were of before; the like did the Kites, The skirmish begins againe in the aire, crueller than at the former time; then the Rauens (as it were vpon deliberation, and for some speciall stratagem) began to giue back, and set themselues among the vines vpon the strongest and highest branches, settling themselues so fast, that when the Kites would stoope to swap at them, they were pierst thorow the bodie with the Rauens bills as it had beene with poyniards. They were thereupon seene to fall downe in all places with their guts hanging out, and the rauens at euerie assault were heard to crie (as it were) Victorie, and to keepe a croaking for joy, still heartning their fellowes to fight, who after they had held out a long while, the Kites perceiuing they were falne into an ambuscado (whereby the most of them staied by it) left the place, and sauing themselues by force of wing confessed they were ouercome, and the Rauens keeping the field, triumphed brauely ouer their enemies. This victorie did so whet their courages, that they began to fall vpon the Kites laide on the ground, and with a strange furie to kill out-right with the blowes of their bills, those that were yet panting and breathing, making their braines come foorth, plucking out their guts with pecks and clawes, renting their bodies, tearing them in peeces, in a word displaying vpon them their rauenlike rage. And for a greater shew of this successe, these Rauens (for many daies after) neuer left houering and soaring ouer that plaine in troupes, with croaking and crying, as if they would haue said; *Behold, we are here, readie to fight as earst we were.* Many men ran to see this skirmish, and to obserue the blowes; and after the retreate of the Kites, went among the vineyards and fields to see the ouerthrow: some wondering at the furie of the fighters, and pollicie of the Rauens; others, at the great number of Kites that lay kild: some stood amazed at the terrible wounds they noted in those little bodies; others could not tell what to say, seeing what heapes of slaine were cast one vpon another. All coniectured, that this conflict did presage some bloodie battell that would be giuen soone after betweene two armies of enemie-princes, one of which should there receiue

Lib. 10. cap. 26.

1461
Towards the end of the second booke of *Ferdinand* the first, sonne of *Alfonsus.*

receiue a shrewd foile. Thus writeth *Pontanus*. Now, although it may be, that these birds might follow the prey of the grashoppers, spread all ouer that plaine, of which they are verie greedie, and for that cause this fight might thus grow betweene them (the rather for that *Plinie* writeth that the birds called Seleucides are the cause that the grashoppers eat not vp the fruits of the inhabitants about the mountaine Casius:) yet for all that, the issue of the bloodie battell giuen within a while after in the same place, betweene two armies of souldiers, sheweth that the said skirmish of birds had beene (as it were) the presaging thereof.

Nicetas Acominates maketh mention of a fight between Crowes and Rauens, before the cruell hauock that the Scythians, lead by *Iohn Mysus*, made in the coasts of Constantinople. The Crowes comming out of the South ranked themselues in a certaine place: the Rauens, out of the North, made choice also of a fit place: who presently after came to the charge, with such furie, that they put in rout the armie of the Crowes. Within few moneths, the Scythians in a battell ouerthrew the Italians, and slue a verie great number of their men. *Sabellicus* also writeth, That the day before the Venetians had the shamefull ouerthrow in an Isle called Sapience, an innumerable flight of Rauens gathered together in the aire ouer their fleet, and gaue themselues battell, in which, the blood and the feathers of the Rauens wounded and kild fell downe into the galleys of the Venetians. We may adde vnto this, that which *Richard Dinoth* writeth, how about the time of the Emperour *Albert*, the Rauens and the Hawks fought a battell neere to the citie of Liege, with such furie, that the blood and the feathers fell to the ground in great abundance: and that after a long skirmish the Hawks remained the stronger. He saith further, That in Italie two thicke battalions of pismires were seene to dislodge out of a peare-tree, which entred into a verie furious fight, many being slaine of both sides; and that many men beheld the skirmish of these black bands, and this ciuile warre. Not long after which, there fell warre betweene the Lombards and Venetians: Of the other part, the Burgundians and the Liegians gaue themselues so cruell a battell, that thirtie thousand men were slaine in the field. He saith further, That in the raigne of *Charles* the eight there assembled out of diuers parts of France, certaine troups of Pies and of Iayes in the plaine of S. *Aubin* in Brittanie, which fought together very fiercely, the victorie falling at last to the Iayes. In the yeare following the French-men and the Britons had a battell in the same place; wherin after a long fight the Britons were discomfited, and their Commanders caried away prisoners by the French, who had a great victorie. In the end of the yeare 1587, vpon the frontiers of Croatia neere to a castle called Wihiz, belonging to *Charles* Archduke of Austria, there flocked certaine thousands of Duckes and Geese together into one pond: The night after their meeting, a great noise was heard in all the villages about of these fowle that kild one another in that pond; the next morning the souldiers that were in garison in the castle, and the countrey men ranne thither, and gathered such number of this fowle, yet warme and bleeding, that they made store of it for a long time, drying them in the ayre and in the smoke: one had for his part a hundred; another, two hundred, and some, more. They that escaped aliue out of the fight, re-uniting themselues, and meeting in a great meadow, tooke their flight together, and retired to other places. Thus reporteth *Iohannes Leonclauius*, who addeth further, That within a while after, certaine thousands of Turks making a road into Croatia, were there hewen in peeces with their leader, brother to the Bashaw of Bosna, by a small troupe

Decad. 2. lib. 3.

In his remembrances of wonders.

1587

In the Supplement of the Annals of Turkie.

troupe of Christians. The yeare after, in the moneth of Februarie, the Christians surprized the castle of Copan, seated neere to the lake Balaton, which at that time was frozen; within which castle were three captaines, and about a thousand Turkes. The eight of August following, *George* Earle of Serin, followed with the garisons on this side the Danubius, pursued the Turkes, and ouertaking them within a league of Canisia, charged them so brauely, that he slew and took prisoners almost fiue thousand men, recouered all the boot which they had caried away, and got besides all that which was theirs. In the memorie of our fathers, there was a battell giuen (as Historians write) in Caramania, between the land serpents, and those of the water, which lasted three daies: and a while after the Turks mutined and went together by the eares most horribly about the establishing of a Souldan. It was obserued, that the victorie fell to their side that were in the place where the serpents had beene the stronger. In the yeare 1059, Snakes were gathered together in the parts about Turnay, which neuer left tearing and renting one another, vntill the people made fires, which kild a great many of them. 1588 1059 *Christ. Massæus Lib.* 16.

It is not onely written in the sacred Historie, That *Adam* and *Eue* being placed by God in the garden of Paradise, were deceiued (especially *Eue*) by the craftie persuasion of the Serpent; but many Authors affirme, that Serpents haue been noted to desire the companie of women. Who seeth not therein (but more in the action of *Eue*, than in all other) a strange efficacie and deceit in Sathan? All the Rabbins are of this mind, that the deuils (through Gods sufferance) haue great power ouer ones concupiscence and priuie members, saying, That by an Allegorie Satan is meant by the Serpent. *Philo* and the Hebrewes say, That the Serpent signifieth allegorically, Lecherie. *Alexeander* the Great held for certaine, That his mother *Olympias* was gotten with child of him by a Serpent, which the superstitious Pagans called *Iupiters* Genius. Wherefore hauing vpon a time written to his mother thus; King *Alexander* the sonne of *Iupiter Ammon*, saluteth his mother *Olympias*: Shee made him this pleasant answere, Hold thy peace (I pray thee) and take heed how thou appeach mee to *Iuno*: for shee will plague me miserably if thou giue out in thy letters that I am her husbands concubine. The like is reported of *Scipio Africanus*; *C. Oppius* that hath written his life, *Titus Liuius*, *Gellius*, and *Iulius Higinus* doe say, That a great Serpent lay with *Scipios* mother, and was seene often in her chamber, and when any bodie came in, he would vanish away. *Valerius Maximus* also speaketh of it. The like doth *Suetonius* report of *Accia*, the mother of *Augustus*, for hee writeth, That as shee came once at mid-night to a certaine solemnitie, shee made her litter be set into the Chappell; and while the other Ladies were at rest, shee fell asleepe. Then a great Serpent crept into the litter, and a while after came out againe: After which *Accia* awaking, purified her selfe as if her husband had laine with her: presently there was seene vpon her skin the marke of a Dragon, which could neuer bee taken off, so that euer after shee refrained from going into the common Baths: and *Augustus* being borne at the end of ten moneths, was by reason thereof reckoned *Apollos* sonne. *Galerius* the Emperor, borne of clowniish parents, and surnamed *Armentarius*, because he had kept cattell, bragged and tooke vpon him proudly, That a great Serpent begat him, hauing accompanied his mother, as one had done with *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother.

Gen. cap. 3.

Bodin lib. 2. of his *Demonomania*, *c.* 1.

Lib. 27.

Lib. 7. *cap.* 1.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 3.

Sext. Aurel. in the Abridg. of the Rom. hist.

Albeit Historians affirme and hold these things for certaine, and that it cannot be denied but there is a diueliish working in such actions: yet it is held also, that

that a serpent seene in ones sleepe signifieth sometimes good hap. Whereof we haue a remarkable example in the mother of *George Castriot*, called of the Turkes *Ischenderbeg*, and of the common sort *Scanderbeg*, of whom we will speake more in the second chapter of the fifth booke. It is said (by the report of *Marinus Barlet* his Historian) that his mother, when she was conceiued of him, dreamed she was brought a bed of a great serpent, which couered almost all Albania, stretched his head to the frontiers of Turkie, and deuoured a great many Turkes; hauing his taile in the sea within the limits of the Seigniorie of Venice. His father *Iohn*, Prince of Albania, hearing this dreame, would not seeke for the exposition thereof in the intrails of beasts, nor at *Apollos* Oracle, but with ioy begins to cheere vp his wife, telling her, That he foresaw she should be deliuered of a sonne, that should be an excellent warrior, a fell enemie to the Turkes, a most happie Generall of an armie, a defender of the Christian Faith, and alwaies well affected to the State of Venice. This good father was not deceiued of the hope he had conceiued, but that which he foretold was confirmed moreouer in the birth of the child, who brought with him from his mothers wombe another much fairer and notabler marke of warlike glorie; for he had vpon his right arme a sword so well set on, as if it had beene drawne with the pencill of the skilfullest painter in the world. Thus reporteth *Barlet*. But not to goe further from our purpose, Historians write, That serpents haue beene obserued to loue yong maides, and haue shewed signes of loue, anger, and iealousie towards them. Of which there is a famous example in *Plutarch*, of a serpent that being in loue with a yong maid of Ætolia, would come to see her in the night when she was a bed, and would lay himselfe faire and softly all along by her, and then wreathe himselfe about her, without doing her any hurt or grieuance either willingly, or otherwise; and after about breake of day would softly goe away from her. And as he thus continued comming to her duly euerie night, at the last the maides friends sent her from home: the serpent kept away from the house three or foure daies, seeking here and there for her (as it is to be thought) and hauing at last met with her, he laid her hands against her bodie, with the knots of his bodie, and with the rest of his taile clapt her about the legs, as if he would shew a louing anger, wherein yet there was more affection to pardon, than desire to punish. This tale I deliuer for such credit as *Plutarch* hath left it, referring my selfe for the truth thereof. Howsoeuer, by this and other such like reports, the Ancients seeme to haue had reason to note serpents for an Embleme of wantonnesse, and desire of women. To the same end we read a world full of tales of a witch, who being transported with rage, longed to drinke the blood of a faire yong man called *Menippus*: whereof came a prouerbe among the Pagans, remembred by *Philostratus*, *Thou desirest a serpent, and a serpent desireth thee*: because *Menippus* hunted after women, and women after him. We will speake more of this *Menippus* hereafter.

Lib. 1.

In his Treatise *what beasts are most discreet.*

In the life of *Apollonius Thyaneus.*

But *Fl. Iosephus* differing in opinion from this aforegoing, thinketh, that after *Adam* and *Eue* had transgressed Gods commandement by eating the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden, the serpent for the fault committed against man had his voice taken from him, the poison was dispersed into his tongue, and God declared him an enemie to mankinde, willing the man and the woman to fall vpon him to breake his head: both because the death of man is included there, and also because the serpent is easily put to death, if he be stricken in the head. Moreouer, he was depriued of feet, that he might creepe and traile vpon the earth. And when that was done, God thrust *Adam* and *Eue* out of the

Lib. 2. Antiquit. cap. 2.

Garden

Garden, and sent them to dwell in another countrey. Now they say, That though serpents doe hate men, yet they persecute women more cruelly than men, and doe oft-times kill them with their stinging: Whereof *Bodin* giueth this reason: *It may be* (saith he) *that serpents being wonderfull craftie, know that the femal-kinde are weaker than the male, and therefore may be easilier hurt and cannot so well resist. It may be also that the fauourable goodnesse of the Creator would that things of lesse value should be taken first, that thereby the most excellent might be the longer preserued. Besides, there is a deadly hatred betweene the woman and the serpent: which is plainely perceiued hereby, that in a great assembly of people, if there be but one woman, the serpent will assay to hurt her first.* This is *Bodins* opinion. So then, seeing there is such an inueterat and setled enmitie betweene man and the serpent, I could neuer wonder inough why a beast so venimous and odious to all, hath yet beene so much worshipped of the ancient Pagans, that they haue not onely esteemed it a high honour that their Ancestors were said to be conuerted into serpents: but they haue moreouer attributed some Diuinitie vnto them, and erected a worship and seruice in their behalfe. Sathan, the prince of subtiltie, error, and lying, hath carefully powred oyle vpon the flames of this insolent impietie, that sillie idolaters might be the more grossely abused. *Alexander* the great (as before is touched) was not ashamed to brag that his mother *Olympias* was gotten with child by a Dragon in the likenesse of *Iupiter Hammon*, and that thereupon she brought him foorth. But when, after his death, she heard that his bodie lay vnburied for a long time, sighing and weeping tenderly she cried out; *O my sonne, that wouldest needs march in the ranke of the gods, and endeuoredst with all thy power to compasse that point, thou canst not now haue thy share of that right which is equall to all earthly men, namely, to be buried vnder ground.* Thus did she lament her miserie, condemning the vaine and foolish ouerweening of her sonne. And surely the insolencie of this prince, and his ingratitude towards his owne father *Philip*, whose sonne he scorned to acknowledge himselfe, by affecting the title of *Iupiters* sonne, mooued the Philosopher *Seneca* to course him in diuers places of his workes, and namely in one, where he saith; *The Corinthians sent their Ambassadors to* Alexander *of Macedonie, at such time as being Conqueror of the East he tooke himselfe for a god, to congratulate with him in his conquests, and made him burgesse of their citie; whereat* Alexander *beginning to laugh, one of the Ambassadors said vnto him, Yet know thus much, that we neuer did this honour to any, saue onely to thee, and to* Hercules. Alexander *thereupon accepted of the honour, and hauing made great offers and kind entertainment to the Ambassadors, thought not vpon the Corinthians who honoured him, but vpon himselfe, making account that he did them great honour in accepting them. This man couetous of glorie, whereof (neuertheless) he neither knew the nature nor the fashion, following the steps of* Hercules *and of* Bacchus, *and willing to passe further than they had done, had his eie set vpon the companion in honour whom the Corinthians propounded vnto him, as if he had alreadie the sphere in his hand, which his foolish ambition embraced; because these Ambassadors made him equall with* Hercules. *But wherein could this giddie youth (who for vertue had nothing else but a happie kind of rashnesse) be like vnto* Hercules; *a man that neuer conquered any thing for himselfe, but trauailed all the world ouer, not with a desire to be lord thereof, but to enfranchise and set it free? Was there any thing that could ouercome the enemie of the wicked, the protector of the good, and one who carried peace both by sea and by land? But* Alexander *was from his infancie a theefe and a spoiler of people, the ruin of his friends as well as of his enemies, and one that held it the soueraigne good to be the terror of the world: forgetting in the meane time, that not only the wildest beasts, but also the weakest, are feared because of the venom and noysomnesse they carrie about them.*

In Treatro, Lib. 3.

Aelian. de Var. Histor. lib. 3. cap. 30.

Lib. 1. de Benef. cap. 13.

But

But so great was the error of those times, that they ranked their princes in the number of the gods, or demi-gods, or held them for the bastards of the gods. As we read that *Galba* deriued his pedegree by the fathers side from *Iupiter*, and by his mother-side from *Pasiphaë* wife to *Minos* king of Crete. So thick was the blindnesse then, as that he thought himselfe the most noble that was descended (by report) from that filthie polluter of all beds, and from that most vnchast woman that euer liued. The Greeks (among other fables) haue not been ashamed to broach, that all their Nation came out of such infamous creatures: as they say that *Iupiter* transformed himselfe into a Pismire to accompanie *Eurymediste* the daughter of *Archelaus*, who bare *Myrmidon*, of whom came the Myrmidons. A ridiculous blindnesse. Who can chuse but laugh, or else weepe rather, that shall read the fooliish, or (to speake better) the furious insolencie of the Emperour C. *Caligula*, a monster disteined with most foule faults? He (forsooth) would be esteemed a god, called himselfe *Iupiter*, vaunted that he had had carnall dealing with the Moone, and that the goddesse *Victoria* had crowned him: By which meanes he bragged that he had abused many Roman ladies, yea euen his owne sisters. Oftentimes, he would disguise himselfe like a goddesse, and would take the name of *Iuno*, of *Diana*, and of *Venus*: Then he would shew himselfe drest like a woman, bearing the cup and the thyrse of those that executed the Bacchanals: Otherwhiles, he was seene apparelled like *Hercules*, carrying a club, and couered with a lions skin: And then againe, he would be seene with a beard, and within a while without beard; hauing sometimes the trident in his hand, or readie to dart lightning; sometimes counterfeiting *Bellona*, and then againe transformed into a woman. In a word, he did nothing else but change apparell and dressing, desirous to be thought all that is possible to be imagined, saue a man. These strange tricks require not any censure, but craue some *Heraclitus* to lament the madnesse of such monsters, or rather some *Democritus* to laugh at their beastlinesse and villany.

But to returne to the worshipping of Dragons and serpents. There is a pleasant tale in *Lucian* of a certaine cosiner, who carried a Dragon about to be seene, and persuaded the people that it was *Æsculapius*, saying that his Dragon gaue answers to all that was demanded of him. This is memorable aboue the rest, that he could neither endure mockers that would be flouting of him, nor the Christians that would sigh and tremble at his horrible cosining tricks; and would say, that the countrey about the Euxin sea was full of mockers and Christians, who were so bold as they would not stick to speake ill of him, and therefore he commanded that they should be stoned. Therefore, whensoeuer he would open the shop of his Oracles, there was an *Oyes* made (after the manner of Athens) in these tearmes; If any mocker, flouter, or Christian be entred here to see what is done in this place, let him goe foorth. Presently at the hearing of the sound of these words, Let the Christians be driuen away; then they were thrust out a doores by the head and shoulders. As touching the hatred that this cosiner bare to the mockers that laught at his jugling tricks, the causes thereof are euident: And for the Christians (if any were so curious as would behold the ridiculous impietie of this jugler) it is no wonder that Sathan did serue his turne of this instrument so fit to chase them away, and that he could not play his tricks of liegerdemaine to fetch ouer the poore idolators, in the presence of his members who hath broken the serpents head, and ouercome the old dragon. The Romans were once abused with this toy, in the citie of Lanuuium, where they worshipped a certaine Dragon, that vsed to come out of a hole, and would feed

of

of meat that a young maiden brought in a basket, and which shee offered to him with her hands: as appeareth by an Elegie in *Propertius*, which may serue for the vnderstanding of a place in *Cicero*, where he speaketh of *Roscius* borne at Lanuuium, How that he being a sucking child, and sleeping in his cradle, his nourse waking in the night (a lampe burning in the chamber) espied a Serpent wreathed about the child; whereat she screeching out in terrible sort, *Roscius* his father told it to the Soothsayers, asking their opinion of the matter; they answered, That the child should one day be the most excellent man in his time. *Seruius* maketh this distinction, That Snakes are found in waters, Serpents vpon land, and Dragons in Churches.

Lib. 1. de Diuinat.

To come to latter stories, many of Lithuania and Samogitia obseruing still the Heathenish ceremonies that were practised by their Ancestors, keepe Serpents in their houses, either vnder the furnace, or in some corner of the stoaue; and at a certaine time of the yeare the priests come, and with praiers made of purpose inuite these Serpents (reuerenced of their hosts like gods) to come to the table: then these Serpents come foorth, and by a cleane table-cloth clamber vp, and set themselues vpon the table, where hauing tasted of euery messe, they goe downe againe and hide themselues in their holes. After the Serpents be gone, the men fall to it merily, and eat vp all the meat that the Serpents touched, which they take for a certaine signe that they shall haue good successe in all things that yeare. If the Serpents come not foorth when the priest is mumbling of his *Oremus*, or being come foorth, taste not of the meat set vpon the table, these people beleeue that that yeare they shall be oppressed with miseries: all which I haue gathered out of the letter of *Iohn Melet* to *George Sabin*. Whereunto I will adde a memorable storie that happened in times past betweene the English and French, as a friend of mine told me he read in certaine Annals. The two kings of these two nations hauing assembled their mightie armies in Normandie, and prefixed a day of battell, as they were readie to giue the on-set, some Commanders of the French hoast, fearing the valour and fortune of the English (of which they had made triall to their cost many times before) and of the other side remembring that the issue of such attempts is hazardous, handled the matter so, that the two kings agreed to parley: first, in presence of some of their familiar friends in some small number, to the end they might treat (if it were possible) of some agreement, and forbeare ioyning of battell: hoping that the war should end without teares (as the Oracle of *Dodona* once answered the Spartans that were readie to bid battell to the Arcadians.) So it was agreed, that a place should bee chosen fit and free from danger of ambuscadoes, in the same field where the two armies stood in battell aray, and there the two kings should meet. All things being considered, both parties accepted of a chappell that stood desolate and was almost fallen downe; in which the kings being armed, talked together peaceably, assisted with an equall number of armed men, which were placed for a guard at the chappell doore. This Enteruiew hauing much calmed them, they agreed betweene themselues that both the armies should retire, that there should bee a truce, and that the next day they would treat of conditions of a peace in a greater assembly. While the two kings were vpon these and such other speeches, and of enemies growne friends, euen as they were readie to goe foorth of the chappell, behold a great and furious Serpent, wakened either by the noise of so many men in a place before desolate, or by some deuillish art (God suffering the same) commeth out of his hole, like a furie out of hell, beyond all expectation, hissing in horrible manner, and offering to

Of the Religiõ and sacrifices of the old inhabitants of Prussia.

rush vpon the kings. They seeing this cruell and venemous beast making hast towards them, brake off their talke, & to defend themselues draw their swords; and after, mistrusting one another, and mooued with the sudden accident, run out of the chappell. The men that guarded at the doore not knowing what had hapned, and amazed at such an vnexpected sight, thinking their masters (hauing been enemies so long time) had fallen out within the chappell, betake them also to their armes, and in all haste make themselues readie to fight. The armies set in battell aray within sight, seeing so many swords out, neuer asking who, or what (as if the token of battell had been giuen) run furiously one at another, and so begin a cruell skirmish: and for all that the kings cried, and made signes to keep them from fighting, they held on furiously, and could by no meanes be made to leaue, till the night separated them, many thousands of men of both sides being left dead vpon the place.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Iesuits, and of their first Originall and Institution.

IN the chapter next afore-going, mention is made of the Sect of the Iesuits: and therfore I hold it not amisse to set downe here their first beginning and institution, which, in respect of other Orders is very recent and fresh, as I find it written in one of the Epistles of *Steuen Pasquier*, somtimes Counsellor and Atturney for the French king in his chamber of Accounts at Paris. There was (saith he) a gentleman of Nauarre called *Ignatius*, who all his life time had followed armes, and being wounded in the citie of Pampeluna, while he was a curing, he thought good to read the liues of the Fathers, and by their patterne to frame all the tenor of his life. He fell into familiaritie with some, and among others with Master *Pasquier Brouës*, from whose mouth I learned the beginning of this storie. These did vow and sweare a Societie together, and when *Ignatius* was healed, they made certaine voiages to Paris, Rome, and Hierusalem. At last they retired to Venice, where they remained for some yeares, and seeing many to follow them, they went to Rome where they began to make publike profession of their Order. They promised among other articles, two things: one, that their principall aime was to preach the Gospel to the Pagans, for the conuerting of them to our faith: the other, to instruct Christians in good letters *gratis*. And to accommodat their name to their deuotion, they called themselues *Religious men of the Societie of the name of* Iesus. After this, they present themselues before Pope *Paul* the third, of the house of *Farnesi*, about the yeare 1540, at 1540 which time Germanie began to put it selfe in armes, about the stirring of the Catholike Religion. And because one of the principall questions of the Germans, was concerning the authoritie of the Pope, which *Martin Luther* went about to ouerthrow; these Iesuits out of a quite contrarie profession declared, that the first vow which they would make, should be to acknowledge the Pope to be aboue all earthly powers, yea and aboue the generall and vniuersall Councell of the Church. The Pope (who at first had made some scruple to allow of them, and had afterwards permitted them to be called Religious, yet so as they might not bee aboue sixtie in number) began, vpon this promise of theirs, to pricke vp his eares, and to open them a wide gate to their deuotion: and so likewise after him, *Iulius* the third; vntill Pope *Paul* the fourth (called the *Theatin*) who was one of the first aduancers of this Order, did giue them full authoritie,

and

and that with all manner of priuiledges. Now, their affaires going thus, it happened that the Bishop of Clermount, the naturall son of the Chancellor *Du Prat*, tooke an affection to them, and desired to plant this Order within Paris, whither hee brought *Pasquier Brouës* with three or foure others: *Pasquier Brouës* (I say) who was the first Superiour of the Iesuites in our citie. They vpon their first comming were lodged meanly, and without great adoe in a chamber of the colledge of the Lombards, and afterwards were appointed their dwelling in the house of Clermont in the Harpe-street, by his sufferance who had first brought them in among vs, celebrating their Masses and praiers Sundaies and Holy-daies in a chappell which stands at the entring into the Charter-house: and seeing their businesse to haue so good successe, they presented themselues many times to the Court of Parlement, that their Order might be authorised thereby. But *Brulart* the late Atturney generall opposed himselfe against all their requests: not but that he fauoured the Catholicke Religion as well as any man, but because aboue all things he doubted and feared innouations, as the nourses of many errours, yea euen in Religion. Wherefore hee declared vnto them, that if they caried a mind wholly estranged from the world, they might, without bringing in any new Order, confine themselues vnder the ancient Religions of S. *Benet*, *Cluny*, *Cisteaux*, *Gramont*, *Premonstrey*, and others allowed by many Councels, or else vnder the foure begging Orders. The Court not satisfied with these Declarations, would not rest wholly thereupon, but had recourse to the facultie of the Diuines, who by their decree censured them; partly because some of their Propositions derogated from the priuiledges of the French Church, and partly, for that qualifying themselues Religious, they neither wore the habit, nor confined themselues within Cloisters, as others did. Which censure did set them somewhat besides their proiect. Some few yeres after died the Bishop of Clermont, who by his Testament bequeathed to them many great things. These legacies being by them recouered, the troubles arise, in the beginning of which the French Church was assembled at Poissie. Then began they to break off their long silence, and presented a fresh request to the court of Parlement, That they might be receiued and allowed, if not in forme of a Religion, at the least of a simple Colledge. The Parlement thought that this concerned the Heads of the Church: whereupon the Parlement sent them to the Assembly of Poissy, where the Cardinall of Tournon was chiefe as the most ancient Prelate, who within the citie of Tournon had alreadie founded a companie of their name. By his intercession they obtained to be receiued in forme of a Societie and Colledge onely: vpon condition, that they should be bound to take another title than the title of Iesuits, and to conforme themselues in euery thing according to the Canonicall disposition, without enterprising any thing vpon the Ordinaries, either in the temporall or spirituall; and that before all things they should expressely renounce the priuiledges imported by their Bulles. Otherwise, and for default of so doing, and that if hereafter they procured not other priuiledges, this Approbation to be void. This Decree is published vnto them by the Court word by word, and according to the forme and tenor thereof. Within a while after they buy a house scituat in this citie of Paris, in S. *Iames* street, called the Court of Langres, which they diuided into two lodgings; the one for the Religious, the other for the Schollers. After this, when they saw the wind blew merrily in their poope, they put vp a Request to the Rector of Paris, to be vnited and incorporated into the bodie of the Vniuersitie. Whereupon there was a solemne meeting at the Mathurins, where it was concluded,

cluded, that before they proceeded further they should declare themselues, whether they tooke the qualitie of Regulars or Seculars. Which brought them into a puzzle: for, to denie that they were Regulars, was to belie their vow; and, to say that they were, would haue croſt that which had beene enioyned them at Poissie. For which cause, vndertaking no precise qualitie, the Vniuersitie dasht their requeſt. Yet they yeeld not for all that, but flie to the Parlement, to get that by constraint vpon the Vniuersitie, which they could not obtaine by good will. But there, after pleading both by the Ieſuits, and by the Vniuersitie, It was ordained that they should remaine as they were. This was a false blow; for they were not incorporated into the bodie of the Vniuersitie as they required, and being in possession of reading publike Lectures, they were continued therein.

Now, although this companie carrie the title of Religious, yet doth it not weare the hood, but goeth in the habit of secular men; neither doth it put it selfe for euer within Cloisters, as others doe. It is composed of two manner of people, whereof some tearme themselues, as ye would say, of the great Obseruance, others, of the lesse. The first are tied to foure vowes; for, besides three ordinarie of Chastitie, Pouertie, and Obedience, they insert the fourth which is a particular obedience to the Pope, as I haue said before. The second are bound onely to two vowes: One respecteth the fidelitie which they promise to the Pope; and the other, the obedience to the Generall of their order. These vow not Pouertie, but it is lawfull for them to hold benefices, offices, to succeed their parents and kinsfolkes, to purchase lands and possessions, as if they were not bound to any vow of Religion: so that a Ieſuit may be spred ouer a whole citie without scandall. And the exercise of their profession consisteth in two points; in the administration of the Word of God and of the Sacraments, and secondly, in teaching of the liberall arts. They haue double dwellings that touch one another: the one appointed for their Priests, the other for their Schollers. It were hard to say how much they increase daily, and how greatly the troubles haue aduanced their increase. For, the Catholiks seeing that out of their shop came both Religion and instruction, and that they made expresse profession to maintaine the authoritie of the holy See against the Caluinists, haue giuen them great gifts, yea many houses to instruct youth in, which they now call Seminaries, vnderstanding by that word the seed-plots of the Catholike religion. By this meanes they grow euerie day, partly by their merits, but more by the hatred that men beare to the Huguonots. For my part I thinke that the Huguonots haue no meane enemies of them: for as much as among all religions, the Christian Religion ought to be woon by praiers, examples, good manners, and holy exhortations, and not by the edge of the sword. Thus for *Pasquier*.

It should seeme the name of Ieſuits or Ieſuats was hatched long afore this aforesaid institution was engendred by *Ignatius*; and that it was instituted by a Sienonis called *Columbinus*: witnesse the inscription of an Arch erected at the mariage of *Francis* duke of Florence and *Ioane* of Austria, of which a booke hath beene published in Italian by *Dominicus Mellim*. For there vnder the image of Pouertie and Patience these words were to be read: ORIGO COLLEGII PAVPERVM, QVI AB IESV COGNOMEN ACCEPERVNT: CVIVS ORDINIS PRINCEPS FVIT IOHANNES COLVMBINVS SENENSIS, ANNO CIↃ. CCC. LI. Betweene these two Institutions is almost two hundred yeares. It may be coniectured that the Authors of the first Institution tied themselues

to

to such an austeritie of profession, as few followed them, so that the societie held not long. For *Bernardin Scardeon* describeth them to be men of no Ecclesiasticall order, but those that men call Ideots or that neuer studied; liuing austerely, & in great abiection, begging at mens doores: vsing to carrie torches at burialls of the dead, and to sell waters distilled and extracted out of all sorts of medicinall hearbs, for sick persons. Now these latter sort tooke an order for such base & penurious courses: For though they intitle themselues by the holy Name of IESVS as those other did, and make profession of pouertie, as they likewise professed pouertie and patience; yet they soare higher, and flie a pitch equall with the lords of the earth: Nay it is knowne by experience, that in the kingdomes where they are tollerated, they take vpon them like States-men to enter into matter of pollicie and gouernment, hauing secret intelligence with those that are neereſt about princes, thereby to suck out all the secrets they can to acquaint the Pope therewith, whom they professe to maintaine and susteine in all his authoritie and power, by which meanes there is nothing done in any princes court almost of Europe, but the Pope knoweth it. They are also growne exceeding rich by cheating vpon sillie soules, drawing from them (vnder the collour of pietie, zeale, and religion) their lands, and liuelihoods, or persuading them to turne the same into money, and deliuer it into their hands; and they so wiped of their liuings, are clapt into a Seminarie there to remaine till they be commanded (perhaps) to doe some seruice for the Church, that is, to commit treason, or murther. They are so insolent and proud that they ride like Earles in coaches, haue gentlewomen to pull off their bootes, ride from house to house, from good cheere to good cheere, Finally, (for it is impossible to paint them out in lesse compasse than a whole volume) there is no treason plotted in any state, but a Iesuit hath his finger if not his whole hand in it, either in the beginning, middle, or end thereof.

De Relig. Patauin. in templ. condend. lib. II. cl. 5.

CHAP. X.

How they vsed in old time to purge themselues of Crimes imputed, and to verifie their Innocencie.

IN old time, and not long agoe, our Ancestors inuented and practised diuers sorts of proofes, in such things as were doubtfull and obscure, and committed in secret without witnesses: which proofes at this day either are expressely abrogated and abolished as vnlawfull, or else buried and altogether out of vse. These proofes were made especially three waies: by the Duell or Combat, by the burning Iron, and by boyling Water or Oyle. We will first speake of the Combat, whereof many Ciuilians as well ancient as moderne haue written at large, and it was much vsed in times past betweene the Pagans and the Christians, yea among all nations, as it is still at this present among the Christians against the Turkes vpon the frontiers of Hungarie and Dalmatia, to make triall of their valour. But we will speake of it as it was vsed to trie out a thing secret and vnknowne, which was so common a proofe, that *Fronto* king of Denmark made an ordinance, That all differences whatsoeuer should be cleered by the combat. *Bodin* saith, That in Moscouia they doe so still, and he setteth downe many notable particularities touching the combat. But because it was obserued by wise-men, That these single fights or combats deuised to discouer the truth, were deceiueable, vncertaine, and often-times the innocent partie

was oppressed by the guiltie; this vulgar proofe brought in by witlesse people void of any reasonable ground, was forbidden by the Ciuile and Canon law, as appeareth by many ancient constitutions inserted in the Decretalls. Therefore in the Canon, *Significantibus de purgatione Vulgari*, a case is described of two, whereof the one accused the other of theft; and for proofe they vnderwent the combat, wherein the innocent partie had the worse; for the thing stolne was found about the conqueror. Now the combat was practised in old time not onely in serious affaires, but also as an ordinarie pastime: whereupon the name of Fencers was famous among the Romans; and the Emperour *Commodus* loued more to be in a hall of fencing at the sharpe, than in the Senat-house. Contrariwise, many Christian Emperours haue condemned such bloodie sights, and *Theodosius*, when the people in a full Theatre required of him to haue some fencers, answered, That it behooued a good prince not onely to reigne, but also to looke with a mercifull eie. Hence is it that *Panormitan* saith, That all plaies or pastimes wherein mans life is indangered, or the saluation of a soule hazarded, should be vtterly abolished, because they are repugnant to the Word of God. Let vs returne to Histories. *Plutarch* reporteth, That *Alexander* the Great gathered by a combat made vpon pleasure, that he should win the victorie and discomfit *Darius* who was comming against him with ten hundred thousand men. The seruants and followers of his armie deuided themselues in two bands, each of which bands had his captaine, the one called *Darius*, the other *Alexander*. Their fight began at first with clods of earth, then they came to fists, after that, being more heated, stones and staues were furiously set a worke. *Alexander* hearing of it, sent for the two captaines, and would needs haue them fight in single combat one against another. Himselfe armed the captaine that was called *Alexander*, and *Philotas* made readie *Darius*. All the armie stood and beheld the duell, drawing from the issue thereof, a presage of what would follow. The conflict was sharpe: but at last *Alexander* remained conqueror, and had for his reward twelue villages, and leaue to apparell himselfe after the Persian fashion. *Procopius* writeth, That *Narses* in his wars for the Emperour against the Gothes, vsed the same coniectures. And *Cornelius Tacitus* saith, That the Germans inclined much to such presages. These are his words: *If they can take any prisoner of that nation which they intend to assaile, they make him enter combat against some one whom they cull out of their owne: and by the victorie presage of the euent of the war.*

De purgat. Vulg. Ibid. de Cleric. duello certantib. & 2. q. §. C. Consulum istis. & C. Monomachia.

Lib. de morib. German.

I will here (by the Readers leaue) set downe one memorable Duell performed at Paris in the time of *Charles* the sixt, betweene two gentlemen of the familie of *Peter* duke of Alençon, the one called *Iaquet le Gris*, the other *Iohn de Caronge*. The cause thereof is described by *R. Gaguin* as followeth. *Iohn* was a knight desirous to see and learne many things, and therefore had a mind to trauell into farre countreys: so leauing his wife in the castle of Argenteil in Normandie, he tooke his iourney. *Iaquet le Gris* enamoured of this ladie who was very faire, or willing to put a tricke vpon *Caronge*, arising betimes one morning, and mounted vpon a very swift courser, posted to this castle of Argenteil, where being courteously enterteined, he said, that the chiefest cause of his comming thither was to see the tower, which he had heard was very faire. The Ladie taking the keyes, and no whit mistrusting him, whom she knew to be her husbands very good friend and familiar acquaintance, opened the doore, and went alone with him into the tower. He strengthening himselfe in his dishonest resolution by seeing them two there alone, throwes her to the ground, and forceth her;

Lib. 9. Hist. Franc.

which

which done,he preſently gets him gone; yet not ſo ſoone, but that the ladie had time to ſay vnto him thus much, Villanous adulterer, thou ſhalt one day be puniſhed for this offence. Shee neuer made complaint to any perſon of this outrage, but waited her husbands returne; to whom ſhee reuealed with many grieuous tearmes this villanous part of *Iaquet:* whereat her husband extreamely wroth,and ſet on as well by his owne friends and kinsfolke as his wiues, to reuenge it, informed the duke of Allençon of all the matter, requiring that the adulterer might be puniſhed, or elſe, that the difference might bee decided betweene them two by Duell: But the duke making no account of his complaint, *Caronge* had recourſe to the Parliament of Paris, who appointed a day for the combat, whereof king *Charles* was a ſpectator. *Caronges* wife was there in a chariot couered with blacke: Her husband then comming to her,ſaid thus; Ladie,and wife,there is none but your ſelfe onely that can witneſſe of the outrage for which I hazard my life in this combat: tell mee boldly, if I haue right on my ſide to encounter my enemie. My lord (quoth ſhe) you haue; fight with all confidence,the cauſe is good. Thereupon kiſſing his wife,he makes him readie to the fight. They were both on horſe-backe; and at the firſt charge, *Caronge* was hurt in the thigh: but fainting not for all that,he alights, chargeth his enemie againe, ouercomes him, and kils him. The king gaue him a thouſand francs at once,and two hundred liuers for yearely penſion. Such was the end of the villanous adulterer. *Froiſſard* reporteth this ſtorie at large, and addeth (as it is read in ſome copies) *This was not blind fortune,who other-whiles ruleth in ſuch affaires, but equitie and vertue which then diſplaied her forces: for the husband who preferred his wiues honour before his owne life, and feared not to hazard himſelfe to the death for maintenance thereof, hauing cut his aduerſaries throat declared to all the world, That there is a reuenging God, who ſuffereth not hainous crimes to goe vnpuniſhed.* Now, if *Le Gris* had woon the victorie,the Parliament had ordeined that the ladie ſhould haue been burnt,vpon the opinion that men would haue had that her accuſation was falſe; and that *Caronges* bodie ſhould haue been hangd on the gybbet, as that of *Iaquet le Gris* was.

100.li.ſterl. 20. li.ſterl. *Lib.*3.*cap.*45.

To ſpeake now of the other proofes by the burning yron,and the boiling water or oyle. *Iohn Auentin* ſaith, that theſe proofes or iuſtifications were inuented, for that our predeceſſors, men that had a very tender and ſincere conſcience, truſted more in God than in themſelues, depended more of the juſtice of the Almightie and of his promiſes, than of their owne directions and wiſedom: to be briefe, grounded not ſo much vpon their owne opinions, as vpon the inſtructions and commandements of the heauenly truth. *They would* (ſaith he) *that God ſhould gouerne in all their words and deeds, which they then eſteemed firme when hee had approoued them euidently: being reſolued, that they would execute nothing but in the preſence of God all good and almightie, inuironed with his Angels, and his Saints that doe behold him: for which cauſe, in ambiguous matters,namely criminall, that could not be cleared by humane teſtimonie, they would haue recourſe to the declarations from heauen, and to the diuine Maieſtie, which no man can deceiue, as to the honourable Arbitrator and Iudge of all.* In the ſame booke *Auentin* propoundeth the conſecration of the hoat water, and of the yron, as he ſaith he had found it written in certaine old books of Ceremonies, and it is thus:

*Lib.*4. of the Annals of Bauaria.

Conſecration of the hoat water.

O God, the iuſt Iudge, ſtrong and patient; the Author and louer of Iuſtice, that iudgeſt rightly; iudge (ô Lord) that which is iuſt: for thy iudgements are right. Thou who beholdeſt the earth, and maketh it to tremble, thou (ô Lord Almightie) who haſt ſaued the world by the comming of thy Sonne our Lord

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Ieſus

Iesus Christ, and hast redeemed mankind by his sufferings, sanctifie this water by a burning fire, thou, who preseruedst within the fierie furnace the three yong men, *Sidrach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego*, which were cast into it by the kings commandement: Graunt of thy mercie that the innocent person that shall plunge his hand within this boyling water, may bring it out againe sound, whole, and no whit hurt, by thy power (ô Lord) as thou didst bring out the three young men aboue named out of the fierie furnace, and deliueredst *Susanna* from the false accusation. But if any guiltie person, or one whose hardned heart the deuill hath thickned, presume to thrust his hand into this water, let thy most righteous goodnesse vouchsafe to discouer the fact, that the same may appeare by thy vertue vpon his bodie, and that his soule may be saued by repentance.

Consecration of the yron.

O God, the iust Iudge, which art the Author of peace, and iudgest vprightly, we humbly beseech thee to vouchsafe to blesse and sanctifie this yron, ordeined to make iust search and inquirie of euery obscure doubt: so that the person that shall take it burning hoat in his hands, may not feele any burning, or appeare any whit hurt by the same. If he be guiltie, let thy power appeare to be iust in reuealing the crime by such a triall, so that iniquitie may not haue the vpper hand of Iustice, and lying may bee made subiect to the Truth, through our Lord, &c.

For the rest, albeit *Auentin* saith, that these ceremonies which hee findeth haue bin recommended and put in practise by Popes, Christian Princes, Monks and Nunnes, are not irreligious or profane, but that the obseruation of them discouereth some knowledge, faith, and hope in God: neuertheless, as it is lawfull (and pietie requires it) that that which we ought to do in vsing of any thing, is first of all to thanke God who giueth vs the vse thereof; and then to magnifie and praise him with all our heart, beseeching him that such vse may be religious and holy: it followeth that the things rightly grounded in the holy Scripture, are rightly and properly emploied to discouer the truth not apparant: and that (contrariwise) those things which may bee thought superstitious, and meerely inuented of too much curiositie, ought to be reiected, and that worthily: For, the condition of men, their power, and their authoritie, cannot beare them out to establish any sacred signes at their pleasure. For, seeing God is perfectly wise, he hath no need that our thoughts or directions should frame him such meanes without his commaundement. There is no Crafts-man in the world though neuer so contemptible, that would be so handled, but himself wil make choice of the tooles to worke with: so is their boldnesse intollerable, who will take vpon them to prescribe to God what instruments hee must vse in the work of our saluation. As for examples, they haue neither sound nor weight that may surmount the value of truth, nor the force of his voice. Therefore *Salomon* propoundeth these things as supernaturall, vnder a pretie similitude referred to an impossible thing; *Can a man take fire in his bosome, and his garments not bee burnt with it? Can a man walke vpon quicke coales, and not haue his feet burnt?*

Prou.6.27,28.

I know verie well, that prooving of innocencie by the burning fire was vsed ordinarily in old time: whereof we haue a notable storie in *Chunegonda*, wife to the Emperour *Henrie* of Bauaria, buried by her husband in the Cathedrall Church of Pabeberg. It is held for certaine that this *Chunegonda*, princesse of Franconia, though she were married to the Emperour, liued a virgin during all that marriage. The custome was then (saith the Historian) that persons accused of any crime whereof they could not be conuicted by sufficient proofe, and which yet was accompanied with strong coniectures; to iustifie themselues fully

Nicephorus in his Chronol.

fully, and to be held for innocent, carried in their hands a bar of iron all red and burning hot, or walked vpon it bare-footed: or else, thrust their hand into burning oyle or water: beleeuing that they should obtaine of God, called vpon by certain solemne praiers to be no whit hurt by such proofs. *Chunegonda* a yong and faire princesse, not rusticall, or vnciuile, could not auoid the imputation of being vnchast, wherewith her ill-willers charged her, who bruited abroad, that a yong lord of the court entertained her. And the historie addeth, That there was seen many times a spirit formed by Sathan, like vnto this young lord, comming forth of the Empresses chamber. This bruit being noised, the Emperour began first to estrange himselfe from his wife; secondly, to reproch vnto her openly, that shee was guiltie of adulterie. *Chunegonda* fled to the custome, saying that shee would walke bare-footed vpon the plow-shares, burning hoat and sparkling with fire, to make proofe of her innocencie. Hauing gone vpon eleuen of them one after another, she stood still vpon the twelfth, protesting with a loud voice, That neuer any man had giuen attempt to her virginitie. The Emperour seeing that this would be a blot to him, and that hee should be condemned for a cruell iealous husband, came and laid his hand vpon her mouth, to stop her words; and he did it so rudely and so hastily, that the blood came running out at her lips. Afterwards, acknowledging the wrong, and suing for her fauour which he obtained, he liued with her the residue of his daies in great loue and amitie. There is yet to be seene neere the great Church of Pabeberg a chappell, where be certaine pillars laid in a round compasse: they say that *Chunegonda* performed her proofe in that place.

There be many such stories found in ancient Authors, and quarrels determined where the facts are doubtfull, by such proofes and trials, euen among the Pagans. *Lilius Giraldus* in his Historie of the gods reporteth, that in *Dianas* chappell at Castabala a citie of Persia, the Virgins consecrated to that goddesse, walked on their bare feet vpon burning coales without receiuing any hurt: which also *Plinie*, *Solinus*, *Seruius*, affirme was likewise practised in the mount Soracte in Italie, by all those of the familie surnamed *Hirpina*, with the helpe of the illusions of Sathan, within the temple of the goddesse *Feronia*. *Pausanius* saith, that he was a spectator of the wonder, and *Strabo* confirmeth the same, as doth also *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*. We read that by the same Satanicall deceit, *Tucia* a Vestall virgin being touched in her honour, to iustifie her selfe (after certaine coniurations) caried a siue full of water from the riuer Tiber to the chappell of *Vesta*, none of the water running out at the holes of the siue. Another of the same Virgins called *Claudia*, drew a ship out of the Bay where she had long lien aground, onely with her girdle. And *Æmilia* another of the same Virgins hauing cast her linnen surplis vpon the harth of *Vestas* altar, made the fire to go out of it, for triall of her innocencie: which examples doe shew, that such proofs of chastitie and innocencie haue been often vsed among the Pagans, and haue much confirmed them in their superstitions.

Lib. 11.

Lib. 5.

Val. Max. Lib. cap. 1.

Ibidem.

Lib. 2. Antiquit. Rom.

It appeareth then, that it is a most dangerous thing to frame humane actions by examples, except the reasons that fit all the actions doe square also with euerie one of them. And therefore let those take heed they be well resolued, who dispute, whether it be well done of them which without any commandement haue applied the holy name of the true God to their coniurations, tying it by humane curiositie to oyle, fire, or water, and will haue the same receaueable, because of the effects that follow therof. And whereas they obiect the law, or the sacrifice of Iealosie in Israel, it maketh nothing for the purpose: for that was a ceremoniall

Num. cap. 5.

ceremoniall ordinance, peculiar to the Iewish nation, and but for a time, not vniuersall and perpetuall, as the Morall lawes were. There the prieſt with certaine ceremonies and execrations declared by *Moſes*, diſcouered either the crime or innocencie of the ſuſpected wife, by drinking of the water conſecrated to that purpoſe, the operation whereof followed ſoone after. But the proofes that are made by hot water, or cold, by the burning iron, by the ſparkling coales, or by the combat, are called Vulgar in the Canon-law, becauſe the vulgar ſort was the inuenter and fautor thereof; and they are expreſſely forbidden, and aboliſhed by the Canons? which is allowed by *Thomas Aquinas* in the ſecond Section of the 95 Queſtion, and 8 Article, where this reaſon is added, That ſuch proofes are not grounded vpon any Canonicall ordinance, but it ſeemeth that God is tempted by them. *Francis Hotman* a learned Ciuilian, in the end of his diſpute of Fees, ſticketh not to call all ſuch proofes, Furious.

If *Bernardin Scardeon* had remembred this, I doe not thinke he would haue inſerted into his Hiſtorie, for a miracle, the report of that which befell a certaine Ieſuit, or Ieſuat, and it is this: It chanced one day (ſaith *Scardeon*) that the Generall of the Auguſtins hauing dined with the Ieſuits, the table being taken away, as they two were talking priuatly together, he enters into a long and loftie diſcourſe of the excellencie of the monaſticall profeſſion, charging the Ieſuits in couert tearmes that they made not profeſſion of the three vowes as other Monkes did, albeit publikely & openly men called them *Fratri*, Friers or Monks. Their ſuperior in that place (an vnlearned man, but yet wiſe, and of a holy life) anſwered preſently ſaying; Father, ſeeing we are falne into this matter, will you haue, that one of our friers offred ſimply to God, or elſe one of your traine, hauing made ſollemne profeſſion of the three vowes, doe ſhew here before vs, which of them will be the readier to obey his ſuperior? The Generall ſignified, that he ſhould like well ſuch a triall, not knowing whereto the Principall of the Ieſuits pretended. He then turning him towards the holy frier *Marke*, who then waited at the table, ſaith vnto him, Brother *Marke*, our companions are acold, I command you that in vertue of the holy obedience you bring hither preſently out of the kitchin within your hands quick and burning coales, that they may ſoone warme themſelues. He, readie to obey, without further deferring, and beleeuing that nothing could be impoſſible to him ſo as he were commanded, runs in haſte to the kitchin, and from thence brings in his hands ioyned the one to the other ſtore of burning coales, which he preſents vpon the table, without receiuing any hurt whatſoeuer: and hauing offred them to whom ſoeuer would warme himſelf, by the commandement of the Principall, and to the great wonderment of all, he beares them back againe in his hands, and throwes them into the harth whence he had taken them out. The Generall of the Auguſtins amaſed at this, beheld the Monke that was come with him, as if he commanded him the ſame. But the Monke vnderſtanding him well inough, and ſeeing it was no time to ſtand mute, ſaid vnto him theſe words; Reuerend father, forbeare, and command me not to tempt God: If you will, I will fetch you fire in a chafing diſh (as I haue vſed to doe) not in my bare hands. The others, aſtoniſhed at that which *Marke* had done, ſtood ſtone-ſtill, the reſt well pleaſed with the proper anſwer of the Monke, ſmiled one vpon another. This is *Scardeons* tale.

Lib. 11. *cap.* 6.

I confeſſe that it hath come to paſſe ſometimes by miracle, that the fire could not hurt ſome certaine perſons, eſpecially then when there hath beene queſtion of the certaintie of the articles of our faith, or elſe of the true Religion againſt idolatrie, as *Daniels* companions were by the Angell of the Lord appearing in the

the midst of them, preserued from the violence of the burning fire in the presence of king *Nebuchadnezar*. And *Cedrenus* and *Nicephorus* write that in the time of *Anastasius* the Emperour, two bishops, the one an Orthodoxan, the other an Arrian, disputed at first by words touching the matter that was in difference: but afterwards the Orthodoxan propounded this to his aduersarie, that omitting vaine disputations they would both enter into the midst of a burning fire, there to make triall, vnder Gods testimonie, of the truth of their beleefe. The Arrian refused the match; but the Orthodoxan without delay went into the fire, and from thence began to preach, and after a long speech came out againe without taking any hurt at all. *Lib.5.cap.23.*

For the rest, it cannot be denied but by cunning (as by some antidote) one may stay and diuert the force of burning that is in fire, and in other mettalls inflamed by fire: And sometimes there be tricks of liegerdemain vsed, especially by juglers and mountebankes. The lord of Busbech writeth, That being Ambassador for the Emperour in Turkie, there was a Turkish frier that came into his chamber after dinner, who with a great flint stone that he had taken vp in the court of that lodging, gaue such blowes vpon his bare breast as would haue felled an oxe. And that done, he takes an iron that had beene put into the fire of purpose, and was glowing hot, and with his bare hands thrusteth it into his mouth, and there turneth it now into the one side now into the other, his spittle hizzing and boyling as water doth in a smiths trough when burning iron is plunged into it: which hauing done a prettie while together, he at last tooke and laid the iron againe into the fire, and went his way. Which (saith the same Author) is not so strange a matter as one would take it at first dash: For (doubtlesse) this miracle-monger making as if he sought for a stone in the yard to beat his breast with, did then arme his mouth with some proper medicin against the violence of fire, as it is well knowne such things are to be found. The same writeth, That he had once seene at Venice a mountebanke that washt his hands with molten lead, without any hurt in the world. Epist.4.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affections of Menippus, *and other memorable illusions.*

THe learned *Budæus* reporteth a storie, or poeticall fiction taken out of *Philostratus* in the life of *Apollonius*, as followeth. A yong man of Lycia, called *Menippus*, of some fiue and twentie yeares of age, hauing a reasonable good wit, a faire stature, a pleasant and youthfull face, was thought of all to haue won the fauour of a woman stranger, who seemed faire and verie gallant; besides she made her selfe verie rich: but all this was nothing, though all men thought it a great matter. As *Menippus* was one day walking all alone in the way to Cenchreæ, a spirit (it was the wicked spirit) comes to him in the habit of a woman, and taking him by the hand, said vnto him, That she had of a long time beene in loue with him: that she was a Phænician dwelling in one of the suburbs of Corinth, and named it. If thou wilt come thether *Menippus* (quoth she) thou wilt take singular delight to heare me sing; thou shalt haue wine the best that euer was tasted, thou shalt liue there in all securitie without feare of any fellow-riuall, I will passe all my time with thee, and we will liue faire and faire together. This yong man allured with the baite of such language (though he was otherwise a good resolute Philosopher, but loose and giuen to follow women) *Lib.1.of the meanes to studie well.*

women) conueied himselfe in the euening to this womans house, and had the companie of her (as commonly such people vse to doe) not mistrusting but that she was indeed what she seemed to be. *Apollonius* being come to Corinth, and measuring *Menippus* by the eie, as an image-worker would an image; after he had looked vpon him a long time, he said vnto him, Alas faire lad, so much desired of faire ladies, know this, that thou nourisheſt a snake in thy bosome, and a snake nourisheth thee. *Menippus* amased at this word, *Apollonius* went on saying; but in truth, *Menippus*, this woman is none of thine, and dost thou thinke she loues thee? Yea marrie, answered *Menippus*, and with great affection. By this reckoning (replies *Apollonius*) thou shouldest marrie her, and it shalbe most honestly done (in mine opinion) to take her for thy wife, seeing she loues none but thee; but tell me (I pray thee) when shall the wedding be? Verie shortly, answers *Menippus*, and peraduenture to morow. Well, the day being set downe, *Apollonius* remembred it most carefully: So, the guests being all come and set at the table, *Apollonius* failed not to be there in time, and then turning about to the companie, Where is the faire bride (quoth he) for whom you make all this good cheere? There she is (answered *Menippus*;) who blushing begins to stand vp. *Apollonius* going on, But I pray thee *Menippus* (quoth he) this vessell of gold and of siluer, and all the stuffe this chamber is furnisht with, is it thine, or no? It is the brides, said *Menippus*: for I haue nothing in the world that I can call mine but this, shewing his Philosophers gowne which he had on. You will find in the end, replies *Apollonius*, that all these goodly shewes come from *Tantalus* gardens, that is to say, are meere illusions. All the company began to crie out, saying; We know that the Poet *Homer* speakes of those gardens, but we neuer went downe to hell to be able to tell more particular newes of them. Yet for all that, answers *Apollonius*, you should account the spouse and all her prouision a Tantalian garden: for there is not any thing here that is firme, all is but smoake and dreames. And that ye may know my words to be true, this faire bride is an Empuse, or Hag, one of those that take delight in nothing else but to wantonise and commit filthinesse, and after to glut themselues with the blood and flesh of those men they conuerse with, and so to deuoure them. Whereat the Empuse began to say thus, Soft and faire friend, be not so chollerick, and therewith set a good face on the matter, as if she defied him and all that he had said; flouting all Philosophers, and calling them poore doting fellowes. In the meane while the golden cups, and all the vessell of siluer (or that were taken for such) began to melt and vanish away at *Apollonius* protestation. The seruitors, the cookes, the pages, the caruers and other such officers were gone vpon a sudden: and the Empuse her selfe began to pray *Apollonius* that he would not force her to tell what she was. But *Apollonius* would not so leaue, but begins to vrge her so sore, that at last she confesseth her selfe a spirit, and no bride: and that her purpose was to make *Menippus* fat, that afterward she might eat him vp. This is *Philostratus* tale.

Lib 6. cap. 21. of his Eccles. historie.

Euagrius writeth, That the mother to the Emperour *Mauritius*, would oftentimes tell how a certaine Empuse or Hag had taken *Mauritius* being a sucking child, and carried him from one place to another with full purpose to haue eaten him, but that she had not the power to doe him any hurt. And *Lilius Gyraldus* saith, that some to whom such women-spirits haue appeared in our time, haue told him, (and besides affirmeth he hath read it in Authors) that of such spirits as these the Prophet speaketh in the 91 Psalme, where he maketh mention of the euill spirit that killeth men at noone-day. We read in the Historicall

Lib. 12. of the Hist. of the gods.

collections

collections of *Suidas*, that the Empuse is a deuilliſh hagge ſent from *Proſerpina*, and appearing to poore diſtreſſed perſons; and is called ſo, becauſe it goeth but of one foot, the other being of braſſe, or made like an aſſes foot. Many thought, ſaith hee, that theſe hagges vſed to appeare about noone, at ſuch time as the funerall Obſequies for the dead were performed, and that they vſed to bring them bread, wine, light, and ſiluer. And at this day the Ruſſians feare and reuerence the Noone-deuill, who vſeth to watch like a widdow that weareth mourning, at ſuch time as they are cutting downe of their hay, and their harueſt, breaking the Mowers and Reapers armes and legs, if they fall not downe to the ground vpon their faces ſo ſoone as euer they ſee him. *Philoſtratus*, and after him *Cælius Rhodiginus* write, That the Ancients called theſe Empuſes, *Lamiæ*, and *Mormolyciæ*, as who would ſay, Witches, and Wolfe-ſnowts. If we ſay, that theſe Menippian loues are but fictions, tending to with-draw men from infamous thoughts and actions, let vs adde thereto a true narration of that which hapned to *Alexander* of Alexandria, a witneſſe worthie of credit, as himſelfe ſetteth it downe thus: *Being once ſicke at Rome* (ſaith he) *as I lay in my bed broad waking, a very faire woman (mee thought) appeared vnto mee: looking vpon her with mine eyes wide-open, I lay ſtill a long time, much troubled, and not ſpeaking a word, caſting and diſcourſing with my ſelfe, whether I wakt or was in a dreame, and whether it was a phantaſie, or a true ſight that I ſaw. Feeling all my ſences whole and perfit, and ſeeing the ſhape continue in the ſame being, I began to aske her who ſhee was: ſhee ſmiling, and repeating the ſame words that I had ſpoken, as if ſhee had mockt me, after ſhee had lookt vpon mee a long while, vaniſhed away.* *Thomas Eraſtus*, a learned Phyſician witneſſeth, That in the time of the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt, in the yeare 1503, ſuch a like apparition was ſeene at a place neere Ausbourg, reſembling the Abbeſſe of Eteſteten, called *Marguerite de Roth*, which ſuffered it ſelfe to bee ſeene and handled, yea and ſpake in plaine and ſignificant tearmes to thoſe that came neere vnto it. *I. Wier* reporteth a memorable ſtorie of *Magdalen de la Croix*, an Abbeſſe in Spaine, whoſe place a phantoſme held in the Church and elſewhere, while ſhee lay with a wicked ſpirit that had maried her. There be many Hiſtories publiſhed in our time, touching the deceits of Sathan that vncleane ſpirit, who by his illuſions and ſtrange fantaſies hath horribly abuſed ſome villaines that haue abandoned themſelues to women, who appeared to them in woods and fields: which (indeed) were wicked and vncleane ſpirits diſguiſed in human ſhape, and ſeruing for executioners of the diuine Iuſtice, to puniſh theſe wretches giuen ouer to their infamous luſts. We will not proceed any further to paint foorth the horrible trickes of this enemie to mankind. Such abominations are moſt execrable and deteſtable: For, if the law of God condemne thoſe to bee burnt that haue any dealing with beaſts; what puniſhment doe theſe wretched perſons deſerue, that by carnall copulation haue to doe with deuils? Therefore ſuch men and women are moſt inexcuſable and not to bee ſuffered, which wittingly and willingly giue themſelues to ſuch confuſion with Sathan, ſeeking to him, and wooing him, as the hee witches and ſhee witches of theſe times vſe to doe.

Lib. 2. cap. 9.

In his diſpute of Witches.

Lib. 6. cap. 6. of the deceit, &c.

For the reſt, it cannot be denied, but that wicked ſpirits take vpon them diuers bodies, and may preſent certaine ſhapes to mens eyes, although they haue not a perfect organicall bodie as a man hath. Therefore, it is no new or ſtrange thing, if it fall out ſometimes that profane perſons, or ſuch as be ſick or troubled in their braine, haue their ſences deceiued with diuers and ſundrie illuſions, as it hath oftentimes happened in our age, and not long agoe, wherof I will produce

some examples: and first of all, that which I find in the historie of Bohemia
Lib. 23. written by the Bishop of Olmutz. *Wenceslaus* sonne to the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, marying *Sophia* the duke of Bauarias daughter, when the mariage was to bee solemnized, the duke knowing that his sonne in law delighted much in such ridiculous shewes and coniuring trickes, sent to Prague for a waggon-load of Coniurers. And as he that was thought the skilfullest in that science studied how he might worke some rare illusions, such as were not vsually seene, by charming the eyes of the spectators: *Wenceslaus* Magician called *Zyto* (who had sneaked into the crowd, and looked on among the rest) suddenly presents himselfe, hauing his mouth (as it seemed) clouen of both sides, and all open to his very eares: and afterwards comming among them, he takes the Dukes chiefe Coniurer, and swallows him vp with all that he had about him, sauing his shooes, because they seemed all durtie, and therefore he spit them a great way from him: which when he had done, and being not able to disgest such a great morsell, he goes and empties himselfe in a great fat that stood full of water, voids the man downeward, brings him in againe well wet, and shewes him to the companie, who laught their bellie full at the pleasant ieast: but the other companions seeing this, would play no more. Hauing reckoned vp a many such other illusions, he addeth for conclusion, that this coosiner *Zyto*, in the presence of a great many, was caried away aliue both bodie and soule by the deuill: which so mooued *Wenceslaus*, that from thence forward he applied himselfe to the meditation of
Athenæus *Lib.* 12. *cap.* 18. serious and sacred things. Not to stand vpon ancient Enchanters, as *Sciammus* the Tarentine, *Philistides* the Syracusan, *Heraclytus* the Mitylenian, and other famous Coniurers in the time of *Alexander* the Great; there was within the memory of our fathers as famous an Enchanter and Coniurer as any could bee, called *Iohn Faustus* of Cundligen, a German. There is none in all Germanie, little or great, but can tell some tale or other of this wretches illusions and magicall tricks, who had learned the blacke Art at Cracaw in Polonia, where in those daies it was taught in open Schooles. To be short, hee was such a master (for all the world) in deuillish trickes, as that *Zyto* we spake of before. And as they had bin copes-mates together in that cursed craft all their life time, so were they recompensed
Lib. 2. *cap.* 4. alike in their death. *I. Wier* saith, that this *Faustus* was found dead by a bed side in a certaine village within the duchie of Wirtenberg, hauing his necke broken, and the house wherein he was being beaten downe at midnight. These are the rewards due to such wicked and most intollerable curiosities.

To speake more of *Faustus*, I haue heard many things reported by those that knew him, which do shew that he was an arch-cosiner, and skilfull Negromancer, if the execrable trade of a most vaine and wretched man may be tearmed skill. Among other cosining tricks of his, I will speake of one, ridiculous in shew, but most deuillish in deed: for it discouereth how cunningly and seriously (and that in such things as to vs seeme pleasant) the wilie enemie of mankind goeth about to destroy and ouerthrow vs. And therefore the vanitie (or rather impietie) of those men is not to be suffered, who desiring some sport and pastime that may offend no bodie (as they tearme it) consider not in the meane while how they leaue the alliance of God to enter acquaintance with an vnreconcilable enemie, who walketh about like a roaring lyon that he may deuoure them, lying in wait vncessantly for his prey, like the cat when with close pawes and without any noise she watcheth for the mouse to snap at it, and crush it in peeces;
Homil. 34. for which cause *Chrysostome* said, *If wicked men say nothing to thee, yet thou hast the prince of wicked men who perseuteth man without any intermission.* For what doe they

elſe but inſinuat themſelues into the deuils company, ſeeing they vſe exerciſes (as it were) with the furious enemie of their ſaluation, and leauing the ſtandard of Ieſus Chriſt, march vnder the banner of Sathan, as if there were truce proclaimed between them? But God, who hath created men to this end, that they ſhould be ſouldiers in this war, will, that they ſhould appeare in their ranks with their armes about them, and that they ſhould carie alwayes a readie eye vpon the ſecret ambuſhes, or open aſſaults of their ſworne enemie, who (after the maner of expert and politike captains) vſeth diuers and ſundrie ſleights, diſplaying his rage, as he knoweth the nature and inclination of thoſe to be whom he ſetteth vpon. Now *Fauſtus* iugling part which hee plaied was this: Meeting one day at a table with ſome who had heard much of his craftie conueyances and tricks of liegerdemaine, he was earneſtly intreated to ſhew them ſome ſport. And being ouercome in the end by the importunitie of his pot-companions that were well warm'd in the head, he promiſed to ſhew them whatſoeuer they would haue. They with one generall conſent require him to bring into the place a Vine loaden with ripe grapes, and readie to bee gathered: For they thought that becauſe it was in the moneth of December, *Fauſtus* could not ſhew them that which was not. He condiſcended to them, promiſing that foorthwith, before euer they ſtirred from the table, they ſhould ſee the Vine they deſired: but vpon this condition, That they ſhould not ſpeake a word, nor offer to riſe from their places, but ſhould all tarie till he bade them cut the grapes: and that whoſoeuer ſhould doe otherwiſe, was in danger to looſe his life. They hauing all promiſed to obey him, *Fauſtus* by his enchantments and magicall ſpels foorthwith ſo charmed the eyes and fantaſies of theſe drunken reuellers, that they ſaw (as it ſeemed to them) a marueilous goodly vine, and vpon the ſame ſo many bunches of grapes (extraordinarily great & long) as there were men ſitting then at the table. Enflamed with the daintineſſe of ſuch a rare thing, and being very drie with much drinking, euery man takes his knife in hand, looking when *Fauſtus* would giue the word, and bid them cut the cluſters. But hee hauing held them for a while in ſuſpence about this vaine peece of witcherie, behold, all the Vine and the bunches of grapes were in the turne of a hand vaniſhed quite away, and euery one of theſe drunken companions thinking he had had a cluſter of grapes in his hand readie to cut off, was ſeene to hold his owne noſe with one hand, and the ſharpe knife with the other, to cut that off: ſo that if any of them had forgotten the Enchanters leſſon, and beene too forward neuer ſo little, inſtead of cutting a bunch of grapes, he had whipt off his owne noſe. And ſuch a marke had ſuch profane fellowes been worthie of, (or rather of a worſe maime) who being caried away with an intollerable curioſitie, would needs make their paſtimes of ſuch deuilliſh illuſions, which a Chriſtian cannot be preſent at without extreame perill, and ſhould not come there (indeed) at any hand: for it is called a blaſpheming and a ſpiting of God.

For good reaſon therefore are they cenſured as the cauſe of their own ouerthrow, of whom *Bodin* writeth thus; *Fooliſh and curious fellowes will ſee a triall of that which is reported of Witches: as it came to paſſe not long ſince in the citie of Como in Italie, as* Sylueſter Prierius *reporteth: For the Officiall and Inquiſitor hauing a great number of Witches in priſon, and being hardly brought to beleeue the ſtrange things that they ſpake of, would needs ſee the proofe of it, and ſo truſting themſelues with one of the Witches, went with her; and ſtanding aloofe off, ſaw all their abominations, their homages to the deuill, their dancings, and copulations; and at laſt the deuill (who all this while made as if he ſaw them not) beat them ſo welfauouredly that ſome of them died within fifteene dayes:* In the Preface of his *Dæmonomania.*

the reſt renounced God, and vowed themſelues to the ſeruice of Sathan for making this triall: But it fares with them as with the beaſts that enter into the lions denne, but neuer come out againe. No more are their excuſes to paſſe for currant, who by the helpe of magicians haue deſired to ſee their predeceſſors, and I know not what giants of old time: but their curioſitie hath coſt them the ſetting on, and caſt them down into moſt dangerous ſickneſſes. For this prince of darkneſſe, this cunning deceiuer, who we know is a lier and a murtherer from the beginning, howſoeuer ſometimes he may counterfeit the meeke, humble, and loly one, yea and tranſforme himſelfe into an angell of light, yet he cannot ſo hide his taile and his hornes, but at laſt he gripes with his tallants, and by the miſchiefes and harmes he doth, bewraieth what he is. For the holy Scripture teacheth vs, That the reprobate angels are falne from the ſtate of Truth and Grace, and cannot turne themſelues to any good. Whereof *Bodin* in the preface of his *Dæmonomania* gathereth this certaine axiome, *That Sathan neuer doth any good, but to this end, that a greater euill may follow of it: ſo contrarie is he to the nature of God, who will not haue any euill done, though neuer ſo much good may proceed of it.* The fearefull examples before ſhewed of the magicians of *Bohemia* and of Germany, ſhould ſerue for a confirmation hereof. And *Iohn Francis Picus* Earle of Mirandola writeth (and it is repeated by *Iohn Wier*) how the deuill had carried away a magician who had promiſed a certaine curious and vndiſcreet prince to make him ſee (as it were in a tragedie vpon a ſtage) the ſiege of Troy, and *Achilles* fighting againſt *Hector*. It is written of *Zoroaſtres* the grand-child of *Cham* (as is affirmed in the booke entituled, *The Recognitions of* Clement *the Roman*) and the firſt that made profeſſion of reducing magick into an art and ſcience, That being much giuen to the contemplation of the Stars, and deſiring to be thought a God among men, he tooke vpon him to make the Stars twinkle, and thereout to faſten wonders in them that gaue eare vnto him: and then coueting to bring himſelfe into greater reputation, held on his occupation with ſuch furie, that in the end the deuill (whom he was ſo buſie with) threw him into the fire where he was conſumed to aſhes. It is reported by Hiſtorians, of *Lupoldus* duke of Auſtrich, brother to the Emperour *Frederick* the third, That hauing laboured ſore for the deliuerance of his brother (by the deuils working) out of the hands of *Lewis* of Bauaria, he was ſo terribly affrighted with the ſpirit that appeared vnto him, that within a while after he died of it. We read in the abridgement of Hiſtories made by a prieſt called *Siffridus*, of a yong mans death of Friburg, who by the helpe of a magician hoped to enioy a certaine maide which he loued. For the deuill hauing appeared vnto him in likeneſſe of the ſame maide, and the fellow putting foorth his hand without the enchanted circle to embrace her, was preſently graſped of the wicked ſpirit, who cruſht him againſt a wall, and made his peeces flie this way and that way, and afterwards caſt the remnant of the dead bodie (ſo torne in peeces) at the coniurer, who therewith lay ſtill in the place ſore bruſed, and was not able to ſtir thence: but ſome men hearing the crie and noiſe ran to him, tooke him vp, and carried him away halfe dead. Therefore Saint *Auguſtin* ſaid verie well, That the deuills are ſpirits that take no delight but in doing miſchiefe, vtterly void of juſtice, ſwolne with pride, cole-black with enuie, and compoſed of guile, deceit, and lying.

Lib 4. cap 9.
Lib. 2, cap 4.
Lib. 2.
Lib. 8. cap. 22. de Ciuit. Dei.

This a certaine German found too true, who in our time being a warfaring in Italie, put himſelfe into the companie of a ſouldier much giuen to coniuring, by whom he ſuffred himſelfe to be ſo much gouerned, that one time this Coniurer made him ſtand within a circle, fortified with ſo many caracters, that they made

made account (as this poore foole thought, as well as his master) they were safe inough from the power of all the deuills in hell. Hereupon the coniurer wrought so by his horrible imprecations, coniurations, and inuocations, that a wicked spirit being called and threatned with many terrible words, appeared at last, as it were much against his will, and like a man sore frighted, wearing a hat all torne, with a great tospot-feather, hauing about him a sheet torne and tattered almost to fitters, looking like a dead corps that had beene dried against the fire or in the sunne, and afterwards eaten with wormes; with a gastly looke, his feet hauing other shape than that of a mans feet. As he thus stood, the coniurer would know of him (as it were by force) if the Gouletta were taken by the Turkes, or no. The spirit answered, That he could not tell for the present, but that the day before the besieged had valiantly defended themselues: he complained moreouer of the coniurer, who by his horrible enchantment did importune spirits too much; and hauing spoken of some other his hard courses craued a time to thinke vpon that he was asked, and then vanished, leauing behind him such a terror and stinke, that these curious inquisitors had like to haue died in the place with feare. Such a like deuill was that with whom *Euthymus* the master-wrastler wrestled (if the tale that *Pausanias* reports be receaueable) and pluckt out of his pawes a yong maide appointed to be sacrificed: for *Pausanias* saith, That *Euthymus* affirmed this deuill was verie black, of a most horrible looke, and cloathed with a wolfes-skin. But to come againe to our German: He would sweare many times, That so oft as the remembrance of this horrible spirit, together with his voice, which was small, and hoarse, and cut off and choaked (as it were) betweene euerie word, did but touch his memorie neuer so little, he was readie to swoone with feare. By this aforegoing we may gather, that although wicked spirits haue a marueilous quick motion, yet are they not alwaies priuie to things done in countries remote from the places where they make their apparition, and where they are required to giue answer at an instant: and yet I know that sometimes they haue spoken readily of that which was done in another part of the world. Hereof *Plutarch* furnisheth vs with one example in the life of *Cimon* the Athenian, who hauing sent Ambassadors from the Isle of Cyprus to the far parts of Lybia towards Ægypt to *Iupiter Hamon*, to demand of the Oracle the resolution of some secret affaires, he bad him returne againe, because (quoth he) *Cimon* is now with me. Which they hearing, went back againe, and being come into the campe of the Grecians, found that *Cimon* was dead the same day that the Oracle had told them (though not directly) that he was no longer liuing. No lesse memorable is that which the Grecians report of *Apollonius Tyaneus* a Pythagorian Philosopher, and the greatest Negromancer of his time. At the same time that the Emperor *Domitian* was kild at Rome by *Stephanus* and other conspirators, this Philosopher was reading a publike Lecture to a verie great number of Auditors within the citie of Ephesus; suddenly, as all amased, he staied some prettie space without speaking a word, and then comming to himselfe againe, he began to crie aloud, *Courage* Stephanus, *braue* Stephanus, *strike the villaine! thou hast stricken him, thou hast wounded him, thou hast slaine him.* The like storie we read in *Thomas Fazelus.* When the Sarazins had taken, pilled, sacked, and ruin'd Syracuse a famous citie in Sicilia, the verie same day shepheards brought the newes therof to *Adrian* Admirall to the Emperour *Basilius*, being then in Peloponnesus with the Imperiall fleet. *Adrian* questioning with them, and asking how they knew it? They answered, that it was told them by spirits that were roming about a fen hard by the hauen where

Lib. 2. *Eliac.*

Lib. 6. *cap.* 1. of the second Decad. of the Hist. of Sicilia.

the fleet lay at anchor. Thereupon he went with the shepheards to the fen, where with his owne eares he heard the same newes confirmed from the voice of the spirits, being questioned by the shepheards. Within a while after, certaine Greekes escaping the furie of the Sarazins, came in boates and landed in Peloponnesus, who deliuered at large all that had passed, and it was found by comparing of the times, that the shepheards had heard the newes immediatly after the taking of Syracuse.

At the time I wrote this Meditation, there was in the place where I dwell, one whom I could name, and it were no hard matter to shew him, a man verie well knowne, and fit to vndertake many matters, who of a long time hath beene straightly kept as a prisoner, because betweene whiles he is vexed with a spirit exceeding strange and violent. When his vnderstanding is setled and at quiet, if any come to see him, he will salute them by their names and surnames, though he neuer saw them before, will discourse with them in fit and proper tearmes, of their parentage, alliances, deuises and armes, in all respects as if he had frequented their houses all his life time. If he grow a little angrie, he will now and then among, cast in some lies and filthy words: but of the other side, he will also sometimes doe and speake verie strange things. Among the rest, it was obserued, that when the massacres were in France in the yeare 1572. this man had certaine strange visions, whereby it was easie to gather that there were terrible doings abroad some where. And of all other times, the night of the 24 day of August that yeare, this man cried out oftentimes, See, see, what troupes of deuills meet out of diuers countries, and gather together in the aire, making sport one to another, and leaping for ioy, because they haue brought about a great matter which they haue purposed of a long time, and haue executed some extraordinarie crueltie. I see them, I see them running here and there thorow the aire. Then he added: All this is done and executed out of Germanie. Certainely, Sathan is euermore like himselfe, though sometimes he may make as if he had other meanings in his head, and would change his proceedings and courses. For as God is the Creator and preseruer of all his creatures, and hath a will to maintaine mankind: so (quite contrariwise) this *Abaddon* (as the holy Scripture nameth him) desireth nothing else but to see the vtter ruin and destruction of nature, and is marueilous iolly when he thinketh what a number of seruants and companions he hath at his deuotion to put his designes in execution. Aboue all he beareth Gods children a great grudge, and laieth traps for their Faith; bursting with rage, when he seeth them liue in peace and loue together, and bathing himselfe in their persecutions and blood.

CHAP. XII.

Of Satyrs and Sphinxes.

THe ancient Pagans, giuen ouer to a reprobate sense, haue worshipped Satyrs, (which when they became old were called Silenes, saith *Pausanias*) and likewise Fawnes & Syluans, which they called Demi-gods, and gods of the woods: for which cause they consecrated woods, and set vp scaffolds and stages for the plaies that were made to honour them withall, and those stages and theatres they decked with leaues, caues, hillocks, mosse, greene grasse, and such other fine deuises. Painters and Image-caruers haue studied to represent them most liuely, as it is to be seene yet at Rome, and *Plinie* is a witnesse of it, who

who among the works of *Praxiteles*, extolleth very much foure Satyrs; whereof one, couered with a peece of cloth carieth *Bacchus* vpon his shoulders; the second made naked, beareth also another *Bacchus*; the third stils a child crying; the fourth reacheth drinke in a cup to another. There was to bee seene in times past, a peece of worke of the same worke-mans doing, which stood in the gallerie that *Augustus* builded in fauour of his sister *Octauia*, and it was the Rape of *Proserpina*, in which there was a *Bacchus*, and some Satyrs, as *Marlianus* obserueth. The Silenes or old Satyrs were accounted mortall; for *Pausanias* writeth that their sepulchres were to be seene in diuers places. But *Strabo* saith, that the Satyrs, Silenes, and Tityrs, were certaine dæmons held for seruants of the gods (that is to say, angels of Sathan) whereof a Venetian called *Noël des Comtes* hath written many tales in his *Mythologia*. But laying aside the superstition of the Pagans, let vs see what we can find that seemeth to be least fabulous. Many are of opinion, That the Satyrs are creatures dwelling in the vtmost parts of the deserts of Lybia: or (according to *Plinie*) the Satyrs are found in the mountaines of the East India, towards the Sunne-rising, or in the countrey of the Cartadulians; hauing the shape of a man, and marueilous quicke of foot, running both vpright, and vpon all foure, so swiftly, that a man cannot ouertake them but when they are old or sicke. *Solinus* seemeth to make them a kind of Apes. There are also Apes (saith he) called Satyrs, of a pleasant face, that doe nothing but skip. *Pierius* alleageth *Pausanias*, who reporteth he heard *Euphemus* affirme (being a man worthie to be credited) that as once he sailed towards Spaine, and was caried by a tempest beyond the strait into the Ocean sea, hauing there tried his fortune for some dayes, he arriued at last in certaine desolate Islands inhabited by sauages, marueilous fierce and terrible to look vpon, couered all ouer the bodie with red haire, hauing a long taile, and the member of a horse. They seeing the Mariners comming towards them, run presently to the shore, making a noise of no articulat sound, but a kind of confused crie: which done, they offer with an incredible furie to assault the women that were aboord the ship, in so much that they had the greatest adoe that might be, to keepe them off with wands and staues. The Pilot and Mariners fearing least they should haue receiued some outrage from these beasts, cast anchor a prettie way from the shore, and set a land a Barbarian woman that they had in the ship, whom these Sauages vsed with most strange villanies. Afterwards, the passengers named these places, The Islands of the Satyrs. Thus saith *Pierius*. If this be so as *Pausanias* reporteth (which many thinke as true as the fabulous tales of *Lucian*) for good cause haue some Grammarians thought, that the Satyrs were so named because of their notorious lecherie: and indeed they haue bin vsually painted following of *Venus*, and sometimes coupled together as horses, and made to draw her chariot. From thence is the disease deriued, which we call *Satyriasis*: and some are of opinion, that the Satyre (a Comedie or Poeme, taxing with libertie of speech, dishoneſt or infamous manners) should proceed from hence, which we will not take in hand to particularise in this worke.

To returne to our Satyrs; *Plutarch* writeth, That there was a Satyr taken when *Sylla* determined to passe with a fleet of fifteene hundred saile from Dyrrachium to Brundusium. *The citie of Apollonia* (saith he) *is not farre from Dyrrachium, and hard by Apollonia is a parke dedicated to the Nymphs, where within a greene valley and a faire meadow, there issue foorth heere and there certaine bubbles of fire, which flow continually: and they say that a Satyr was taken there asleepe, being such in euery respect as Painters and Image-makers shape him: so he was brought to* Sylla, *and being asked by many*

*Lib.*36. *cap.*5.

*Lib.*6. *cap.*2. of the description of old Rome. *Lib.*2. *Eliac.* *Lib.*10. of his Geographie. *Lib.*5. *ca.*8. *&c.*

*Lib.*7. *cap.*2.

*Cap.*30.

*Lib.*17. of his Hyeroglyph.

In the life of *Sylla*.

many Truch-men, What he was? He answered nothing that one could vnderstand, but onely cast forth a harsh voyce mingled with the neying of a horse, and the crying of a goat: which Sylla *wondred at, and not able to abide it, made him be taken away out of his sight, as a monstrous thing.* *Plinie* saith, That the Satyrs haue nothing like a man about them but the face onely. And *Diodorus Siculus* writeth, That there were Satyrs presented to *Bacchus* in Æthiopia, which had their haires so long that they reached downe to their nauill. We read likewise in the liues of the Fathers, That one day as a certaine holy man liuing in the desarts, was standing at the entring in of his cell, a Satyr came to him, confessing that he was a man, and one of the inhabitants of that desert, which the poore people being seduced called Faunes, Satyrs, Incubs, and worshipped them; and that this Satyr conferred with the Hermit touching the doctrine of Penance. Now many make a doubt whether this were a man in that sort sauage, and naming himselfe for such, or rather some illusion of Sathan: for we read also, that the same Hermit saw a Hippocentaure, who (when the Hermit had called him, and asked a question of him) insteed of answering, began to grunt, and breaking his words rather than speaking, ran out into the fields with such violence, that in an instant the Hermit lost him cleane out of sight. A Rabin Iew, called *Abraham*, hath deuised many strange and vile tales of Satyrs: for he sticks not to maintaine, that the Fawnes, Satyrs, Incubs, and such other monsters, are vnperfect creatures, which God (preuented with the seauenth day) did not finish and perfit: For which cause, these monsters flie the holinesse of the Sabbath day seeking mountaines and darksome dens, from whence they neuer stir till that day be past; and then they returne againe to torment the world. But not to stand vpon such dreames of the Rabins, let vs obserue (by the way) the prouerbe applied (of a long time) against bablers, flatterers, and liers, and such as will now say one thing, and anon another; taken from him, that did blow to make one thing hoat, and then blew againe to make another thing cold; implying, That we must not trust that man out of whose mouth commeth hoat and cold: I meane the fable of the talke betwixt a Satyr and a clowne. Let vs adde hereunto that which *Plutarch* and others write befell *Alexander* the great. When hee had besieged Tyrus, and the Tyrians had defended themselues so valiantly, that all his attempts prooued vaine and bootlesse; Hee (much troubled in mind, for that this siege continued so long, and hindred the course of the victories which he hoped to carrie away in the East) being fallen asleepe, dreamed that hee saw a Satyr leaping and skipping a prettie way off before him: as he offered to goe to catch him, the Satyr ran away; at last, after much labouring and toiling, hee tooke him, and so awak't. The Coniecturers making of this one word two, told him very pretily, *Sa-Tyros*, that is, Tyrus is thine; which came so to passe: and they say, That afterwards there appeared a fountaine neere the place where *Alexander* dreamed he had seene this Satyr. A dreame not much vnlike to this, shewing the euent of things to come, (to make a little digression) hapned to the Emperour *Constans*, as he was readie to giue battell to the Sarazins, saith *Cedrenus*: Being asleepe, he thought he was to goe to Thessalonica. One of his Soothsayers interpreted it thus; *Thes-allo-nikin*, that is to say, Leaue the victorie to another; and so hee did. But such illusions of Sathan, haue not onely appeared to the ancient Pagans both asleepe and awake, (witnesse *Plinie* among others, who saith, That the mountaine Atlas, doth vomit out in the night-time many fires, rings with the lasciuious daunces of the Ægyptians and Satyrs, with the sounds of flutes, pipes, tabors, and cimbals:) but also in our time there haue bin seene apparitions of Faunes and Satyrs skipping, playing

Lib. 5. cap. 8.

In his Commentaries vpon *Genes.*

In the life of *Alexander.*

In his Abridg. of Histories.

Lib. 5. cap. 1.

of

of gamboles, and vsing gestures most villanous and filthie, in many places, to draw vnstable consciences to superstition or shamefull dissolution, especially wanton women that are much giuen to their pleasures. *Paul Grilland* the Mallet of witches, and *Olaus Magnus* (especially in his tales of the Northren places, and other such bookes of weak stuffe) conteine many narrations, and sometimes ridiculous fables touching these apparitions. *Lib.3.cap.11. & 22.*

But let vs leaue these Satyrs, and come to Sphinxes, the second part of our Meditation. We read in diuers ancient writers many discourses of Sphinxes. Euery man knoweth that which is written by many of the Theban monster called Sphinx, (how truly I know not) who had the face of a maid, and wings and tallents like the Harpies, and sitting vpon a steepe hill hanging ouer the hie way, propounded to passengers as they went by, certaine riddles very hard, if not impossible to resolue: and when they were not able to make a direct answere, this monster would runne vpon them, and with helpe of his wings and tallants set them aloft vpon the edge of the hill, and throw them downe headlong: but *Oedipus* gaue the solution of the riddle that was put foorth to him. *Apollodorus* saith, that Sphinx was engendred of *Typhon* and of a great Serpentesse which *Iuno* had sent to hurt and spoyle: That this monster (hauing the face and breast of a woman, the feet and taile of a Lyon, and wings like a bird) learned his riddles of the Muses, and afterwards came to liue in a mountaine called Phyceus, and that he propounded one of his riddles to the Thebans, which was this, *What creature is it, that hath in the morning foure feet, at noone two, and at night three?* The Oracle had told them, That they should be freed from the dangers and inconueniences of the Sphinx, when they should haue discouered this riddle. In the meane while the monster demaunding now of some, now of others, the deciphering thereof, and no bodie being able to doe it, tooke away one of the companie, and deuoured him: in so much as the mischiefe increased so farre, that in the end *Æmon* the kings sonne died, for that he could not expound the riddle; wherupon *Creon* his father made a proclamation with sound of trumpet, That who so could resolue the riddle, should marrie the widdow of *Laius*, and be successor to the crowne. *Oedipus* hearing this, went to the Sphinx, and told him, That his riddle was meant by man, who in his child-hood creepeth of all foure; growne a man, goeth on his two feet; but when age commeth, he taketh a staffe, and so walketh on three. The monster hearing this riddle explaned, tooke such griefe at it, that he cast himselfe downe from the top of the hill, and so was kild. I haue described this fiction the more at large, that one may vnderstand the better whence this prouerbiall answere of the Ancients *(I am not Oedipus)* came, commonly vsed by them when any hard thing was propounded, which they could not answere. *Palæphatus* alleaged by *Lilius Gyraldus* expoundeth the storie of this monster as followeth. *Cadmus* hauing maried an Amazon called *Sphinx*, came with her to Thebes; where hauing slaine king *Draco*, and seazed vpon the kingdome, hee tooke to wife also *Harmonia*, *Dracos* sister: wherewith *Sphinx* was so netled, that hauing drawn some Thebans to take her part, by their helpe and with a dog called *Podochys*, shee tooke the mountaine Sphingium, from whence by out-roads and ambuscados (which the Thebans call riddles) she made war vpon *Cadmus*, and those of his partie. At last *Oedipus* prouoked with the kings promises, tooke armes vpon him, surprized the mountaine by night, and ouercame *Sphinx* suspecting no danger. *Lib.3. of the Orig. of the gods.* In his Riddles.

Diodorus Siculus and *Plinie*, speake verie much of Sphinxes. *Noel des Comtes* a Venetian, writeth a whole chapter of that subiect, *in his Mythologia*, and saith towards *Lib.4. Lib.8.cap.21. Lib.9 cap.8.*

wards the end thus; *I should thinke, that by this fiction of Sphinx the ancient Sages would giue vs to vnderstand, That euerie man ought to vndergoe his estate couragiously: and that, if any man shrinke back, he shalbe forced to goe on whether he will, or no. For, what doe the wings signifie else, but the inconstancie of worldly affaires? and why doe they attribute vnto her hooked clawes? is it not because she can pluck vnto her from all places that which liketh her? And that face of man, what other thing doth it represent, but that it is the condition of all mankind to be laid open to the assaults and changes of this present life? The part of a Lyon signifieth, that one should beare aduersitie with courage, except he had rather be bound to beare it by force: For, if any man behaue not himselfe wisely in the hands of affliction, it will torment and teare him miserably. In a word, the Sages would intimate vnto vs by this fained fable, that either we must by prudence ouercome the discommodities that encompasse vs, or else we must be content to perish in them. The Riddle of the monster Sphinx doth it not paint out the weakenesse of man? for is there borne a poorer creature than man?* This learned and wittie exposition of *Noel des Comtes* I thought not amisse to set downe, that it may appeare (as I haue said elswhere) what good wholsome instructions the Ancients haue hid vnder their fabulous fictions and narrations. Furthermore, there are seene at this day in the Capitoll at Rome, and other places, *Sphinxes* of marble, brought out of Ægypt; where they were wont to set them at the doores of their temples: because the priests meant that their lessons, precepts, and mysticall instructions, should be masked with secret expositions, and so be kept close among them, that they might not by the people be made common and profane. Therefore it is thought, that *Augustus* the Emperour tooke (for a while) the Sphinx for his deuise, as a token of Silence. This Sphinx is yet to be seene at the mouth where the Euxine sea disgorgeth it selfe into the Bosphorus of Thracia, in one of the Isles Symplegades, vpon an old pillar with this inscription; DIVO CÆSARI AVGVSTO L. CLANNIDIVS L. F. CLA. PONTO, As *Iohannes Leonclauius* noteth, hauing seene the pillar and the Sphinx in the verie same place. Afterwards, *Augustus* being flouted by a great many when he could not answer them in the ambiguities of their speeches, laid away this deuise of the Sphinx, and hauing made all sure touching the affaires of the Empire, tooke the image of *Alexander* drawne after the life. The like after him did *Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Domitian*, and other Emperours. *Synesius* alleageth another reason: *The Ægyptians* (saith he) *represent* Mercurie *two waies, like a yong man, and like an old; the one standing by the other: which signifieth, that who so will with praise command ouer others, ought to be strong both in bodie and in mind. For this cause they reare certaine statues of Sphinxes at the doore of their temples, for a badge and ensigne of the diuine coniunction betweene these two Vertues, shewing the force of the bodie by that which is brutish in the Sphinx, and that of the mind by the humane force. For bodily force not guided by prudence, begetteth nought else but broiles and confusions: On the other side, the mind wanting the seruice of the hands, can effect and atchieue nothing.*

In his Pandects of Turkie.

In the Oration to *Arcadius*, touching the manner of reigning.

Pierius collecteth out of sundrie Authors, that the Pans, Satyrs, Apes, and Cynocephals, are creatures almost of one kind; yet distinguished one from another by certaine differences. It may be, he tooke that out of *Solinus*, who saith, that the Sphinxes are a kind of apes hauing the back verie hairie, the pappes bearing out somewhat, and great withall, apt to learne and easie to be woon and tamed. *Pierius* saith, he had seene of them. The Sphinxes (for these be his words) are bred among the Troglodytes of Æthiopia, almost as they are drawne by painters, of a blackish haire, with two teates in their breast: monstrous animals, well fed and somewhat fat, which are soone made tame and taught what one

Lib. 6. of his Hieroglyph.

Chap. 30.

one will learne them. *Albertus Magnus* ranketh them likewise among Apes, and saith that they are marked with two black spots in the iaw, hauing a black & long taile. Now we may not wonder that such animals or monsters are brought out of those deserts of Lybia or other far countries, seeing it hath beene long said, That Africa doth alwaies bring foorth some new thing. For it is well knowne, the great drougth and scarcitie of water in those hot countries forceth the beasts of diuers kinds to draw and assemble together where they can find any riuer, and when they meet there, they make strange copulations, whereby are engendred beasts of new shapes. The inhabitants of the countrey that are vsed to see it, and know the reason, neuer thinke strange thereof. Of the Wolfe and the Hyena is engendred the beast called Crocuta. The Pard couereth the Lioneſſe, whence the spotted Lions come that haue no mane, and are not so generous as the other Lions are, saith *Philostratus*. Of the copulation of Wolues with Panthers are engendred the Thoës, hauing the skin spotted like the dams, and the snout of a Wolfe, as *Oppian* hath obserued. The like falleth out in other animals of differing kinds that mingle together, as *Iohn Baptista Porta* is of opinion; and it hath beene found that shepheards, paisants, and other men set in a beastly heate, haue had to doe with goats and other beasts, from whence may spring such monsters as the Satyrs are. I shall not need to produce the ancient and modern examples gathered by *Lycosthenes* in his Recuell of prodigies. Let vs fauour chast eies and eares, and not touch any further such kinds of abhominations. For conclusion of this Meditation, I wonder that neither the Portugales, nor the Spaniards, nor any else that haue sailed by so many countries and islands of the West and South, of which there was no speech at all before, and who in their nauigation haue run ouer all the Ocean, make no mention (so far as I know) of these isles of the Satyrs, or Sphinxes. For, if whole islands were possessed of such monsters, according to the opinion of some writers, such a thing should hardly remaine vnknowne to pilots, vntill this time. This we say besides, That when time was, the wenches and curtisans of Megara were surnamed Sphinxes, because they carried faces that seemed verie kind and gracious, but otherwise for their snatching and fierceneſſe they were lioneſſes, that swallowed vp their customers: and to them, and their like, may this guird of an ancient Poet be well applied.

A woman for fell cruelneſſe
Is like a raging Lioneſſe.

Nor were the curtisans onely of Megara so branded; but also the citisens and inhabitans of that place were flowted, as effeminate, giuen ouer to all kind of filthineſſe. The Ancients haue made ieasts thereof, growne since into prouerbs. In the 19 chapter of the first Booke we haue spoken at large of the monsters of Africa, which we shall not need here againe to make repetition of.

These may be the Leopards.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 24. of Naturall Magick.

CHAP. XIII.

Strange illusions of Deuills and Spirits; and of the Lycanthrops.

IT is reported by *Plinie*, how that *Euanthes* a certaine Greeke Author, a graue and ancient writer, hath left in a memorandum, That the Arcadians write how that one of their countrey descended from *Antæus*, and chosen out of that race by lot, is lead towards a pond or meare, vpon the side whereof he puts off his cloathes, hangs them vp in an oake, swims ouer the water, and so betakes himselfe into a desert, where he is transformed into a wolfe, and liues among

among other wolues the ſpace of nine yeares: During which time, if he ſee no man, he returnes to the ſame meare, ſwims it againe, re-takes the ſhape of a man, returnes to his home, and prolongs his age nine yeares. Now though *Plinie* hold this for a Grecian fable (for he ſaith thereupon, that there is not any lie how groſſe ſoeuer, but may find ſome to fauour it) yet there be many at this day of a ſtrong beleefe that ſome men grow wolues euerie yeare, and afterwards become men againe, which are called of the Germans *Verwolff*, of the French, *Loups-garoux*, and of the Picards *Loups Ouaroux*, a tearme comming neere the Latin *Lupi Varij*, and ſo doe the Germans alſo expreſſe it in their tongue. Now to know whether this transformation be reall, or imaginarie, let vs heare what *Georgius Sabinus* a learned man reporteth hereof in his expoſition vpon *Ouids Metamorphoſis*, and the ſeuenth booke, vpon this place, *Inque virum ſoliti vultus mutare ferinos, &c. Herodotus* reporteth (ſaith he) That ſuch people are found among the Neurians a people of Scythia. And it is commonly reported, That there be ſuch alſo in the countrey of Pruſſia, and that there was one of theſe wolues taken not long agoe, and brought to the duke of Pruſſia by the countrey-people, who they thought had deuoured ſome of their beaſts. He had in his face certaine ſcratches and hurts, which (they ſaid) were giuen him by the dogs that tooke him for a wolfe. The princes Commiſſioners examining him, he confeſt, that twice euerie yeare, namely about Chriſtmas, and Midſommer, he was changed from a man to a wolfe, that he then grew wild, feeling himſelfe (as it were) conſtrained thereto, and conuerſed in woods among the wolues. That before ſuch time as his wolues-haire came foorth of him, and that he changed his ſhape, he felt a horrible quiuering and faintneſſe ouer all his bodie. Euerie man gaue credit to that which he ſaid. But when they determined to trie out the truth, and to that end had kept him a long time priſoner in a caſtle, the guard hauing a continuall eie ouer him, to ſee the wolues-haire come out, he remained alwaies a man. This was the laſt act of the Comedie. Whereby it appeareth, that theſe tales of men-wolues are deuiſed for pleaſure, and that ſome melancholy and brainſick perſons make themſelues beleeue that they are turned from men into wolues. Thus ſaith *Sabinus*, with whom agreeth *Iohn Ewich*, ſeconding him with a notable example. There was one day (ſaith he) brought to *Pomponatius* (a famous Phyſition in Italy) a ſick man troubled with Lycanthropiſme, whom certaine husbandmen hauing found lying in a haycock, and taken for a wolfe (becauſe he gaue out that he was one, and cried to them that they were beſt be gone, or elſe he would eat them vp) had begun to flea him, to know whether he had wolues-haire vnder his skin, according to the erronious opinion of the common ſort: But at the requeſt of *Pomponatius* they let him goe, and he, by meanes of ſome phyſicall medicins healed him afterwards of his ſickneſſe.

In his treatiſe of the birth of Witches.

Iohn Wierus hath made a collection of many ſuch fantaſies meerely diabolicall, wherewith poore ſoules are bewitched: for thus he ſaith; *If a man meet ſometimes with daungerous wolues that run in Liuonia, which one would take for Witches, and which the Germans call Verwolff; a man muſt thinke them to be right wolues, tormented and driuen by the Deuill to play this Tragedie, who in the meane while by theſe ſundrie roaming courſes and actions, doth ſo fill the organs of the fantaſie of ſuch fooliſh Lycanthrops, that they thinke and confeſſe themſelues to be the Authors of thoſe inordinat courſes and actions; ſo greatly is their imagination corrupted: which is found to be much the eaſier for the deuill to doe, by the deſcription of the ſickneſſe called* Lycanthropia; *when as hee ſtirreth the humours and wits that are diſpoſed to ſuch fancies, eſpecially in them that vſe to bee*

Lib. 3. cap. 10. of Witchcraft.

bee troubled in their braines through the vapours of a melancholy humour; such as these mad and infatuated Lycanthrops are. Or else it must bee thought, that these wolues are very Deuils, who haue taken that shape vpon them, to the end they may the better entrap and deceiue these poore credulous wretches, and worke the more apparantly vpon the harmelesse, and make the Magistrats guiltie of doing iniustice. In the meane while they that say they are transformed into wolues, are found lying in by-corners, cast into a dead sleepe by the cunning of the Deuill, who (like a craftie workeman as hee is) blendeth their dreames with representations of things wherewith he bleareth their eyes when they awake, who thinke that they see them running heere and there after children, or after flocks of sheepe which they deuoure or teare in peeces: In so much as it is no maruell if some of good honestie and discretion, by the witnesse-bearing of these poore fooles, haue made no difficultie to condemne them to bee executed with death. Thus saith *Wierus*; whom *Olaus Magnus* doth contradict, and tels many tales of the transformation of men into wolues, if that which hee writeth may bee beleeued: Yet *Bodin* seemeth to giue credit to them. *Olaus* (saith he) *reporteth very oftentimes things incredible: howbeit he alleageth some, which a man may be perswaded that they are true, hauing regard to the consent, and number of other Authors that witnesse the same. For that which hee affirmeth of the Lycanthrops*; Herodotus, Pomponius Mela, *and other ancient Authors, haue written the same of the Neurians (who are now those of Liuonia) and the moderne haue confirmed it: and among others* Gaspar Peucer, *a man of great learning and rare iudgement*; *as also* Hubert Languet *famous for his knowledge, and well knowne in the Courts of all the princes in Europe, who told me himselfe, that he had learned it of the inhabitants of the countrey. And yet I know not whether the same bee done by some working of nature, who is marueilous in her works, as appeareth by that which befell* Parrhasius, *or by diuine punishment, witnesse* Nebuchadnezar. But in his *Dæmonomania* he is of opinion, that this transmutation is reall, and alleageth many examples thereof.

*Lib.*18.*ca.*45. 46.47. In his Method of Histories, *cap.*4.

Now although it passe for currant among the countrey people, that there be some men transformed into wolues, as they also hold other superstitious opinions: yet I doe not thinke that men of iudgement will so lightly giue credit thereunto. It is more likely, that in regard of men, it is a kind of melancholy humour: but if the Deuils haue their working in it, such kind of wolues doe hurt and spoile by the sufferance of God, and then it needs not that men should be changed into beasts: For albeit the holy Scripture speaketh of *Nebuchadnezzar* (saith *Ewichius*) as if he had beene changed into a beast, that must not be vnderstood according to the bare letter: for otherwise, whereas the text saith, that his vnderstanding was restored vnto him (as *Daniel* rehearseth) it would haue said, that from a beast he was turned againe to a man. *William Camden*, who with great diligence hath described England, is of the same opinion, for thus he saith; *I hold all that for fabulous and vaine, which some Irish, desirous of beliefe, report of certaine men, who in those parts euery yeare vpon certaine daies are turned into wolues: vnlesse (peraduenture) they meane that they are possessed of that melancholy humour which the Physicians call* Lycanthropia, *causing them that are infected with it, to thinke that they are become wolues. No other opinion can I conceaue of those of Liuonia, that are called Men-wolues, &c.* Whatsoeuer it be, it appeareth that the wise and learned Pagans held for most certaine, That spirits and nightly illusions neuer appeared to steadie and resolute men; but rather to timorous persons, to such as were sicke, or fearefull, to women, to children, who by reason of their weake vnderstanding are troubled with a continuall feare. In their mistaking they think verily they see spirits, which indeed are nothing else but imaginations forged in the depth of their fantasie, and that haue not any being at all. This is discouered

*Dan.*4.33.

In the description of Ireland

in *Oreſtes*, who crieth out, *O mother, I pray thee fright me not with thy bloodie furies: I ſee them, I ſee them, they lay hold of me.* Which are the words of a mad man thinking he ſeeth that which he ſeeth not. Therefore *Electra* offereth to quiet him, ſaying; *Poore ſoule! lie ſtill in thy bed: heere is no ſuch thing as thou feareſt.* So the ancient Poet ſaith, That the daughters of *Prætus* ouercome with griefe, perſuaded themſelues that they were changed into cowes, and thereupon began to low, and skit vp and downe the fields: A thing not to bee thought ſtrange, for the humour of melancholy is ſo violent, that it often troubleth reaſon, and ſometimes ouerthroweth and choketh it vtterly. Therefore *Galen* and *Auicen* ſay, that there were ſome people peſtered with this humour ſo ſore, that they thought themſelues earthen pots, & would take great care that none ſhould touch them, for feare to be broken in peeces. There were others that had a conceit they were transformed into birds: for which cauſe they would (as it were) flutter, and beat with their armes, as if they had had wings, and ſo thought to flie. Others (ſaith *Auicen*) imagined, that they were become lions and deuils. *Wierus* alleageth *Plinie* and *Edouard*, who write, That a Beares braine engendreth ſuch like fancies, for he that eateth thereof, makes himſelfe beleeue that he is become a Beare: as in our time it happened to a gentleman of Spaine, who went roaming about through deſerts and mountaines, with a ſtrong beleefe (ſuch a great blow had his imagination receiued) that he was no more a man, but a right Beare. And no maruell, for the number of fooles is infinit.

Now to goe forwards with our diſcourſe of Spirits. They that deſire to bee exempted from ſuch imaginations, ought to prouide that their mind be earneſtly giuen and applied to honeſt and holy thoughts, without ſuffring it to be troubled with terrible and fearefull apprehenſions. To this purpoſe it is written, that *Democritus* the Philoſopher was ſo ſtrongly perſuaded that there was not any ſuch matter in the nature of things, that hauing ſhut himſelfe within a cloſe place where there was a tombe, and there ſpending his time in ſtudying and writing; as a company of yong men went about to make themſelues ſport by making him afraid, and had diſguiſed themſelues by putting on long black gownes, and hidden their faces with ilfauoured and gaſtly vizards, and ſo ruſhing in ſuddenly, beſet him round about with great roaring and noiſe; *Democritus* being no whit diſmaied with all their inuentions, nor vouchſafing ſo much as to lift vp his head, but continuing his writing ſaid onely this, *Will ye neuer leaue playing the fooles?* And certes he was more wiſe and couragious than the Prieſts of Ægypt, who (as *Orus* reporteth) perſuaded themſelues and others, that an Image with two heads, one of a man looking inward, the other of a woman looking outward, was a ſure preſeruatiue and remedie againſt deuils. *Caſſius*, a follower of *Epicurus*, one of thoſe conſpirators that ſlew *Cæſar*, was alſo of *Democritus* opinion: Hee labouring to deliuer *Brutus* out of the feare he had conceiued, by reaſon of a certaine viſion that had appeared vnto him, began to vſe this ſpeech: *Wee in our ſect of Philoſophie*, Brutus, *are of this opinion, that we neither ſuffer nor ſee truly and indeed all that which wee thinke we ſee or ſuffer: and that mans naturall ſenſe is an vncertaine and deceitfull thing; and that the mind (which is yet more light and ſudden) changeth it, and turneth it eaſily without any matter or ſubiect, into all formes and likeneſſes with the ſame facilitie that impreſſions are made in wax. Therefore the ſoule of man, which hath in her that which maketh and which receiueth the impreſſion, may of her ſelfe make one thing both diuers and different: and this the diuers mutations of ſuch dreames as happen vnto vs in our ſleepe, doe plainely demonſtrate; which the imaginarie part, or the apprehenſion of our mind, of a very ſmall beginning doth turne into all ſorts of accidents: becauſe the nature of our*

+ The ſign of a Relict

In his Hieroglyphicks.

Plutarch in the life of *Brutus*.

our mind is to be alwayes moouing; and that moouing is nothing elſe but imagination, or apprehenſion. But now in thee, there is yet more than this: which is, that the bodie being wearied with trauell, holdeth naturally the mind in a trance and in trouble. Now (for the reſt) to ſay that there be ſpirits, and if there ſhould bee any, that they haue the ſhape or voice of man, or any power that may reach to vs, there is no likelihood at all. For my part, I wiſh there were ſome, to the end wee might relie not onely vpon a great number of armes, of horſes, of ſhips, and of veſſels, but alſo vpon the helpe of the gods: conſidering wee are the authors and defenders of moſt excellent, moſt holy, and moſt vertuous actions.

To this afore going let vs ioyne the narration written by *Arrianus* the Hiſtorian, of *Nearchus* Admirall to *Alexander* the great. He arriuing neere to the Iſle of Noſala conſecrated to the Sunne, heard ſay, that no mortall man might land there, and that whoſoeuer would aduenture to goe aſhore in that Iſle, ſhould preſently vaniſh away, and be no more ſeene. Vpon this report the Mariners and Pilots refuſed to caſt anchor: but the Admirall made them turne the prowes of their ſhips to the land-ward, and forced them all to goe aſhore. Afterwards himſelfe landed in the Iſle, letting them ſee, that all that they had heard, was nothing elſe but an old wiues tale. *Ruffinus* relateth ſuch a like ſtorie, worthie to be remembred, touching the image of *Serapis*. Some thinke that by this name *Iupiter* was vnderſtood, bearing a Buſhell vpon his head, teaching men to gouern and to doe all things by meaſure; or ſignifying, that hee nouriſheth the world with abundance of fruits. Others expound it of the working and vertue of Nilus, the which doth fatten Egypt, and make it fruitfull. Some thinke that this Image was erected for an honourable memorie of *Ioſeph*, the ſonne of the Patriarch *Iacob*, for the diſtribution of the corne which he furniſhed the Ægyptians with, in the time of their great dearth. And ſome others ſay, that it is the Image of *Apis* king of Egypt, who when there was another dearth, relieued the citiſens of Alexandria with ſtore of food, ſo as after his death they builded a temple at Memphis, where they fed an oxe, in token of a good countrey husband, and that oxe they called *Apis*. This kings tombe was caried to Alexandria; and becauſe *Soron* ſignifieth a Sepulchre, at the firſt for ſhortneſſe and eaſier pronunciation they tearmed it *Sorapis*, that is to ſay, the ſepulchre or tombe of *Apis*, and at laſt, the common ſort called it *Serapis*. This Image was ſo huge, that with the right hand it held one of the temple walles, and with the left hand the other, the bodie being made and compounded of all ſorts of wood and of mettals. And as the Chriſtians were about to throw downe this Image, to the which the Pagans had committed ſuch idolatrie, a certaine report noiſed by the idolaters, ſtaied the blow: for they gaue out that if any man offered to touch it neuer ſo little, the earth would preſenly open and ſinke downewards, and the heauen would alſo fall inſtantly after. But one ſouldiour among the reſt (ſtrengthened more with faith than with other weapons) taking hold of an axe, beſtowes a blow with all his might vpon the chaps of this image: both Pagans and Chriſtians begin to crie out; but for all that, heauen fell not, and the earth ſunke not: therefore the ſouldior employes his arme againe, and neuer leaues till he cut off one of the knees of this rotten peece of wood: which being off, was caſt into the fire, and it burnt like drie fagots. That done, they ſtrucke downe the buſhell, the head, and the other parts of the bodie, which were drawne through the ſtreetes of the idolatrous citie, and after burnt to aſhes. There remained the trunke, which becauſe it was very big, was burnt in the Amphitheatre: and this was the end of the vaine ſuperſtition and of the old error of *Serapis*.

To returne to our purpoſe, I would not be thought (for any thing before ſet

In his Treatiſe of the affaires of India.

*Lib.*2. *cap.*27. of his hiſt. Eccleſ.

downe) to haue any doubt of the power of wicked spirits, when God giueth them the reines at libertie: for then they can skill how to make and present terrible shewes and illusions, to affright those that are left to their mercie: as at this day the Turkes by enchantments recouer their fugitiue slaues, and constraine them to come back againe from whence they went away. For they write in a scroll the slaues name, and then hang vp the scroll in his chamber, against the which they make strange coniurations and imprecations: within a while after it commeth to passe by the deceit and working of the foule fiend, that the run-away slaue thinketh that lions or dragons come against him, or that the sea or the riuers ouer-flow to swallow and drowne him, and that darkenesse is continually round about him; which illusions doe so afflict him, that he returnes home to his former slauerie worse to him than death. Many examples there are in histories touching these illusions, which it is needlesse to spend any more paper about. For the rest, deuils being spirits not massie, but such as can slip and glide more nimbly than we can imagin, take vp their lodging sometimes in mens bodies, whose health they corrupt, framing strange diseases, troubling the braine with terrible dreames, vexing the mind with furies, and forcing by such tortures poore afflicted soules to run to them for succour, as *Lactantius* sheweth. But withall we must say this, that these wicked fiends can sometimes transport persons, and other palpable and materiall things, from one place to another. On the other side it is certaine, that some women-witches and empoisonners, to draw these vncleane spirits vnto them, haue vsed to annoint and rub themselues with a sleep-causing ointment, and so to get them to bed, where they sleepe so soundly, that they cannot be awaked though one pinch them neuer so hard or prick them with needls, or burne the soales of their feet. In the meane while, the deuill setteth before these miserable sleeping caytifes many toies and deuises, as banquets, dauncings, and all sorts of pastimes: in so much, as it fareth with them as with mad and melancholie persons, and such as being at deaths doore are so troubled (saith *Galen*) that they thinke they see that without them, which is onely within them. Which appeareth by the example alleaged by *Iohn Baptista Porta*. *Once* (saith he) *I met an old witch, one of those that are said to enter houses in the night time, and there to suck the blood of little children lying in their cradles. Hauing asked her a question of something, she promised foorthwith, that within a while she would giue me answer. She puts foorth of her chamber all those that went in with mee to bee witnesses of that which should passe. Hauing shut vs out, she strips her selfe starke naked, and rubs ouer all her bodie with a certaine ointment, which we saw thorow the chinkes of the doore. The operation of the soporiferous iuices, whereof this ointment was compounded, made her fall to the ground, and brought her into a deepe sleepe. Vpon this, we open the doore; and some of vs begin to strike and knock her welfauourdly, but she was so soundly a sleepe, that to strike her bodie and a stone it was all one. Foorth wee goe againe, in the meane while the oyntment hath ended his working, and the old trot being awaked and hauing put on her cloathes, begins to tell tales of* Robin-hood, *saying, That she had passed ouer seas and mountaines, and then giues vs false answers. We tell her, That her bodie had neuer stir'd out of the chamber; she maintaines the contrarie: we shew her the blowes we had giuen her, shee persisteth so much the more stifly in her opinion.* Thus writeth that naturall Magician. Albeit then experience doth commonly shew, that many (without once stirring from the place where they were) haue thought neuertheless that they went trotting vp and downe: yet so it is also, that oftentimes it falleth out by Gods sufferance, that fiends haue carried both men-witches

Lib. 2. *cap.* 14.

Lib. 1. of Prognost.

witches and women witches into forrests and other places, where they haue made them see dancings and reuellings, and such like sights. That famous magician of Samaria, named *Simon* (to whom in the reigne of *Claudius* was erected a Statue with this inscription; SIMONI MAGO DEO, or, SIMONI SANCTO DEO, as *Tertullian*, *Iustin Martyr*, and *Eusebius* write) might well see many countries being carried in the aire by deuills; but at Saint *Peters* praiers, he fell from a great heigth to the ground, and made a wretched end. For which cause (if we may therein beleeue *Cedrenus*) the Apostle was put to death by the commandement of *Nero*, who loued that magician and made great account of him.

In his Apologet.

In his abridg. of Hist. Decad. 1. *lib.* 3. *c.* 1.

Thomas Fazel writeth, That a certaine Sicilian called *Lyodor*, a most famous magician, got himselfe great credit in the citie Catana by his wonderfull illusions. For he seemed by the extraordinarie working of his charmes and spells to transforme men into brute beasts, and to bestow vpon all things else such forme and likenesse as himselfe would, and (by euerie mans saying) he drew vnto him as soone & as easily persons that were distant from thence many daies iournies, as those that were in the same place. Moreouer he did so many iniuries and shamefull outrages to the citisens of Catana, that they, bewiched with a false and fearefull opinion, fell to worshipping of him. And when for his wicked deeds he was condemned to die, by vertue of his charmes he escaped out of the hangmans hands, and made himselfe be carried away in the aire by deuils from Catana to Constantinople, and after brought back againe from thence into Sicilia. All which impostures and witchcrafts made him admired of all the people, who were so carried away therewith, that thinking the Diuine power was hid within this magician, euerie man running into execrable error offred him diuine honours. But at the last *Leo* bishop of Catana inspired suddenly with the Spirit of God, in an open place and before all the people, laide hands vpon this magician, and made him be cast aliue into a hot-burning furnace, where he was consumed to ashes. To this example we may ioyne that of the Iew-magician called *Dauid*, whom we haue described in another place, out of the Voiages of *Beniamin de Tudela*. And *Paul Grilland* a Ciuilian of Italy alleageth other such like Histories. It fell out once that a certaine man curious after such impieties, was in an instant carried from his house, and laid in a most pleasant place, where hauing seene dancing all the night, and made good cheere as he thought; when morning was come, all these magnificences being vanished, he found himselfe laid vpon thornes among a company of thick bushes, readie to die with hungar. The magicians that vse these tricks, are properly called Enchanters, and their custome is to make an apparition of costly bankets, of tables loaden with meats, and a number of seruants to waite; as *Dominick Soto* maketh mention of a Spaniard named *Mendoza*, who practised this vnhappie occupation: but it is found at the last that all these goodly preparations are nought else but ashes, and coales, and meere jugling toies. *Bodin* reporteth, that in our time one of the earls of Aspremont entertained most magnifically all commers to his house, who receiued great contentment by the daintie meats, the curious seruice, and abundance of all things that they had. Neuertheless, the men and the horses were no sooner out of the house, but they were readie to starue with hungar and thirst. These were such banquets as that of *Menippus* was, of which we haue spoken before. This is certaine (as *Lactantius* saith) that the illusions of magicians make not shew of any thing that is sound and true: And all their nimblenesse serues to none other end but to charme the eies of the beholders. Or else (according to the opinion of *Iamblicus* a Platonian) the thing which the charmed

Lib. 3. *cap.* 2. *Lib.* of casting of lots, Quest. 7.

Lib. 8. *de iust. & iure*, *Quæst.* 3. *art.* 2.

In the 10. Chap. *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 15.

persons imagin they see, haue no being or substance, but they are meere imaginations and nothing else. *Plutarch* writeth that *Pericles*, a valiant and wise captaine as any of his time, hauing beene brought downe through a long and wearisome sickenesse, grew so weake in his braine, that he suffred himselfe to be gouerned by witches; and one day as a friend of his came to see him, he shewed him a kind of preseruatiue charm, which the women had tied about his neck like a carcanet: as if he meant to let him vnderstand, that he was verie ill when he endured to haue such a foolerie applied vnto him. Historians also write, that *Vlysses*, esteemed by *Homer* the wisest of all the Greekes, being sore hurt in the thigh, did suffer the blood to be stanched by a charme. But experience hath shewed that all these inuentions were nought else but vanities and mockeries of the spirit of Error. Therefore *Plinie* had good cause to say, how that *Nero* acknowledged and found, that Magick (to which he was giuen) was but vaine and false in euerie part of it. This may be confirmed by the notable example of the magicians of Ægypt, who went about to counterfeit the true and diuine miracles wrought by *Moses*: for his rod being turned into a serpent deuoured all the serpents of those Enchanters. *Dio* witnesseth, That the Emperour *Adrian* voided all the water wherewith he was swolne, by magicall arts and enchantments: but that presently after he appeared (and was indeed) full of the dropsie as before. Therefore *Pomponius Lætus* said well, That *Maxentius* was fitter to play the jugler than to gouerne the Empire: and afterwards he addeth, *That all they that haue recourse to Magicians, and seeke for predictions in the guiding of their affaires, are euermore perplexed, and in this desire of knowing things to come, doe ballance with extreame disquietnesse betweene Hope and Feare. If the Soothsaiers foretell them ioyfull things, a vaine hope begins to carrie them aboue the winde: if they denounce some misfortune, they are stricken & infatuated with sadnesse.* Besides these others which I haue alleaged, *Andreas Alciatus* an excellent Ciuilian hath discoursed both learnedly and Christianly of this matter: among other articles, he refuteth by the authoritie of the holy Scriptures, and the testimonies of *Origen* and Saint *Ierome*, the opinion of some ancient and moderne Diuines, who maintaine that our Sauiour was carried and set vpon the pinacles of the Temple by the power and working of Sathan. *Alciatus* saith, Although it be contained in the text that Sathan carried Iesus away into the holy citie, and placed him vpon the pinacles, yet our Sauiour did the same willingly, and gate vp thether by the conduction of the holy Spirit. I know verie well, That *Paul Grilland* and others hold the contrarie, and produce many and sundrie arguments and testimonies for maintaining thereof. But I will not dispute of it, but leaue the consideration hereof to the Diuines.

In the life of *Pericles*.

Lib. 30.

Exod. cap. 7.

In the life of *Adrian*.

In the abridgemen of Roman Hist.

Parer. Iur. lib. 8. *cap.* 22.

Lib. of Cast. lots, Quest. 7.

CHAP. XIV.

Of many strange things whereof none can yeeld a reason. And of the Impostures of Sathan.

Cap. 10.

WEe read in *Solinus*, that the Philosopher *Democritus* disputing against Magicians, and offering to make proofe of the secret power of nature, vsed the help of a stone called Catochites, which is found in no place but in the Isle of Corsica, and sticketh so fast to the hands and other parts of mans bodie, if it once touch the same, that a man hath much adoe to draw it away. Not without cause therefore is it, that many maruell to see a number of naturall things, of

of the propertie of which it is impossible to yeeld a certaine reason: as for example, No man can tell why forked sticks of hazill (rather than sticks of other trees growing vpon the very same places) are fit to shew the places where the veines of gold and siluer are: the sticke bending it selfe in the places, at the bottome whereof the same veines are. Who can alleage any certain and firme reason why the blood runnes out of the wounds of a man murdred, long after the murder committed, if the murderer be brought before the dead bodie? *Galeotus Martius*, *Ieronymus Maggius*, *Marsilius Ficinus*, *Valleriola*, *Ioubert*, and others haue offered to say something thereof. Who (I pray you) can shew, why, if a desperat bodie hang himselfe, suddenly there arise tempests and whirlewinds in the aire? And who can tell exactly (though *I. Baptista Porta*, and *Iulius Cæsar Scaliger* doe learnedly dispute thereof) why sometimes the stone called Theamedes doth draw yron to it of the one side, and of the other side putteth it away? And whence commeth it, that if a man rub the same stone with garlicke, or couer it with dung, it looseth the vertue of drawing to or putting from, vntill it be washed with wine? Againe, why the needls that are made of it, turne either towards the South, or towards the North? The Loadstone doth not onely draw yron, but (as *Plato* saith) if many yron rings be tied one to another, the loadstone by his secret vertue pierceth into all those rings so following one another, without any other vertue or force than that of the stone. And therefore whosoeuer shall obserue this wonderfull propertie, it is impossible but he must be rauished with admiration thereof when he first seeth it, as S. *Augustin* confesseth he was. Who would beleeue without superstition (if experience did not make it credible) that most commonly all the Bees die in their hiues, if the master or the mistresse of the house chance to die, except the hiues be presently remooued into some other place? And yet I know this hath hapned to folke no way stained with superstition.

*Cap.*22. of mingled doctrine. In his Miscell. *Lib.*3. *cap.*5. *Lib.*16. *cap.*5. of the immortalitie of soules. *Lib.*2 *cap.*21. of naturall Magicke. In his 131 exercise against *Cardan.*

In the Dialog. entit. *Io.*

*Lib.*2. of the Citie of God. *Cap.*4. & 5.

Also we know great and noble houses, that haue certaine signes and warnings either of the extreame sickneſſe, or of the danger, or death of some one of their kinred, be he neere vnto them, or in some farre countrey, were it among the Antipodes. *Lodouicus Lauaterus* produceth many examples to this purpose, in his worke of the apparition of spirits. Among others he alleageth out of *Cardanus*, that there is a noble family at Parma, & whensoeuer any is to die out of it, there is alwaies seene in the hall of the house an old woman sitting in the chimney corner. Shee was one time perceaued, when a certaine young gentlewoman of that family was sicke, who thereupon was taken for dead, notwithstanding shee recouered her health, but in her place another of the same house died suddenly. The Marquesses of Est, afterwards dukes of Ferrara, haue of a long time obserued the same in an Abbey where *Beatrix* of Est, who came out of their house, was buried: for, so soone as any strange thing was to happen to their house, one should heare in the Chappell of this Ladie a great noise and rustling, and her corps which was laid vpright, should be found lying atone side. She died in the yeare 1226, in the moneth of May, saith *Bernardin Scardeon*: her corps was caried into a monasterie of Ferrara, where it shewed things to come no lesse than it had done before. That which *Bale* writeth of *Sylvester* is no lesse notable. These bee his words; It is said, That the sepulchre of *Sylvester* presageth the death of the Popes, by a knocking and ratling of the bones within, and by a sweating of the stone without. He died in the yeare 1003, and by his first name was called *Gerbert*, a Monke in the Abbey of Fleury. Touching his practises to become Pope, and likewise touching his life and his death, *Nauclerus*, *Platina*, and *Onuphrius*

*Lib.*1. *cap.*16.

*Lib.*2. *clas.*6.

*Lib.*5. of the liues of the Popes.

phrius the Popes Chamberlaine (who helping himselfe with memorials out of the Vatican Librarie, and out of many other learned bookes, hath diligently written the liues of the Popes) tell strange and wonderfull things. *Herodotus* writeth, That in Pedusia aboue Halicarnassus, *Mineruas* priest had certaine tokens which foretold him the aduersities that within a certaine time after should befall the Amphyctians, who dwelt round about the same citie. There bee some princes of Germanie that haue particular and apparant presages and tokens full of noise before or about the day of their death, as extraordinarie roaring of lions, and barking of dogs, fearefull noises and bustlings by night in castles, striking of clocks, and tolling of bels at vndue times and howres, and other warnings whereof none could giue any reason. I haue heard a prince say, that there is in his territories a fountaine that yeelds a current of water which runs continually; and euer when it decreaseth, it presageth deerenesse of victuals: but when it groweth drie, it signifieth a dearth. But what may we thinke of the fountaine that was whilom at Glomutz, or Lumiz a citie of Misnia? *Dietmarus* writeth of it this that followeth, by report of *Peter Albinus* in his Chronicle: There is a fountaine in the citie of Glomutz a league from the riuer Elbis (saith he) which of it selfe making a pond produceth oftentimes certaine strange effects, as the inhabitants of the countrey say, and many that haue seene the same witnesse. When there was like to be a good and fruitfull peace in all the places about, this fountaine would appeare couered with wheat, oats, and akornes, to the great ioy of the countrey people that flock thether from all parts to see the same. If any cruell war doe threaten the countrey, the water is all thick with blood and with ashes, a certaine presage of miserie and ruine to come. The same *Albinus* also, after *Erasmus de Stella*, saith these words, That in old time the Vandals Sorabes came euerie yeare in great troupes to this wonderfull fountaine, where they sacrificed to their Idols, and enquired after the fruitfulnesse of the yeare following: and that this idolatrie lasted till the time of one of the *Henries* that were Emperours, who brought all the people of that countrey to the knowledge of the Gospell.

In the 7. title or chapter.

It hapneth also most often in Couents, that in the Churches there are seene spirits without heads, apparelled like Monkes and Nunnes, sitting in the pewes of the right Monkes and Nunnes which were to die soone after. And my selfe know some Gentlemen that confesse, If a certaine fountaine (being otherwise very cleane and cleare) be suddenly troubled by meanes of a worme vnknown, that the same is a personall summons for some of them to depart out of the world. Another noble house holdeth for the like presage, when there hapneth any sinking of the ground neere to their castle, or any other part of their territorie. In Bohemia there is seene the apparition of a woman in mourning attire, in a castle belonging to a great and honourable House, a little before that any wife of any of the lords of that family bee to depart this life. And who can relate all the particularities of such accidents? therefore as wee must confesse that there be infinit things in the bosome of nature, which are hidden and vnknowne to vs (nature abounding with innumerable treasures of Sciences which can neuer be exhausted) and in the suppression of which, no lesse than in the manifestation of those that are discouered, the immense wisedome of the Creator doth sufficiently shine and appeare (for he can, as often as it pleaseth him, make that to be which is not, and change that which is; hauing bin no whit impossible to him, saith Saint *Augustine*, to create such natures as he thought good, and being possible also for him to change them into such other as he will:) so may wee obserue

Lib. 21. of the citie of God.

ſerue in ſome of them certaine impoſtures and illuſions of Sathan, who by the ſame goeth about to ſurpriſe and deceiue the vnaduiſed. *Dominicus Soto* (a Spaniard handling this queſtion, Whether it bee lawfull to coniure deuils) prooueth both largely and learnedly, that there be ſtrange and marueilous properties hidden in waters, in herbes, in ſtones, and other naturall things, which are not knowne to men, but are manifeſt to wicked ſpirits, who with a very ſudden motion can carrie them hither and thither, to ſhew effects moſt extraordinarie, and which ſeeme miraculous. And therefore it is not without cauſe that theſe vncleane and reprobat ſpirits are thought to be fortified with inuentions and artes full of deceits and noiſome illuſions: For they can (by Gods permiſſion, not of their owne power) corrupt and alienate the ſences of men infinite wayes: and ſometimes by the helpe of theſe ſecrets of nature, preſent them, in ſtead of true things, that which hath no reſemblance of truth. Or elſe (as *Lactantius* ſaith) they charme with their illuſions the eyes of the beholders, ſo as they ſee not that which is, and thinke they ſee that which is not. *For this authour of all euill* (ſaith S. *Ignatius* Martyr) *taketh vpon him infinite faces, and changeth himſelfe into many ſhapes, deceiuing mens vnderſtandings by falſe perſuaſions, being contrarie to himſelfe, vnconſtant, an hypocrite, and a lyer: inuentious and craftie to doe euill, vntoward and vnprofitable to any good, which he knoweth not.* Therefore *Prudentius* the Poet deciphereth him elegantly in theſe verſes;

Auant prodigious Worker of huge dreames;
Thou that (Arch-lier) with thy charming gleames
Bewitcheſt hearts and eyes: Thou Serpent old,
That full of frauds and windings many wayes
Doſt vex the peacefull mind, and it doſt hold
Within thy clutches arm'd at all aſſayes.

Theſe things I thought vpon, as once I heard a man (worthie of credit) diſcourſe of the tyrannie of the Fiend in the countreys that lie farre Northwards, where he tormenteth the inhabitants by his illuſions and impoſtures, more than euer he did vſe to doe. He ſaid, that the deuils doe there conuerſe familiarly in houſes, doe ſeruice and drudgerie, and are called of the countrey people, Good fellowes: They dreſſe horſes and other beaſts very carefully, ſhew themſelues peart and nimble to doe all that one commands them, without doing any harme, (as the inhabitants ſay) ſo that the companie of theſe Good-fellowes is verie profitable and pleaſing to many maſters. And oftentimes they foretell the perſons whom they ſerue, of ſickeneſſes and dangers threatned, to the end they may preuent the ſame: and at this day there be ſome Muſcouites that affirme they are ſerued of ſuch: and they worſhip certaine ſpirits that appeare vnto them in the likeneſſe of a man, which are called of them *Coltzki*, of the Greeks *Coboli*, and of the Germans *Cobaldes*, ſaith *Iohannes Meletus*. They beleeue that theſe ſpirits kepe in ſome by-corners of houſes, or among piles of wood cut for the fire: they giue them of the daintieſt victuals in the countrey, and of all maner of ſorts; becauſe theſe ſpirits are wont (in requitall of ſuch good cheere) to bring their Hoſts good wheat which they ſteale out of mens garners in other places. Theſe ſpirits being light and incomprehenſible, haue a marueilous kind of promptneſſe and viuacitie, exerciſed with long cuſtome and experience of things; which maketh them by naturall cauſes to foreſee things a long time before-hand, yea, and to know them much more exactly than the ſpirits of men can, that are loaden with the heauie maſſe of their bodies: And that S. *Auguſtin* thought, when he wrote theſe words, *We muſt note, that the nature of deuils is ſuch, that*

Lib.8.de inſtit. & de recto. queſt.3.art.2.

Lib.2.ca.1.& 2

In his letter to the Philippians.

In the Hymne of the euening

In his letter touching the religion & ſacrifices of the ancient inhabitants of of Pruſſia.

In his book of the nature of the damned.

that in the ſenſe of their ayrie bodies they eaſily ſurpaſſe the ſenſe of earthly bodies. Likewiſe in ſwiftneſſe, they exceed, by reaſon of the agilitie of their bodies, not onely men and foure-footed beaſts, how ſpeedie ſoeuer their courſe be; but alſo the moſt ſudden flying of birds: with this quickneſſe of ſenſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſpeed they declare things knowne and diſcouered by them before, at which men wonder becauſe of the lumpiſhneſſe of their earthly ſenſe. Moreouer, by reaſon of the long time it is that theſe ſpirits haue beene, they enioy much larger experience, and a more exact knowledge of things, than men by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of their life, can attaine vnto. The verie Pagans knew thus much: For *Plato*, after *Heſiodus*, thinketh that the Dæmons are ſo called, as who would ſay *Daemons*, that is, prudent and skilfull. *Triſmegiſtus* is of the ſame opinion, as it is alleaged by *Lactantius*, who addeth further, *The Dæmons know many things to come, but not all; becauſe it is not lawfull for them to know all the counſell of God: therefore their anſwers are moſt commonly doubtfull and of two meanings.*

In his Cratyl.

Lib. 2. cap. 14.

To returne to our purpoſe: That man of whom I made mention afore, aſſured, that in thoſe Northern countries there was a certaine place in a promontorie betweene two horrible rocks of the ſea, in the which moſt often ſome daies before, and ſometimes at the verie inſtant that a battell was fought, or ſome ſlaughter of men was made in any place of the world, the waues of the ſea would appeare all as blood, and a man ſhould ſee floating among them bodies of men all mangled and for the moſt part wanting ſome of their parts, as head, foot, or hand. *Olaus Magnus* ſeemeth to ſay the ſame, deſcribing a place of Iſland, where by the apparition of ſpirits, the Iſlanders preſage the aduentures of princes, and tell of that which is done in the remoteſt parts of the world. Now although I am not ignorant, that the waters doe oftentimes change colour naturally (as the Arabian ſea appeareth red at a certaine time, and the Diphnoſophiſts in *Athenæus* diſcourſe largely of the nature of waters, and of the differences of them, according to the qualitie of the places, in theſe termes; *The colour of waters is ſuch as the ground is that they waſh: the water of the Lake of Babilon is red for ſome daies, and that of Boryſthenes is of azure-collour at certaine times, although verie light, ſeeing it runs aboue the riuer Hypanis, becauſe the waters thereof running out of the North are verie cleere and pure:*) notwithſtanding, if that we now ſaid of bodies comming foorth (as it were) of the waters, be thought fabulous and vaine to ſome, let vs heare (ſaid that man further) what another worthie of beleefe, as an eie-witneſſe, hath oftentimes reported vnto vs. He was one that had trauelled diuers parts of Aſia and Ægypt, and affirmed that he had ſeene more than once in a certaine place neere to the Cayre (where meets a great number of people vpon a certaine day in the moneth of March, to behold the reſurrection of the fleſh, as they ſay) certaine bodies of dead perſons, ſhewing and putting themſelues (as it were) by little and little out of the ground: not that one may ſee them all whole, but ſometimes the hands, and ſometimes the feet, and ſometimes halfe the bodie: which done, they goe in againe, and then put themſelues out, and preſently hide themſelues againe by little and little within the ground. When many could not beleeue ſuch ſtrange things, and I (for my part) deſired to know the truth of all this matter, I enquired further thereof of a kinſman of mine, my ſingular good friend, a gentleman ſo well accompliſhed for all vertues, as is poſſible to find any, aduanced to great honour, and hauing an inſight in moſt things: He hauing trauelled the foreſaid countries with another gentleman who was alſo one of my moſt familiar and greateſt friends, called the lord *Alexander* of Scullenbourg (kild of late yeares in Frizeland being gone thether to ſee ſome kinsfolkes and friends of his that bare

Lib. 2. of his North. Hiſt. lib. 3, & 4. cap. 22.

Lib. 2. cap. 2.

bare armes there; a man for his most rare vertues worthie of a longer life) told me that he had heard by many but had not seene it himselfe, that it was a matter of verie truth; in so much as at Caire, and in other places of Ægypt, all held this resurrection for a common and sollemne thing. And for my better satisfaction, he shewed me a booke, printed long before at Venice, containing diuers descriptions of voiages made by Venetian Ambassadors to the princes of the Northerne Asia, into Æthiopia, and to other countries to vs vnknowne. There was one discourse among the rest entituled, *Viaggio di Messer Aluigi di Giouanni di Alessandria nelle Indie:* out of which I haue taken some words towards the end; the sense whereof is this. *The 25 day of March, in the yeare 1540. many Christians accompanied with certaine Ianissaries, went from Cayre towards a little barren mountaine about halfe a league off, assigned in times past for a place of buriall for the dead: in which place there meets ordinarily euerie yeare an incredible multitude of persons, to see the dead bodies there interred, comming out (as it were) of their graues and sepulchres. This beginneth the Thursday, and lasteth till the Satterday, and then all vanisheth away. Then may ye see bodies wrapped in their cloathes, after the old fashion. But, one sees them not either standing or walking: but onely the armes or the thighes, or some other part of the bodie which you may touch. If you goe further off, and presently come forward againe, you shall find these armes or other lims appearing more out of the ground. And the more you change places, the more diuers & eminent these motions are seen. At the same time many tents are spread about this mountaine. For both whole and sick that come thether in great troupes, beleeue verily, that whosoeuer washeth himselfe the night before the Friday with a certaine water drawne out of a pond there hard by, it is a remedie to recouer and maintaine health. But I haue not seene this miracle.* This is the report of the Venetian. Besides the which, we haue also the relation of a Iacobin of Vlme named *Felix*, who hath trauelled in those quarters of the Leuant, and hath published a booke in the Almaine tongue of that which he saw in Palestina and in Ægypt. He maketh the same narration. Now as I haue not taken vpon me to maintaine, that this apparition is a miraculous thing, to confound those superstitious and idolatrous people of Ægypt, by shewing them that there is a Resurrection and a Life to come; nor yet doe meane to confute the same, or to sustaine that it is an illusion of Sathan as many thinke: So doe I leaue the iudgement of this matter to the Reader, to thinke and resolue thereof as shall seeme good vnto him.

CHAP. XV.

Of a mans Genius, or familiar spirit. And of the wicked spirit of Caumont, *and of* Schiltac.

Eruius the Grammarian is of opinion, that Genius was held for God, because he was giuen to be a guide and conductor of those that were borne. *Censorinus* is of the same mind, saying; That we haue a Genius giuen vnto vs for a continuall controller and assistant, and that he is neuer a minute from vs, but doth alwaies accompany vs from the time we are committed to his charge, which is at our first comming into the world, vntill our last gaspe. *Socrates*, *Empedocles*, and *Menander* haue thought the same, attributing to euerie person a good and a bad Genius or familiar spirit, a thing that *Plutarch* approoueth in his Tractate of the contentment of the mind.

The Pagans endued with such opinions erected peculiar seruices & sacrifices to these Geniusses, who were represented by the shape of a serpent, sometimes of

of a child, or an old man. These shapes were crowned with leaues of the Plane-tree, which tree serueth for generation. In the ancient coines of *Traian* and of *Adrian*, and of other princes, there is seene a Genius holding in his right hand a cup which he reacheth out ouer an Altar strewed with flowers; and in his left hand a whip, or such like thing. In the coines of *Adrian* and of *Diocletian* there is seene in the left hand of the Genius, a *Cornu copia*, or horne of abundance, and in the right a cup, with this inscription GEN. P. R. And so in diuers other coines, diuers and sundrie inscriptions. Cities and nations had also their speciall Geniusses.

Genius Populi Romani.

Now the Pagans attributed such reuerence to this Genius, that whosoeuer sware a false oath by the Genius of the princes, was punished by an expresse Edict with the bastonado. But yet he was punished more grieuously that tooke the name of *Iupiter* in vaine and to maintaine a lie, as the learned *Rœuardus* prooueth by diuers testimonies. But to come to examples drawn out of Histories, that which *Plutarch* reporteth of the Genius of *Augustus* and of that of *Antonie* is memorable, and deserueth to haue the first place: to shew how the Romans thought that one Genius, or Dæmon & familiar spirit, had the aduantage of another: which *L. Gyraldus* toucheth in the Historie of the gods. I will here set downe the words of *Plutarch* speaking of *Augustus* and *Antonie*. *In all pastimes* (saith he) *and in all plaies that they sometimes vsed one with another*, Antonie *euer lost and had the worse, whereat he would be much vexed. For he had about him an Ægyptian Diuine, one of those that vse to calculate Natiuities, and to foretell mens fortunes by obseruing the houre of their birth; who either to gratifie* Cleopatra, *or else becawse he found so by his art, told* Antonie *plainely, that his fortune (which of it selfe was verie great and most splendent) was dazled and obscured when it came neere that of* Cæsar; *and therefore hee aduised him to remooue himselfe so farre as euer he could from that yoong Lord: for thy Dæmon (said he) that is, the Angell and spirit that hath thee in keeping, doth feare and redoubt his; and being couragious and loftie when he is alone, he becommeth timorous and fearefull when he commeth neere the other.*

L. 13. in fin. ff. de iureiur.

Ty. de ambig. iuris, l. 2. c. 7.

Lib. 15.

In the life of *M. Antonie.*

In the life of *Brutus.*

No lesse remarkable is that which the same *Plutarch* reporteth of the Dæmon or Genius of *Brutus*, in these tearmes: At the instant that *Brutus* was to passe into Europe, vpon a night very late, all his campe being asleepe, and in very deepe silence, as he sate in his tent, a small light standing by him, thinking and musing vpon something, him thought that hee heard one comming in, and casting his eye towards the entring in of his tent, he perceiued a wonderfull hideous shape of a strange and horrible bodie, which came and stood before him without saying word. *Brutus* had the boldnesse to aske him who he was, and whether hee were a god or a man, and what occasion brought him thither. The phantosme answered him, *I am thy euill angell*, Brutus, *and at Philippi thou shalt see mee. Brutus* without being more troubled, replied; *Well then, there will I see thee*; and with that the spirit vanished away. *Brutus* thereupon calling his seruants, they told him, that they had neither heard any voice, nor seene any vision. Now albeit that *Brutus* felt some ease in the remonstrances which *Cassius* (to whom he had reported this aduenture) made vnto him, maintaining that spirits had no forme, voice, or power that could touch vs: yet the night before the day of the battell at Philippi, this phantosme appeared the second time to *Brutus* in the selfe same shape that it did at first, and without speaking word vanished. And *Cassius* himselfe could not be so stiffe in his opinion drawne from the puddles of the Epicurean doctrine, but he startled at the sight of such phantosmes, though he went about to persuade *Brutus*, that valiant men were exempted from such visions,

visions, which he tearmed vaine imaginations. For Historians write, that in the very same battell in the field of *Philippi*, the same *Cassius* saw *Iulius Cæsar* in the shape of a man of a more than ordinarie heigth, who with an angrie countenance came towards him on horse-back with a forc't gallop to strike him: which strucke such a feare into him, that he turned his backe to his enemies, and soone after he kild himselfe. The like welneere befell *Cassius* of Parma, a renowmed Poet, who followed the side of *Brutus* and *Cassius* (say *Acron* and *Porphyrio*) being Collonell of a Regiment of foot. His masters being dead, he withdrew himselfe within the citie of Athens, whither *Augustus* sent *Quintilius Varus* to kill him. *Varus* found him in his studie, where without all respect of learning, hee slew him. But *Valerius Maximus* speaking of Dreames, saith of his death as followeth: *M. Anthonie* hauing lost the battell of Actium, *Cassius* of Parma who had followed him, by flying away saued himselfe within Athens: where one night being ouerwhelmed with cares, him thought that a very great blacke man with long haire, and his beard vncombed, stood before him, who being asked what he was, made this answere, I am the euill spirit. *Cassius* affrighted with that furious countenance, and with so fearefull a name, called aloud for his seruants, and asked them if they saw not such a person comming into his chamber, or going foorth: they all swore they saw none. Thereupon he laid him downe againe, and began to take some rest and sleepe; but the same phantosme came and stood there againe: which did so awaken him, that hauing called for light, hee charged his seruants not to leaue him. Betweene this night and his death (hauing been slaine by the commandement of *Cæsar*) there past not many dayes. Thus farre *Valerius*. *Plutarch* writeth that the like fell to *Dio* the Syracusan, before hee was kild by those that conspired against him: Sitting one euening all pensiue and solitarie in his gallerie, a sudden noise made him lift vp his head, and looking towards the other side of the gallerie, he espied a great woman of such a face and dressing, as one of the furies is represented in Tragedies, who was sweeping of the place: being amazed, yea quite besides himselfe at the sight of this vision, he calleth his friends, to whom he telleth the matter, praying them to tarie with him that night, fearing least if he staied alone the vision would appeare vnto him againe: which notwithstanding did not. A while after a young sonne of his transported with choller, proceeding of anger for a light occasion, threw himselfe head-long from the top of the house, and so was kild. *Plutarch* comparing *Dio* and *Brutus* together, saith, That they were both slaine ere they could see the end of the enterprises whereof each of them laboured by so faire exploits to see the atchieuement and end. The same Authour in the same place seemes to approoue their opinion, who haue held (and he seemes to come neere the truth, if hee bee well vnderstood) that euill spirits malice famous men, and oppose themselues against their heroicall designes, shocking and battering their constancie by terrors and frightings: so much are they afraid, least they persisting in their honourable deliberation to the end, should after their death enioy a better state and condition than the same euill spirits are like to haue. It is likewise reported that *Cornelius Sylla* being in the countrey, saw an ill spirit that called him: which in the morning hauing told his friends, hee presently made his will, and sealing it in the euening, he was the night following taken out of the world by a feauer, when he was threescore yeares old. That which *Herodotus* mentioneth is no lesse memorable, touching the Spectre that appeared twice to *Xerxes* in his sleepe, and constrained him with threatnings to make war vpon the Grecians: His vncle *Artabanus* hearing of it made no reckoning there-

cc In the life of *Dio*.

Lib. 7.

of, saying they were but dreames, and giuing counsell (as a wise man would) to haue peace maintained; the same vision appeared to him, holding a paire of burning tongs in his hands, as if he would haue put out his eyes becausse he opposed himselfe against the counsels of warre. Wee may not forget that which is read in Histories lesse ancient, when Christianitie dispersed by little and little the darknesse of Paganisme, touching *Iulian* the Apostata, what time his armie proclaimed him Emperour. *Ammian Marcellinus* writeth thereof thus: The night before the day that he was declared Emperour, he told his friends, that as he reposed himselfe, there stood before him such a one as they vse to represent euerie mans Genius or familiar spirit, who said vnto him in good rough tearmes; *Iulian*, I haue of a long time (without making any adoe) kept thy lodging doore, desiring nothing more than to make thee great; sometimes I haue gone away, as if no reckoning had been made of me; if now thou reiect me, though many are of the same mind to aduaunce thee, I will take my leaue, and goe away very sorrowfull: for the rest, marke this well, that I will not tarrie much longer with thee. The same Historian addeth, That a little before *Iulian* was kild in the war against the Persians, being about to take some rest amidst the troubles and crosses that pressed him; after hee had a little slumbred, and was waked againe (as *Iulius Cæsar* was wont to do, who would euer write something in his tent) being attentiuely bent to the reading of some philosophicall discourses, he perceiued (as he confessed to his familiar friends) the same Genius or Spectre that he had seene in Fraunce a little before his election, but then all ragged, and filthie to looke vpon, bearing in his hand a horn of abundance couered with a linnen cloth, walking very sadly along by the hangings of his tent.

Lib.20.

Lib.3.Epist.

All these stories make me remember that which *Plinie* the second writeth to *Sura* touching the apparition of spirits, which I will heere set downe at length, that it may the better and more fully appeare what the Pagans haue thought of this point. *Plinie* requireth *Sura* to send him his opinion touching apparitions, to wit, Whether they be things that haue any forme or diuine power, or whether men bee caried away with a conceit of vaine illusions whereof they are afraid: That *Curtius Rufus*, to whom the like thing had chanced, perswaded him to beleeue, that such apparitions were not illusorie or idle dreames. This *Rufus* came into Africa with the Gouernour, being yet of no credit or reputation: and walking one euening in the gallerie before his house, a woman greater and fairer than any other appeared vnto him, whereat he was abashed. But shee said vnto him, I will fore-tell thee thy fortunes: Thou shalt returne to Rome, shalt be aduanced to great Offices, shalt bee chosen Proconsull and Gouernour of Africa, and shalt die in that dignitie: which came to passe in euery point. The same Authour reporteth another thing no lesse admirable and strange. In the citie of Athens there was a goodly lodging, which yet was out of request, as a place very dangerous: for in the night there was a spirit that walked in it, drawing a chaine, and making a noise, and seemed as if hee came a farre off; and then would suddenly be hard by. After that there would appeare a great old man, his flesh all worne away, hauing a long beard, his haire standing an end and all tangled, fetters on his feet, and a chaine at his handes, which he would alwayes be shaking. They that dwelt in the house could neuer rest in the night, but would grow heauie and pensiue, and so fall sicke and die: for in the very day time, though they saw not the spirit, yet they should thinke hee alwayes was in their sight, and that the ringing of his chaine did euer beat in their eares, whereby their feare continued in them without any intermission.

Vpon

Vpon this the lodging stood emptie, because no bodie would dwell in it, notwithstanding it was cried to be hired or sold, and Bils were set vp to that purpose. At the same time *Athenodorus* the Philosopher came to Athens, who seeing this lodging set to sale for a small price, thought there was a pad in the straw, and so would needs know the mysterie of it. Vnderstanding all the matter, he was the more desirous to buy it: and at night caused a bed to bee made ouer the forepart of the house, and called for his writing-tables, and a lampe well lighted, and willed his seruants to withdraw themselues into a chamber at the backe end of the house. That done, he setled himselfe to write and studie very earnestly, to the end that his mind being not distracted, he might make the lesse account of the noise which he should heare. The night growing late, the spirit begins to shake his fetters, and his chaine: but *Athenodorus* without once mouing his head, sate alwayes writing, though the noise increased neuer so much: the spirit comes on, and stands at the chamber doore: and then the Philosopher lifting vp his head, he espied the thing to be such as was reported to him. Vpon this the spirit made a signe to him with his finger, as if he called him to come to him: the Philosopher answered him with the hand, that hee should stay a little, and so fell to his writing againe. But the other shaking his chaine ouer his head, *Athenodorus* looking vp, perceiued that hee made a signe to him as before; whereupon he tooke the light and followed him: the ghost went most pitifully, as if he carried his yrons with great paine, and being gone out into the street, vanished away. *Athenodorus* taking some grasse, and leaues, marked the place, and when it was day went to the Counsell of the citie, willing them to dig and search in that place: which being done, they found a dead bodie all rotten, whereof nothing remained but the bones that were chained. The bones were taken vp and buried; and after that time there was neuer any spirit seene in that house of *Athenodorus*. *Plinie* addeth, that he beleeueth this report vpon their words that maintaine it to bee true: but that *Sura* should giue credit to this that followeth, because *Plinie* is certaine that so it was. There was a freed seruant, with whom his younger brother lay. One night this free-man thought that he saw one sitting vpon his bed, that shaued away his haire with a razor. The next day hee found himselfe shauen, and his haire lying besides him. *Plinie* saith, that nothing else followed thereof, and that the same hapned vnder the Emperor *Domitian*. Vpon this he shutteth vp his Epistle, exhorting *Sura* to consider this well, and to put him out of his doubt: But wee find not the others answere.

Although Sathan transforme himselfe sometimes into an Angell of light, as the holy Scripture teacheth vs: yet by a speciall prouidence and a particular ordinance of God, he doth commonly shew himselfe to his seruants in a terrible and hideous shape, retaining withall some shew of greatnesse, and promising wonders, to retaine (as it were) with some authoritie (wherewith he couereth his execrable designes) those that enter into league with him; otherwise, he is such a proud and craftie deceiuer, as he would neuer put on other roabe than that which is magnificall and of most excellent apparance, vnlesse the power of God did curbe and hold him in. Therefore the Almightie lord maketh him appeare sometimes to corporall eies in a marueilous foule and ougly shape, to the end that such, as else not knowing him would worship and adore him, might not esteeme of him, but vtterly detest him, after they haue once seene what he is. Saint *Iohn Chrysostom* hath obserued that, saying, *What a number of wicked spirits are there flying in the aire? what a number of enemie-powers?* *Homil. 41. in Psalm.*

If God would ſuffer them to ſhew vs their terrible aſpects, would it not make vs looſe our vnderſtanding, ſenſe, and life? We haue enriched this ſaying with the ſtories of *Lupoldus* duke of *Auſtrich*, of *Euthymus* in *Pauſanias*, and of the German lord in the eleuenth chapter aforegoing. They that giue themſelues to ſuch Impoſtures, ſay that in magicall coniurations the deuills when they appeare, ſhew themſelues in the moſt horrible ſhapes, that they may the more terrifie him that calleth them foorth. And albeit they be not ſolid and perfect ſhapes, yet the eies doe ſee them to haue diuers motions, and that they goe and walke, but not by a naturall meane, namely by ſetting one foot before another as liuing creatures doe, but are carried or driuen like a boate that glides away before the winde, or as if one did ſlide vpon ice, or on a verie ſmooth ground.

In the Treatiſe of good and euill angels, chap. 8, 9. 12.

For the reſt, experience hath ſhewed that good and euill Angels doe for the moſt part appeare to men two waies: the good, in a humane forme or ſome other like, in whom there ſhine ſome draughts of the Diuine glorie and Maieſtie: the wicked in a hideous and horrible ſhape, wherein appeare the ſignes of the fearefull wrath and indignation of the Almightie: which giueth a terrible check to ſuch perſons as thoſe wicked ſpirits ſhew themſelues vnto. Which thing *Lambertus Danæus* hath learnedly obſerued, who concludeth in theſe words: *The good Angells comfort men, and inſtruct them in the feare of God: the wicked doe nothing elſe but deceiue and torment their ſeruants.* He addeth a ſtrong comfort to all Chriſtians, taken out of the holy Scriptures, whereby they may defend themſelues againſt the aſſaults and temptations of Sathan; namely, That the power of the wicked angels is limited, and that of themſelues they cannot that which they can, but ſo far foorth as God giueth them the bridle, for a more ample demonſtration of his glorie. For, they are not ſtronger or powerfuller than God, by whoſe might we reſiſt the deuill and ouercome him. But though they haue a willingneſſe accompanied with deteſtable malice, yet haue they no power to execute any thing but from the Iuſtice of God, whether he will by them puniſh the reprobate, or humble his Elect to glorifie them at the laſt. The good Angels defend all perſons that are carefull of their ſaluation: Contrariwiſe, the wicked labour to ſurpriſe them, and to draw them into perdition. In this ſenſe are the good tearmed the Heauenly armie: the rather, becauſe the faithfull haue for their capitall and fearefull enemie, Sathan the prince of this world with infinite legions, whoſe aſſaults they can neuer reſiſt, if they be not aſſiſted with the watchfull protection of one that is more mightie. The good Ancients meant to put vs in mind hereof by an example which they haue left vs from hand to hand. A certaine Chriſtian (one of thoſe that left the cities and other places frequented by the multitude, and retired to deſolate and vnfrequented places where they might liue in greater puritie and quietneſſe of mind) going one day towards a certaine citie neere to his ſolitarie aboad, and carrying a wicker basket of his owne making, which he meant to ſell, and with the money receiued for the ſame to buy ſome bread; vpon the way paſſing by ſome poore houſes of other folke that liued in that ſolitarie ſort, he diſcouered (as it were) certaine troupes and ſwarms of deuils, which with a ſoft noiſe skipped about the places of thoſe that dwelt there. When he came neere to the citie which was full of Idols, ill gouerned, and all diſteined with vices, he caſt vp his eies, and eſpied one onely deuill on the top of a high tower, as if he had beene placed ſentinell there. Wondring at this ſtrange ſight, and not able to reſolue himſelfe of the doubt, at laſt he tooke heart of grace, and coniuring the wicked ſpirit in the name of Iesvs Christ, commanded him to tell why he

ſtood

stood so alone with his armes a crosse in a citie where so many wicked people were, whereas (contrariwise) in the solitarie places where he had passed, there were such great troupes of his fellowes? The fiend compelled by so great an adiuration, answered; That the citie needed not any greater troupe, but that one was sufficient to watch that the inhabitants thereof made no innouation but continued their old ordinarie traine, because of a long time he had beene master of that place, and possessed and ruled it in peace: Contrariwise, those places of solitude made the other spirits to employ all the cunning, might, and meanes they had to get the masterie of them, which was the cause why he saw so many squadrons there as if they were to fight in battell aray. This tale putteth vs in mind, that all they that haue any care of their saluation, ought to stand vpon their guards, to flie all drunkennesse inward and outward, and to giue themselues to the diligent reading and hearing of Gods Word. *For, our aduersarie the deuill* (saith the Apostle Saint *Peter*) *walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may deuoure.* 1. *Pet.* 5. 8.

To enlarge yet this Meditation of good and euill angels: Euerie one must hold this article resolutely, according to the instruction of the holy Scriptures which deceiue no man, That God hath committed the protection of mankinde to the good Angels; and that euerie person that putteth his trust in God hath some good Angell to guard and defend him; yea many: according to that which our Sauiour Christ (who is the truth it selfe) hath manifested, speaking of those little ones that beleeue in him, *That their Angells doe alwaies in heauen behold the face of his Father.* Math. 18. 10. And the Prophet saith *Psal.* 34. *The Angells of the Lord pitch their tents round about them that feare him, and deliuer them.* And *Psal.* 91. *He shall giue his Angells charge ouer thee to keepe thee in all thy waies, and with their hands they shall hold thee vp, that thou hurt not thy foot against a stone.* And the Apostle saith, *Heb.* 1. *The Angells are all ministring spirits sent to serue for their sakes that must be heires of saluation.* Agreable to which is the saying of Saint *Ierom*, *Great is the dignitie of the soules, when as euerie one of them at their first comming into the world hath an Angell deputed to guard it.* Lib. 3. *super Math.* And of *Origen*; *A good Angell* (saith he) *the Angell of the Lord doth assist euerie one, yea the least that are in Gods Church, to direct, admonish and gouerne them; and who, to correct our faults and obtaine pardon, doth behold euerie day the face of the Father which is in heauen.* Homil. 71. Therefore let euerie one haue care not to driue away by his impietie the Angell that assisteth him, who doth defend him, and is alwaies readie to fight for him. For, euen as Bees doe shun all stinking, filthie, and vncleane things, so the holy Angels withdraw themselues commonly from the companie of persons that giue themselues to wickednesse and villanie, and in their place come wicked angels, which are exceeding craftie and subtill to doe euill, and to drag soules into perdition: and this no wise man can denie. Therefore, as these are rightly tearmed euill, and we say of the whole bodie of them in the Lord praier, *Deliuer vs from euill*, that is, from our enemie desperatly euill and wicked: so the other, are sometimes called *Angells of heauen*; sometimes *Holy Angells*; And simply, *Angells*, that is to say, Messengers. To this agreeth the saying of *Macarius*: *When the soule* (saith he) *departeth out of mans bodie, a great mysterie is accomplished: For, if she be guiltie of sinne, the bands of deuils, wicked angels, and powers of darkenesse run and take hold of this soule their slaue, and carrie it away with them. Which should not be thought strange: for as much as if the partie while it liued did receiue the yoake of euill spirits, did obey and serue them, it is reason that thy be masters thereof when it departeth out of the world. And that this is so, it may be gathered by that which concerneth the blessed soules. For, seeing that in this present life the good Angels compasse* Math. 24. 36. Marc. 8. 38. Hebr. 1. 13. Homil. 22. de Statu morient.

about and keepe the children of God, when their soules are seuered from their bodies, the companies of the same Angels carrie them into a better life, and present them vnto the Lord. These are the words of *Masarius.*

We will end this Meditation with two examples of the notable furie of these wicked fiends expressed in burning of a village, and a citie. *Iohannes Auentinus* writeth of a notable thing that hapned in the village of Caumont neere the Rhine, touching the wonderfull illusions of the deuill. And these be his words. *Not many daies past, the spirit of Error and Apostacie did marueilous things in this village, and plaid most terrible parts, by molesting those of that place diuers and sundrie waies. First, a phantosme or spirit began to cast stones at people, and to knock at mens doores, and could neuer be perceiued. Presently this wicked and raging spirit being masked with mans shape, begins to answer to such questions as were demanded of him, and to discouer things stolne, accusing, slandering, and defaming those whom he would, and raising vp enmities and quarrels among the inhabitants. Hauing burnt certaine barnes, he set fire also in all the houses. But he vsed one of the dwellers there much worse than all the rest, for he would alwaies be at his elbow whether soeuer he went, and burnt his house to ashes. And to stir vp all the neighbours to fall vpon this harmlesse man, and to murther him, this forger of lies gaue out that the village was cursed and destined to vtter destruction for the wickednesse of that person, who thereupon was forced to liue abroad in the fields, hauing no other couert but heauen: for no man would take him into his house, because he was held for an execrable and damned person. Yet he, to satisfie the desire of his neighbours and countrimen, carried the burning iron in his bare hands according to the custome then vsed, and receiuing no hurt thereby, so made proofe of his innocencie: all which notwithstanding, the raging and desperate enemie burnt all his corne that stood in stacks in the field. The continuance of so many horrible ill turnes constrained the husbandmen to aduertise the Archbishop of Mentz of all the matter: who sends thether Priests that cleanse, hallow and blesse the fields and the farmes after the accustomed manner: At first, the spirit increased his furie, and hurt some of the priests with stones that he flung at them: But they exorcised and coniured him so oft, that in the end he was quiet feigning to be gone out of the countrie. But so soone as the priests were gone, he sheweth himselfe againe as before, saying; So long as these shauen priests mumbled I know not what, I lay hid vnder the surplice of such a one (whom he named by name and surname) who this last night by my suggestion hath had the maidenhead of his Hosts daughter.* These are the words of the Historian. *Sigebert* and *Vincent de Beauuois* write, That in the time of Pope *Benet* the third, a deuill hid himselfe vnder a priests vestment, whose familiar he was; and as the priest began to cast holy-water, the deuill charged him how that the night before he had lien with a Procurators daughter.

Lib. 4. of the Annals of Bauaria.

I. Wier. lib. 2. c. p. 22.

The other example hapned in our time, namely in the yeare of our Lord 1533, at Schiltac a little citie in the duchie of Wirtenberg, and is as followeth: The wicked spirit hauing for the space of some certaine dayes tormented most horribly all the citie with strange howlings and cryings, and particularly the host of the golden Starre and all his household, it was discouered that a woman-seruant of the house had intelligence with the deuill, and that he abused her. They that were of this opinion, grounded vpon great coniectures, commanded the seruant to depart thence, and goe into some other place. Some dayes after, the Inne and all the citie was miserably burnt to powder by a furie altogether diabolicall, in the space of two houres, so that the inhabitants of the places thereabouts could not come thither in time, nor any remedie might be found to quench the violence of the fire. It was specially obserued, that some circles of fire flying from all parts, tooke one house after another, so that they who ranne thither

thither at the beginning, to helpe those that were first taken, were forst to leaue them, to run with all speed to their owne home where all was on fire. This Satanicall fire was so ardent, that they had the most adoe that might be to defend a castle builded with hewen stone, & standing a good way off the citie, from being consumed as the citie was. It is not many yeares since I heard of the particularities of this fearefull visitation, from the mouth of the Curat of that place, and of other the inhabitants worthie of credit, who had beene beholders of all; at which time I was employed by the Commissioners to the Earle of Furstenberg (the chiefest of whom was *Lodouicus Grempius*, a famous Ciuilian) to end some differences with the Embassadors of the Duke of Wirtenberg. This Curat who was very old, told vs (and shewed it in writing) of some marueilous illusions of Sathan, and how this subtill spirit counterfeited naturally the singing, tunes, and melodie of diuers birds. Wee wondered to see this Curate haue (as it were) a crowne about his long haire (which he wore after the old fashion) all of diuers colours; who said, that the wicked spirit had trim'd him so, by casting a hoope at his head. He said further, that one day the same spirit asked him and some other men, If they had euer heard a Rauen croake: and that thereupon he made such a horrible croaking, that all they (so many as were of them) stood so amazed, that if the same hellish musicke had lasted neuer so little longer, they had beene all fore-gone with feare. Moreouer, this old man affirmed (not without blushing) that this enemie to saluation had oftentimes laid open to him and to others, all the secret sinnes they had committed; and so exactly, that they were all forced to leaue the place, and get themselues home, they were so amazed and confounded.

CHAP. XVI.

The Sword was in times past, as it is now, a marke of Iustice, and of Valour in Warres and Combats.

BEeing not long since at the Imperiall Diet holden at Spira, a certaine lord of Germanie told me, that not long before there had hapned a controuersie between the Christians dwelling at Temisware in Transyluania vnder the dominion of the Turk, about Images in Churches. Some of them professed the Romish Religion, others, the Reformed. As they of the Romish attribute diuine honours to Images, namely, to those that are set vp in Churches: so (contrariwise) they of the Reformed haue them in abomination, as forbidden by the Law of God. The Gouernour of the place had yeelded to allow them a little Church, where they might haue exercise of both Religions at certaine houres, without let one of another. Neuertheless in these Assemblies, and whensoeuer they met together, a man should heare of none other dispute among them but concerning this article; some pleading for Images, & maintaining that they were to be reteined and kept; others arguing to the contrarie: so that they were almost readie from words to fall to blowes. The Gouernor or Bassa hauing newes of this quarrell, commanded both sorts to make their appearance before him at his house; where hauing heard their allegations, to set all euen, he caused forthwith all the Images and Statues to bee taken downe, and to bee cast out of the Church (for they are things which the Turkes abhorre exceedingly, and they haue none in their Mosques or Temples, mocking the Christians for Idolaters, saith the lord of Busbeck, because of the Images that are in their Churches:) that

In the description of his Turkish voiage.

that being done, hee assigned to each sort a place in seuerall within the same Church, that there they might vse their exercises without any brawling or contention. And that they might know what punishment was ordeined for mutiniers, he caused a naked Cymiter to be hang'd before the Church-doore, for a certaine warning, that whosoeuer should first trouble the common peace and tranquilitie, should haue his head cut off without all redemption. This whippoole kept both the one and the other sort in such awe, that from thence-forwards no man durst haue any saying to his neighbour about the matter of Images. Now, albeit this deed may be thought ouer rigorous and strange to some; yet we find that in old times the very Romans hung out the Sword in publique to scare the seditious and wicked: for as the Axe among them was a signe of soueraigne power, saith *Festus* (as for example, the Proconsuls when they iudged in ciuile causes the matters and controuersies of the inhabitants of the prouinces committed to their charge, had an Axe held aloft by a Sergeant appointed purposely therefore) so when they executed Iustice in criminall causes, the naked Sword was caried before them, as *Iacobus Ræuardus* prooueth learnedly by the testimonie of *Cyprian* in one of his Epistles, where speaking of the seats of the Romans for ciuile and criminall Iustice, he saith; *Sæuit inuicem discordantium rabies, & inter togas, pace rupta, forum litibus mugit insanum; hasta illic, & gladius, & carnifex præsto est*: that is to say, *The rage of those that quarrell one with another, waxeth fierce; and the peace broken among such as appeare peacefull and vnarmed, the place of pleading ecchoeth with bawling and crying: There is the Axe, the Sword, and the Executioner readie to strike.*

Lib. 2. of the diuers rules of the law.

In his life.

To this may that be referred which *Dio* writeth of *Traian*, who when he would guird on the Captaine of his Guards Sword newly by him created, offered him the same sword naked, saying, *Take this sword, and if I commaund well, vse it for me; and if I doe amisse, employ it against me.* *Plinie* the younger writeth the same. So we see, that the sword vnsheath'd, borne before Kings and Emperours at their entrances, doth demonstrat Iustice, to the terrifying of the wicked, and assuring of the good that they are exempted and free from all hurt, being vnder the protection of the soueraigne Magistrat. *Vallerius Maximus* witnesseth, that the same order was vsed when time was, among those of Marsellis. *Euer since their citie was built* (saith he) *there hath beene a Sword in the same, with the which they cut off their heads that are condemned; all rustie, it is so old, and cutting (as it were) by force; witnessing moreouer, that in matters of least moment euery man must hold himselfe tooth and naile to the points and articles of the ancient custome.* When the Emperour or any King at this day makes the knights of his Order, he putteth the naked sword into their hands (after hee hath first giuen them some strokes therewith flatling vpon the shoulders) exhorting them to maintaine Iustice, and to defend the widows, orphans, and other poore persons against any that would offer them outrage and violence. Therefore *Herman* of Epping noteth very fitly in the Preface vpon his obseruations of the practise of the Imperiall Chamber, That the first Poets of ancient times being reputed and taken for Diuines, when they would admonish princes of their dutie, faigned, that *Iupiter* was placed in a throne set all ouer with Stars, and encompassed of all sides with a most resplendant light, hauing Iustice and Force standing at his sides: that by the commandement of this *Iupiter*, the Aygle who beares his Armes and his Thunderbolt, puts into the hands of princes a flaming Scepter: then *Themis* or Iustice, the mother of Lawes and of Concord, presented them the Sword: Force or Power bound their head with a Diademe: whereby they meant, That it is God who placeth princes in authoritie,

In his *Panegyr.* to *Traian.*

Lib. 2. *cap.* 6.

authoritie, as the Eagle giueth the Scepter by commandement of *Iupiter*: That from *Themis* they receiue the Sword, to the end they might do nothing but that which law and equitie permits them: that Power doth crowne them; whereby they are taught not to oppresse by violence cities closed and compassed about like their crownes, but to preserue them with gentlenesse and good order. *Poliphilus* pretendeth to shew the same in his Hieroglyphicall figures, painting within a circle a ballance hanging at a naked sword, the point whereof is crowned with this writing, IVSTICIA RECTA, AMICITIA ET ODIO EVAGINATA ET NVDA, ET PONDERATA LIBERALITAS, REGNVM FIRMITER SERVAT: meaning, that vpright Iustice, exempted from acception or exception of persons, and desire of reuenge, accompanied with proportioned liberalitie, is the sure stay of a kingdom. In the same place also he painteth a Coffer as if it were full of gold, vpon which lieth the hilt of a sword, and of one side thereof a Serpent, of the other, a Dog.

In his *Hymerotomachia.*

It is a thing also very notorious, that the ancient Germans were great Iusticers, and that it was an ordinarie thing among them to cut off the heads of offendors. And they say, that there is yet in a certaine citie an old sword all rustie, like to the sword of Marsellis; with which in times past he that was last receiued into the Councell, was bound with his owne proper hands to cut off malefactors heads that were condemned to die. And the same was no disreputation to him, but a great honour, in as much as therein hee seemed the Protector of Iustice. Hereto agreeth that which is receiued for a most ancient custome in some parts of Franconia or Franckenland, as I heard the Count *Conrad* of Castel say, shewing me from a castle seated very high, a certaine village belonging to him: In this village if any theefe be taken with the manner, the last maried man there is bound to put the halter about his necke; which done, hee maketh signes to the other men, that they should come and helpe to carie and tie the theefe to an old oake appointed for such execution time out of mind. It is reported, that when the Emperour *Maximilian* the first passed by the places of execution belonging to cities and seigniories, where the bodies of offendors are hangd for a spectacle, he would vaile his bonet, pronouncing these words; SALVE IVSTITIA: as if one would say, *God maintaine Iustice.* Wee read also in the Genealogies of the Earles of Flanders (printed with the pictures cut in brasse by the diligent industrie of *Peter Balthasar*) that the twelfth Earle called *Baldwin*, was such a seuere punisher of offences, that he was surnamed the *Hatche*, becausse of the Hatchet or Axe, that in those dayes serued to cut off the offendors heads condemned to die. The same Earle sent for eleuen knights to his palace, and becausse they had robd and kild three Marchants, he caussed ropes to be put about their neckes, and after made them to ascend and stand vpon a planke, and the ropes ends to be tied to certaine staies made for the purpose: which done, hee himselfe drew away the planke from vnder their feet, and so let them totter till they were strangled to death. Which sheweth, how seuere and inexorable some great persons haue been in times past, yea against the dignitie of their places, and without standing vpon the formalities of Iustice.

Wherein yet men may easily passe their bounds, if equitie doe not mitigate the rigor of the Law: for thus saith the rule of the Law, *In all things, especially in Law, we must haue regard to Equitie.* What was then in old time the Municipall law in Morauia, described by *Dubrauius?* A man may apply to that Law the old saying, *Summum ius, summa crux. The rigour of the Law is paire a of gallowes.* To vnderstand the same Law, I will here adde the words of the Historie, which are these.

*Lib.*32. of the historie of Bohemia.

» these. *Ladislaus* returning into Bohemia, staied some daies in Morauia, and be-
» ing entred into the citie of Olmutz sate in iudgement vpon a matter verie
» strange, and of which he had neuer heard the like. An honest citisen of Bressaw,
» the head citie of Silesia, a rich man, and one of the chiefest of the citie (as it was
» said) going to Polonia about some businesse, and passing by a certaine citie, tooke
» vp his lodging there in an Inne, where his host stoale fiue hundred crownes
» from him; who being charged with it, and fearing the rack confessed the fact,
» and declared himselfe willing to make restitution of all; wherewith the Sile-
» sian was content, desiring no more but to haue his money againe, and to proceed
» in his iourney. But the Burgomaster and the Counsellors of the citie came vp-
» on him, alleaging, that he was to satisfie the lawes of their citie, importing, That
» who so accused any man of theft, was bound to hang the partie accused at a gibet
» by throwing him ouer the ladder: and that, if he refused to doe it, the theefe
» had a priuiledge to hang his accuser. The host (for his part) shewed himselfe
» willing inough to doe such an execution. This notable man hearing of such an
» ordinance, maketh a supplication that he may be exempted from such a re-
» proach, declaring to the Iudges, that he willingly giueth among them the fiue
» hundred crownes that had beene stolne from him, so they would let him goe
» away quietly. They denie his request, saying, it was not lawfull for them to
» ouerslip their lawes. When he saw he could obtaine nothing of such obstinate
» men, he chose rather (yet) to hang the theefe, than to lose his goods and his life
» too. The execution being done, he goeth in all hast to the king of Polonia be-
» ing then at Cracow, and acquainteth him with the matter; who not onely pro-
» claimed such a law to be barbarous and vniust, but besides declared by his let-
» ters pattents that this man was pure, cleere and exempted from all infamie and
» reproach. And the like did king *Ladislaus*, imposing withall a punishment and
» a fine vpon him that should be so bold as to vpbraid such a one with any thing
» of that which had beene done. Thus writeth *Dubrauius*. Therefore the Impe-
riall constitutions touching crimes and punishments, haue wisely and with equi-
tie abolished such absurd and most vile ordinances and customes. Which con-
stitutions (it may be) are grounded vpon certaine tearmes of a Law of the Em-
perour *Iustinians*, where he saith; *Let it not be lawfull to name or seeke out customes, which haue beene by chance vniustly inuented by some for their particular profit. For neither effluxion of time, nor long vse, can giue footing to wicked inuentions and vnworthie fashions for the gouerning of ones selfe.*

In Authent. vt nulli Iudic. lic. cap. 1.

But let vs proceed with our Meditation. Among the Alans the Sword was in such estimation, that they did worship it as a god. *Ammian Marcellinus* writeth of them as followeth; *There is neither Church, nor Chappell, nor little house thatched with straw among them, but with barbarian ceremonies it hath a sword set fast in the ground, which they reuerence and adore like the god* Mars, *patron of the countries wherein they trauell.* This is a thing both memorable and praise-worthie, that as in times past, so likewise in our age, valiant and worthie men haue alwaies gone to the charge with swords in their hands, thinking it a thing vnworthie of their valour to vse other weapons, vnlesse at the first charge they desired to breake a launce, or else a pike if they serued on foote. And therefore would they be most carefull to haue swords of good temper, both to strike and to thrust with; and the most famous among them haue giuen proper names to their swords, as they haue to their horses of seruice. We reade of *Rowland*, a braue warrier, and Nephew to *Charlemaigne* (of whom we will speake more at large hereafter) that he had a sword called *Durendal*, of such hard and notable temper, that after the de-

Lib. 31.

In the 2. chap. of the 5 booke.

feature

feature of his forces in the valley of Ronceuall, before he grew faint with trauell and thirſt, he aſſaied with all the force that remained in him, to breake the ſame ſword, leaſt his enemies might hap to get it. For which cauſe he ſtruck with it ſo hard as he could, vpon the rocks, out of which the ſword, in ſteed of flying into peeces it ſelfe did ſlice whole ſplinters (ſaith the lord of Haillan:) who addeth further, That the ſame ſword (by the commandement of *Charlemaigne*) was hanged with his ſtandart ouer *Rowlands* tombe, at Blay vpon the riuer of Garonne in the Abbey of Saint *Roman*. *Arthur* king of great Brittan, who liued in the yeare 470, had a ſword called *Caleburne*, and a lance named *Rone*. With this ſword he ſlue in one battell (if *Sigebert* the Monke doe not miſreckon himſelfe) foure hundred threeſcore and ten of his enemies. *Plutarch* likewiſe much commendeth the ſword of *Alexander* the great, which was light and of a ſtrong temper, and giuen him by the king of the Citieyans, and ſaith, that *Alexander* moſt commonly ſerued with no other weapon in the battell. *George Caſtriot*, prince of Albania, one of the ſtrongeſt and valliantest men that liued theſe two hundred yeares, had a Cimiter which *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour his mortall enemy deſired to ſee. *Caſtriot* (ſurnamed of the Turkes *Iſchenderbeg*, that is, great *Alexander*, becauſe of his valiantneſſe) hauing receiued a pledge for the reſtitution of his Cimiter, ſent it ſo far as Conſtantinople to *Mahomet*, in whoſe court there was not any man found that could with any eaſe wield that peece of ſteele: ſo that *Mahomet* ſending it back againe, enioyned the meſſenger to tell the prince, That in this action he had proceeded enemy-like, and with a fraudulent mind, ſending a counterfeit Cimiter to make his enemie afraid. *Iſchenderberg* writ back to him, That he had ſimply without fraud or guile ſent him his owne Cimiter, with the which he vſed to helpe himſelfe couragiouſly in the wars: but that he had not ſent him the hand & the arme, which with the Cimiter cleft the Turkes in two, ſtruck off their heads, ſhoulders, legs and other parts, yea ſliced them off by the waſt; and that verie ſhortly he would ſhew him a freſh proofe thereof: which afterwards he performed. It is not without cauſe therefore that the Turkiſh ſouldiers are greatly eſteemed of now a daies, that make ſuch reckoning of their Cimiters which they buy deerely, and keepe ſo daintily, that it is not poſſible for a man to buy one of them.

Lib. 3. of the Hiſt. of France.

In his Chronicle.

Iornandes writeth, That *Attila* relied much vpon the Sword of *Mars*, kept a long time among the kings of the Scythians, and diſcouered at firſt vpon this occaſion, ſaith an ancient Author; A certaine Neat-heard ſeeing one of his beaſts haulting, and not knowing how it came, followed the tract of the blood, at the end thereof he finds a ſword vpon which the beaſt had trod in feeding. This ſword he takes out of the ground, and brings it to *Attila*, who ioyfull of ſuch a preſent (for which he rewarded the Neat-heard) being a man of a loftie courage, it ſtruck into his head that the Monarchie of all the world was deſigned for him, and that the ſword of *Mars* would beare him out to make war with euerie one. The Turkes at this day tell ſtrange things of *Alis* Cimiter, which they call Sulficar, as appeareth by *Leonclauius*. Their fable ſaith, that when *Ali* vnſheath'd his Sulficar, the ſame parted in two, each part being eighteene cubits long, and that *Ali* by the helpe of that Cimiter did hew the Gaures (ſo they call the Chriſtians) on the right hand and on the left, as mowers mow downe corne: yea, and that he cleft and ſplitted the rocks and mountaines with that ſword. The Turkiſh Sultans are alſo wont to ſweare by their Cimiter among many other things, as did *Mahomet* who beſieged Conſtantinople when he would encourage his ſouldiers tired with the length of the ſiege. For, beſides the publike faſt appointed

In Hiſt. *Get. cap.* 35.

In the Annals of Turkie, *lib.* 1.

pointed by him, he ſware, By the immortall God, by the foure thouſand Prophets, by *Mahomet*, by his Fathers ſoule, by his Children, by the Cimiter he wore at his ſide; that he would ſuffer the ſouldiers to take the ſpoile of the citie three daies together: Which promiſe he performed, Conſtantinople being woon by aſſault.

And although Artillerie and ſhot haue done great ſcath to the enemies in skirmiſhes, encounters, and fights: yet experience ſheweth that the victorie is not alwaies carried away by ſuch helpe. For diuers captaines, vſing the ſeruice of harquebuziers more for faſhion ſake than otherwiſe, after a volley or two haue made them ſuddenly take their Swords, and throwing away their Peeces fall to handie ſtroakes, and ſo haue ouerthrowne their enemies. And indeed, what a pittie is it to ſee a worthie man, and perhaps a great Commander to be ſlaine by a bullet comming from a meere coward, or by an arrow ſhot by an effeminat yongſter? This complaint doth anſwer the ancient ſaying, *It is a comfort to the vanquiſhed when he ſhall die by a valiant man.* And the Spartans who fought neere at hand with ſhort Swords, thought it cowardiſe to kill an enemie with arrowes, becauſe they might be ſhot aſwell by women as by men. And indeed it is with Swords, and not with arrowes, or ſhot out of harquebuzes or muskets that couragious men make triall of their valiancie in the war. And *Arioſto* in his *Orlando Furioſo*, doth worthily & wittily inueigh againſt the monke that inuented artillerie, as the cauſe why warlike force hath beene debilitated and almoſt brought to nothing. We ſee alſo that the Romans haue relied more vpon their Swords in a day of battell, than vpon other weapons of war, and haue thereby gotten great victories. Whereat *Titus Liuius* aymed in theſe words; *Ventum eſt ad gladios, vbi* Mars *acerrimè furit*: that is to ſay, They came to Swords, the moſt fearefull and furious weapons of all other. In the ſame Author, as alſo in many places of *Plutarch*, we may reade the pithie and vehement exhortations of Generals to their ſouldiers, crying vnto them, That, without ſtanding vpon jauelins, darts, arrowes, or other weapons to be throwne a far off, they ſhould make haſte to ioyne with their enemies, and fight with Swords, to carrie away the victorie ſo much the ſooner. For this cauſe *Claudius Marcellus* (witneſſe the ſame *Plutarch*) a man warlike, venterous, nimble in fight, neuer at reſt, couetous of martiall glorie as any man of his time, and who like a violent ſtreame was euermore at the head or in the ſides, or vpon the taile of his enemie, was ſurnamed of the Romans, their Sword. Contrariwiſe, they called *Fabius Maximus* their Buckler, becauſe he grounded his actions vpon Counſells well diſgeſted and ſure, ouerthrowing and conſuming *Hannibal* by little and little, as a riuer that ſlideth without any noiſe, vndermineth his bankes ſilently: and they eſteemed of the Buckler aboue the Sword, becauſe a man muſt haue care to couer and defend himſelfe, before he ſtrike and hurt his enemie. For his reaſon the Grecian Law-makers ordained no puniſhment for him that had loſt his ſword or his jauelin, but they appointed a puniſhment for him that had left his buckler, or let it be taken from him.

Scutum reliquiſſe præcipuum flagitium. Tacitus *de morib. Germanorum.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Militarie crie and noise in fighting, is of great power to terrifie the Enemies.

I Haue often heard some say that haue beene in the wars against the Turkes, that besides the drums and such other instruments of noise, inuented to encourage souldiers, they vse another helpe at their comming to the encounter, to wit; horrible cries, and fearefull showtings, to strike a terror into their enemies that are vnstable and without resolution. This proceeding of the Turkes may seeme an idle thing to resolute men, who thinke these cries to proceed of cowardise and feare. For, as *Solinus* witnesseth, feare prouoketh him that is taken therewith to crie amaine, yea and it forceth him to crie often; whence (as I take it) came the prouerbe much in vse among the Bactrians, *That fearefull curs barke more than bite:* considering also, that true valiantnesse consisteth in the greatnesse of courage, and the force of the arme. An African lord likewise, being to fight against the Portugals, was of the same opinion: For his troupes standing in battell-ray, he said thus vnto them; *You must not crie, but strike hard. Those men that you see, are not wont to be afraid of the sound of voices: the hope of Victorie is not to be grounded on out-cries, but vpon Valour. I desire to see now, not Criers, but valiant men, who with striking and thrusting will charge and runne through the enemie.* And yet notwithstanding we read in Histories, that the Romans, and other warlike people were wont of old, as yet at this day, in their warres, as well in the charge as in the fight, to crie with a maine and (as we commonly say) with open throat. The West Indians, who haue continually warred some of them against other some, chopping into peeces, morselling and deuouring their prisoners, do both know and practise these manner of cries. *I. de Lery*, spectator of a battell fought in the land of Brasilia, betweene the Toupinambaous the allies of the French, and the Margajats the friends of the Portugals, saith of it these words: *When the Toupinambaous had discouered their enemies about halfe a quarter of a league off, they began to make such a howling and showting, that they who heere with vs goe a hunting of wolues, make not so much noise by farre: and (the aire cleauing with their cries and showts) the noise was so great, that if it had thundred from heauen, certainly we should not haue heard it. Besides, as they drew neerer and neerer, redoubling their cries, sounding with their Cornets, stretching their armes abroad, threatning one another, shewing one to another the bones of the prisoners which they had eaten, yea and the teeth of them laced vpon threed, of which some had more than two fadome length hanging about their neckes; it was a terrible thing to see their gestures and countenances.* Hee addeth a little after; *These Americans are so eagre in their fight, that so long as they can stir hand or foot, they neuer giue ground, or turne the head backe, but fight without ceasing.* In the like case a foolish opinion (saith *Camden*) hath possessed the minds of the wild Irish, and made them beleeue, That whosoeuer in this militarie crie (wherewithall they helpe themselues so much as their throats can affoord) answereth not the crie of the rest, is suddenly lifted from the earth, and caried through the aire (like one flying) into a deepe and desolate valley, called Kerri, where hee feeleth neither good nor harme; vnderstands well, but cannot speake; and at last is taken and held by the hounds and certaine hunters, and caried into their houses. Insteed of a trumpet in the fight, they vse a pipe, carie charmes about them, mumble certaine prayers, and ioyning strokes, crie so loud as they can *Pharro, Pharro* (a militarie exclamation, which *Ammian Marcellinus* maketh mention of.)

Cap.7.

Curtius lib.7.

Osor. lib.8.

In his voiage to Brasil. *ca.*14.

In the description of Ireland

But leaue we these superstitious fooleries of the Barbarians, and let vs heare

Lib. de moribus Germanorum.

Tacitus, who writeth, that the ancient Germans ſung when they went to the warres; and had therefore certaine ſongs, by repeating the burden whereof they would encourage their people, and by the ſound of the ſinging of them, would foretell the fortune of the future battell. *For they either terrifie others* (ſaith he) *or elſe themſelues by that ſinging: the ſame ſong ſeeming rather an harmonie of valour, than of voyces. Aboue all, they deſire to haue it make a rough ſound, and a broken rumbling, by putting their targets before their mouthes, to the end their voice by the reuerberation might ſound bigger and fuller.* When *Cato* the Cenſor taught the young men to fight with a ſteadie ſtanding foot, he would often ſay, That words and ſhoutings had more power to amaſe and put the enemies to flight, than handie-ſtrokes. *Plutarch* writeth, that *Marcus Coriolanus* was in euery reſpect ſuch a ſouldior as *Cato* wiſhed; to wit, not only ready to ſtrike, and to carie a heauie hand, but with his voice alſo and terrible countenance ſtrucke a feare into his enemie. Therfore the ſame *Cato* ſaid, That he liked not the ſouldior that wagged his hands in marching, that danced with his feet in fighting, and that ſnorted lowder in ſleeping than hee cried ſtronger when he came to the battell. *Cæſar* thought no leſſe when he ſaid, *That there appeareth in all men a certaine motion and naturall readineſſe, which is kindled by a deſire: and which the commanders of an armie ought carefully to encreaſe, not to extinguiſh.* It hath not been for nought, that the Ancients would haue the clarions, trumpets, and drummes to ſtrike vp; and that all the ſouldiers ſhould crie with all their might: for they thought the ſame would encourage their troupes, and daunt their enemies. They that haue written the hiſtorie of *Alexander* the great, ſay, that the Macedonians and Perſians begun the charge with cries and ſhouts. Among whom, *Quintus Curtius* (ſurnamed of the learned Hiſtorians, Exact and diligent) writeth theſe words: *The two armies were in ſight one of another, but without the reach of any ſhot, when the Perſians began to make a moſt furious and confuſed noiſe with their voices. The Macedonians, though leſſe in number, anſwered them ſo lowd, that the tops of the mountaines and of the ſpacious forreſts (as rocks and woods are wont to multiplie the ſound of voices, and to make a long eccho) reſounded mightily againe.* So then experience ſheweth, that as the ſight is much quicker than the hearing; becauſe naturally (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) that which the eye comprehendeth, goeth farre ſwifter than that which is obiected to the eare; for that the one ſendeth far in a moment, the other receiueth more ſlowly that which is ſent vnto it: ſo alſo it is certaine, that of all the ſences there is not any that ſhaketh the ſoule more boiſterouſly than the hearing doth, nor that ſooner throweth it out of her hinges (if we may ſo ſay;) and aboue all, it amaſeth the vnderſtanding, and bereaueth reaſon of her diſcourſe. The Abares were not ignorant hereof, who comming to the fight, reſolued to raiſe a confuſed and harſh noiſe, and to adde thereunto the ſound of drummes, thinking by that meanes to amate the Romans; whoſe Commaunder being before hand acquainted with that deuiſe, diſcouered it to the ſouldiers, to the end they might not be affrighted with the noueltie, but rather conſidering they were of neceſſitie to fight, might accuſtome themſelues by the things preſent, to beare with that which they ſhould preſently ſee and heare: then he commanded them, that ſo ſoone as the enemies drummes ſhould begin to ſound, they ſhould ſtrike their bucklers, ſhout with all their might, ſing ſomewhat that might prouoke them to the fight, and knocke certaine woodden pailes one againſt another.

In the life of Coriolanus.

In his Commentaries.

Lib. 3.

Lib. de Mundo.

Suidas in his recuels of hiſt.

The contrarie hapned in the memorable warre againſt the Parthians, in which *M. Craſſus* with his ſonne *Publius*, a young lord of great hope, and almoſt all the Roman ſouldiers that followed them, periſhed through the treaſon of the Parthians:

thians: for thus *Plutarch* hath obserued therein; *When they were neere the one to the other, and that the signall of ioyning was throwne vp into the aire, first they filled all the field with a terrible noise and fearefull to heare; because the Parthians vse not to encourage themselues to the fight by the sound of Cornets, Trumpets, and Clarions, but they haue big Tabers of leather, hollow within, about the which they tie little copper bels, and such other iyngling things, and with that they sound (of many sides) all at once, which yeeldeth a sad noise, as if it were mingled with the roaring of some wild beast, and with the fearefull rumbling of thunder: knowing very well, that the Hearing is the sence which of all other doth most speedily and liuely mooue the soule and the passions thereof, and most suddenly setteth a man besides himselfe. So when the hearts of the Romans were amased at this sound, the Parthians at an instant threw off the couers which they had vpon their armour, &c.* And we read that the Indians vsed such like instruments of warre, which they held hanging in the aire, and beat vpon with stickes, being a thing that yeelded foorth a hideous and fearefull noise. These helps, which were a kind of drums, were made of the stocke of a hollow firre tree, and within them they would tye bels of cast mettall, and would couer these drums with oxe leather, and so make vse of them in battels. When they would make a great noise, or giue some warning, they would ioyne to the mouth of the drumme a woodden vessell, vpon which they would beat hard: and then the bels that were within the drums, somewhat big, and of a good number, would begin to resound and make a harsh noise, such as who so had not seene the like drums neere at hand, could not tell whether such noise were the sounding of drums, or the roaring of beasts. Let vs here insert the notable ouerthrow giuen to *Henrie Percie* Earle of Northumberland, and Warden of the East-Marches, as *Buchanan* setteth it downe. He being entred Scotland vpon a sudden with seuen thousand men, was driuen out from thence by the peasants and shepheards, with the helpe of their feare-babes and scar-crowes, which they vse to feare away the stags and beasts with; the instruments are these: At the end of a good long pole they set vp certaine ribbes of wood bowed into halfe hoops, which they couered with a skin (these engins are very much like to the lanternes which at Paris they call *falots*) within the same they put many little stones, and stirring these deuises, make a noise, which keepeth away the beasts from going into the corne. With these inuentions ratling and sounding from the tops of the mountaines neere to the campe, they strucke such a feare into the English horse, that breaking their bridles and reines, they ranne away without their masters ouer lands and fields, where after they had a good while gone flying vp and downe, they were taken by the peasants, who had a rich bootie of them, &c. To returne to that which wee alleaged before; *Plutarch* saith moreouer touching *Crassus, That when hee made his Oration to the souldiers, encouraging them to fight manfully, he could not perceiue that they were mooued any whit the more thereby; but contrariwise, hauing commaunded that they should crie the shout of the battell, hee then knew plainly that they were taken with feare: because the noise that his armie made was weake, low, and vnequall, as not proceeding from all alike: whereas (on the contrary part) the crie of the Parthians, was great, strong, and braue.*

That which we haue said hitherto, sheweth the efficacie of the voice and crie of man, as well to stirre as to astonish minds; and that voices and shouts ioyned with a multitude of many thousands of men together, may doe much, extend very farre, and (like a shot) pierce with violence all that they encounter: as the same *Plutarch* reporteth, how that in an assemblie at Rome, all the people began to crie so loud, and with such a full mouth, that a rauen flying at the same instant ouer their heads, being stricken (as it were) with the noise, fell all amased

Plutarch in the life of *Crassus.*

Lib. 9. of the Historie of Scotland.

In the life of *Pompeius.*

to the ground. We read also in *Titus Liuius*, that birds haue fallen from the aire to the ground at the shoutings of the souldiers, when they were shipt in such multitudes, that one would haue said there was not a man left neither in Italie nor in Sicilia. Such a like storie we read in *Paulus Æmilius*, reported after him by *P. Iustinian. When the Christians* (saith *Paulus Æmilius*) *had besieged the citie of Tyrus, behold a Doue was seene in the ayre. The Christians knowing the deuise before-hand, began to make such a shout from aboord the ships, and vpon the land, that the bird stricken (as it were) with a whirle-wind from heauen, fell downe: about the neck whereof there was found a letter which the Sarazins had written to the besieged, containing, That they should speedily be relieued, and that therefore they should take good hearts, and endure yet for a while. Whereupon the Christians, hauing some among them that were skilfull in that language, wrote another letter which they tied about the neck of the same Pigeon, and so let her flie; the effect of which letter was, That the besieged were to prouide for their safetie: that they had made sufficient triall of their valour and fidelitie: that fortune crossed them: that they must not expect any succours, the passages being all stopt by the enemie. The Tyrians thus fetcht ouer, yeelded themselues &c.* In that long war which the Spaniards had with the Hollanders, this pollicie of sending letters by these flying poasts was often practised, specially at the siege of Harlem, which held out a long time. And it hath beene often seene, that these feathered *Mercuries* with the force of great cries, the noise of muskets, and roaring of cannons, haue beene beaten to the ground and robbed of their packets. Which may serue to confirme that which *Plutarch* writeth, (speaking of Rauens, which at the crie of a great multitude of people fell within the circuit of the Theatre, ouer which by chance they flew at that time) *That the aire cleaues and breakes with the violence of so strong a voice, in such sort, that it hath not the firmnesse to beare vp the birds, so that they are forced to fall to the ground, as passing thorow a place that is wide and emptie of all support: Vnlesse we will say, that it may be rather with the violence of the crie, which hits and strikes the birds as they passe thorow the aire, as if it were with arrowes, whereupon they fall to the ground starke dead. And it may be that there is a whirle-wind made in the aire; as we see in the sea when it worketh, there is sometimes a whirling about of the waues through the violence of the tempest.*

Lib. 5. of the Hist. of France. *Lib.* 2. of the Hist. of Venice.

In the life of *Quintus Flaminius.*

Finally we are to note, That although the sight be more quick and sudden (as we said before) than the hearing, especially when there is nothing to hinder it: notwithstanding it hapneth also oftentimes, that the hearing extends it selfe verie far. Not to speake of the hearing of the thunder, we know, that many times the roaring and thumping of great ordnance hath beene heard twelue or fifteene German leagues from the places where they haue beene shot off, witnesse the batterie at Lipsic, Magdebourg, and Mets, some yeares since. Therefore that which *Lieuin Lemnius* writeth, may well be true, how that in a certaine battell giuen betweene the Flemings and Hollanders, the noise, crying, and shouting of men, and the bustling and clattering of armes, were heard three leagues from the place where the field was fought. A wonderous thing also, that at the last siege of Malta the thundering of the Turkish artillerie was heard in Sicilia, which is a verie great distance off. For the Turkes, to batter the bulwarkes and walls, vsed certaine peeces called Morters, bearing balls of stone of three hundred pound weight: their great cast peeces carried balls of eight score pound, their canons of foure score, and they shot (as *Hubert Foletta* saith) aboue three score and ten thousand such bullets and balls in that siege. But this is a thing welneere surpassing all beleefe, that they who inhabit the mountaines of Anagnia in the countie of Tirol, heard the report of the ordnance

Lib. 3. of the Secrets of Nature, *cap.* 2.

In the Hist. of the siege of Malta.

that

that was shot during the battell of Lepanto, about the end of the yeare 1572, where the Turkes were ouerthrowne with a notable losse. For so long as the conflict lasted, there was heard in the aire a terrible noise as it had beene of a great thunder, wherewith the countrey people were so amased, not knowing what it was, and seeing the skie verie cleere and bright, that the next morning they went to acquaint the Gouernour of the countrey with what they had heard, thinking it had beene thunder: but a while after it was knowne that the noise had so spread it selfe during the time that the said battell continued. I would not haue spoken of these things because of the far distance of the places (being some hundreds of leagues a sunder) but had suppressed and buried them in silence, if I had not beene informed thereof by a man worthie of credit. *Lemnius* yeeldeth a reason hereof, and holdeth that such a rumbling at sea may be heard a great way off, especially in a calme night, because there is no wood or hill to let the noise from spreading it selfe far and wide vpon the plaine waters, and from raysing and rolling it selfe thorow the spatious emptinesse of the aire.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Honour of the Victorie deserueth to be preferred before the Bootie and Spoile of the Enemies.

Histories declare and make manifest, that excellent Generals of Armies and valiant captaines, haue oftentimes made more account (by a great deale) of honour and fame, than of riches, spoile, and bootie of the Enemies campe, which they haue left their souldiers, reseruing the glorie for themselues. It is reported (as *Plinie* noteth after some other Historians) that *M. Curius Dentatus* being accused of robbing the common treasurie, brought a woodden tun which he serued himselfe withall in sacrifices, and set it before the Iudges, swearing, That of all the spoile of the Enemies he had brought home nothing but that tun. *Paulus Æmylius* followed him: for hauing ouercome *Perses* the mightie king of Macedonia, and repleniſhed with Grecian wealth that pouertie which the Romans of a long time and from the father to the sonne had inherited, without enriching his owne priuat house: he made account that he had prouided honourably for himselfe by heaping vp glorie, making by that war others rich, and setting the commonwealth in quietnesse and rest. The like is reported of *Cato* the elder: who hauing conquered Spaine, and taken foure hundred cities therein; affirmed, That of all the wonderfull bootie of that war he had neuer taken any thing but what was needfull for his sustenance; *Not that I blame* (saith he) *such as will gather wealth in war: but I had rather contend with the best men about vertue, than with the most couetous and greatest riselers, about riches and spoiles of the Enemies.* It is said also, That *Themistocles*, when as after the winning of a battell, he came to the shoare to see the dead bodies, and spied many a rich bootie lying here and there verie thick, he past by, saying to a fauorit of his that went with him; *Gather, and take to thee, for thou art not* Themistocles. For the same cause *Ammian Marcellinus* magnifieth the Emperour *Iulian*, who shared a great prey among his souldiers, according to their deserts and trauels: but as his custome was to bee content (for his owne part) with a little, he reserued nothing for himselfe, but a dumbe child, which was presented vnto him, who knew many things, and made them vnderstood by conuenient countenances and gestures:

Cap. 33. of famous men.

Val. Max. lib. 4. *cap.* 3.

Plutarch in his life.

In his life.

In the 24 booke of his Hist.

gestures: so that a present of small value was to him a precious and pleasant recompense of the victorie obteined.

In like manner (to come to moderne examples) the oration of that mightie prince of the Tartarians called *Tamerlane*, made to the Souldan *Baiazeth* his prisoner, sheweth, that he was not so barbarous but he preferred glorie before riches: which agreeth with the iudgement that *Iustin* the Historian giueth of the ancient Scythians or Tartarians, that in war *they desired nothing else but the honour of obtaining the victorie:* He said therefore to *Baiazeth* (who wept like a woman because of his misfortune) *I care not for thy gold, nor for all thy spoiles, nor for these great riches which thou hast heaped together, seeing that by thy faint-heartednesse thou robbest me of the glorie which I onely desired.* It may be that *Tamerlane* imitated *Paulus Æmylius*, who rising off his seat when he saw *Perses* comming, whom they brought prisoner, and going to meet him with his friends the teares standing in his eies, as if he went to meet a great person falne by the fortune of war and by the diuine will into a pittifull calamitie: the wretch carried himselfe so bashfully and faintly in his countenances and words, that *Paulus Æmylius* himselfe could not endure the same, but looking on him with a discontented and angrie face, said vnto him; *Poore man that thou art! why dost thou thus discharge fortune of that whereof thou mightest charge and accuse her in discharge of thy selfe, by doing things whereby it wilbe thought that thou hast well deserued the mishap whereinto thou art falne, and art vnworthie of the honour and prosperitie which thou hadst heretofore? And why dost thou debase my victorie, and diminish the glorie of my deeds, by shewing thy selfe so faint-hearted, that it shalbe no great honour for me to haue ouercome thee, considering thou wast not a worthie aduersarie of the Romans? Magnanimitie, in whatsoeuer enemie it be, is euermore reuerenced of the Romans: but cowardlinesse, though it be prosperous and haue happie successe, is alwaies, and of all, had in detestation.* The like also may be seene in the oration of Sultan *Solyman* to *Philip de Villiers*, great Master, after the taking of Rhodes. Hauing saluted him, and called him *Babba*, that is to say, Father (though dissemblingly) he saith vnto him; *I am most glad that God hath put into your heart to desire (now at the last) rather peace than war. I wish you had beene of that mind in the beginning; Surely, you should then haue receiued more good of my souereigne and most puissant maiestie than you haue suffred euill since, which is not for any malice I beare you, but onely of a desire I haue to domineere, as you may gather by this, that I let you goe from hence your liues and goods saued. For I make not war to heape vp riches and treasures: but I aspire to glorie, to immortall fame, and to the enlarging of my Empire. This befitteth a king descended of a noble blood, to inuade and spoile another, not for couetousnesse, but for magnificall ambition, contenting my selfe to destroy by open force whosoeuer offreth to oppose himselfe against me.*

Plutarch in his life.

Jaques de la Fontaine, lib. 2. of the war of Rhodes.

But leauing these stories and such like, I admire (especially) that which is contained in the Oration made by *Antonius Muretus*, to Pope *Pius* the fourth, in the behalfe of *Antony* of Burbon king of Nauarre. We read in Histories, saith he, that in times past, thirtie Mahumetan kings, the chiefe of whom was called *Smaragdus*, assailed the kingdome of Castile, and put the Christians to a wonderfull trouble, making full account to driue them out of Spaine, which they held as good as alreadie conquered. Thereupon *Sancus* king of Nauarre leuied an armie consisting of a small number of men, but couragious and most resolute souldiers; making a publike, solemne, and most memorable vow, that hee would neuer lay aside his armes till he had defeated these Barbarians: who among other deuices to restrain the out-roads and approches of the Christians, vsed the help of strong yron chaines, to barricado all the waies and passages against the Christian Caual-

lerie,

lerie, which was very strong, and to lie in priuie wait against their out-courses. But craftie counsels can do nothing against true wisdome: engins erected against a braue resolution, are but as hempen stalkes; a base multitude is too weake to make head against prowesse and valour. *Sancus* being led by the Lord of hosts, and making an open passage for him and his through the midst of the enemies, by force of armes, neuer left till hee had broken, defeated, put to rout, and vtterly dispersed this armie of the Barbarians; which taught him, that the victorie is not inclosed in fortresses and stratagems of war, but in iust armies; and that they who fight for the name of *Iesus Christ*, are so couragious and valiant, that no humane power is able to withstand them. So, after he had crusht this armie of such barbarous enemies, all the Christian captaines and souldiers came running to him in crowds to kisse his hands, and his knees, and to doe him all possible honours, as to the conquerour of the Barbarians, and the deliuerer of Spaine by the victorie which he had gotten; and they that could not come neere him for the preasse, did by signes of the head, eyes, hands, and of all the bodie besides make outward shew of the affection that was hid within; all and euery one of them saluting him, and crying with loud voices, *God saue the inuincible Captaine, and the valorous Warrier.* Afterwards, when they came to share the boot which was great, as any man may thinke (the riches of thirtie kings being then assembled in one heape) there was not a man in all the campe but said and confest, That whatsoeuer share *Sancus* would reserue to himselfe, how great soeuer it should be, was yet far lesse than he by his valiant exploits had deserued. There was found in the tents of the Barbarians a huge summe of gold and siluer, part whereof was coin'd into money, part cast into Ingots, a number of pearle and stone of rich value, great store of hangings and rich vestures, a great quantitie of curious houshold-stuffe such as the Mores vse, who are excessiue and pompous in warre: a number almost innumerable of all sort of armes forged, wrought, and inriched most curiously: horses of seruice great store, with an incredible number of saddles, barded armour, bridles, and other such ornaments: prisoners by hundreds, out of which might be drawne great ransoms. All the Castillians and Nauarrians with one consent earnestly besought king *Sancus*, to take of this boot all that he should think good: who shewing by his cheerefull countenance, how much this franke and liberall offer of the armie liked him, made them this answer; *It was not the desire of laying my hands vpon the riches of the Barbarians that made me enter into this war, and offer my breast to the shot of the enemies: but the zeale I had to the maintaining of Christian Religion, and to free this faire land from the vniust dominion of Tyrants enflamed and incited mee to this worthy action. Now that by the goodnesse of God, and your valour (braue souldiers) I haue done that which I entended, I will take heed least any should say of me, that I haue made more account of the spoyles of our enemies vnarmed, beaten, and ouerthrowne, than I feared their forces and their weapons when they were standing vp. These spoiles may serue, first of all, to decke & beautifie our Churches; to the end that the same being seene in the Chappels, in the Vaults, and vpon the Wals, may preserue our name in time to come, and prouoke our successors to maintaine the defence of our Religion, couragiously, and for euer. Next, let them enrich the poore, hurt, and maimed souldiers, according to their deserts; so as they, hauing employed their lustie young yeares in dangers and labours, may haue wherewith to sustaine their weake age hereafter in peace and rest. As for me, I desire no recompence, saue these yron chaines, which I haue hewen and broken before your eyes, and by meanes of your helpe: and that precious stone which I haue beaten downe with my hands, and which you see there lying on the ground: in saying of which, he pointed at* Smaragdus *all dead, and weltring in his blood; playing wittily vpon that name, which signifieth a Smaradge, or Emerald.* To preserue

serue therefore the memorie of so notable a victorie, and to encourage his successors to follow him, the Armes of Nauarre euer after consisted of chains borne crosse-wise, and disposed into a square; *Sancus* ordaining, that the same Armes, and none other, should bee borne by the kings that were to succeed them. And because in this battell he had slaine with his owne hand *Smaragdus* the Generall of the enemies armie, he would haue those chaines set with Emeralds: yea, and because of this victorie and other like, it hath beene granted for an honor of the kings of Nauarre, that they should be annointed, sacred, and crowned.

Method of hist. *cap.6.*

For good cause therfore doth *Bodin* think (according to *Aristotle*) that a prince ought so to bee instituted, that he may take pleasure to content his mind with sound and true glorie, that so he may grow and increase therein euery day. If he satisfie himselfe with any other thing, he will grow to be a tyrant: for hee will seeke after riches and pleasures, wherof will follow extortions and whoredoms; which befell young *Dionysius* the tyrant of Sicilia, brought vp by his father in idlenes and delights, in such sort, that he neuer stird out of a chamber, nor knew any thing fit for a prince, neither had he any desire or feeling of true glory; therfore he plunged himselfe more and more in fleshly pleasures with some pernicious flatterers and minions, vntill at the last hee was taken away, and throwne headlong out of the neast of his tyrannie (as from some high rocke into a bottomlesse pit.) But the prince that is desirous of glorie, will first flie all the traine of a bruitish and infamous life: Secondly, he will remember that true honour consisteth in the onely action of vertue, by the which he may represse the wicked, maintaine the good, honor the valiant and wise with praises and rewards, and brand the proud and mutinous with perpetuall obloquie and reproach.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the plainnesse and frugalitie of the ancient and moderne Souldiers.

L. *Post liminii.* § *filius, De Captiuis. lib.* 22.

When Valour and militarie vertue began to degenerate among the ancient Romans, which their predecessors held a greater glorie than any other good which they could leaue to their children, as *Paulus* the Ciuilian saith; and when (by the report of *Ammian Marcellinus*) the Roman souldiers, in stead of a stone seruing for a pillow to sleepe vpon the hard ground, would haue soft feather-beds, and their goblets should weigh more than their swords: then went their empire to wracke, and was made a prey to their enemies that assailed them. The like hath fallen out also in our time. When the Souldier (as the same Historian saith) began to plunder, rifle, and ransome his friends, to be afraid of his enemies, and to flie before them; when he began to haue some insight in precious stones, to discerne betweene the right and the counterfet, to know what gold and siluer meant, mustering riches together vnlawfully gotten; then force and valor tooke their flight, and soared quite away: for all goes to the ground when vices are taken for vertues; and as an ancient Poet saith,

When all the Romans care was to be rich and gay,
Then Vice grew in request, and Vertue in decay.

Plutarch in the life of *M. Cato.*

Therefore is *M. Cato* worthily commended, for that being Treasurer to the armie of *Scipio* in the African war, and seeing that this lord bestowed excessiue largesse, and (after his accustomed manner) shewed himselfe ouer-much liberall towards the Souldiers, he could not endure that exorbitancie, not that hee cared for gold or siluer (as himselfe confessed) but because the Souldiers growne too much

much into wealth, became voluptuous, dissolute, and infamous; in a word, that the plainnesse, frugalitie and temperance of the Ancients was lost by such excesse. (He was also wont to say, *We haue of late lost the true names of things: to steale from one to giue to another, is called Bountie; to be bold and forward to doe euill, is called valiantnesse.*) This brought the publike state to the brinke of her ouerthrow: But when such a Souldier made war as contemned riches, and stood vpon his vertue and discipline, (as *Charidemus* saith, speaking of great *Alexanders* army) had pouertie for mistresse and maintainer; when the bare ground serued for a bed to the wearie, the meat that came first to hand contented the hungrie, & when men neuer slept a whole night together; then no place was vnapprochable, nor any enterprise impossible. *Agesilaus* would haue the same to be conceiued, when as after the defeating of some of the Barbarians about Hellespont, seeing that the Asians being gorgeously apparelled, were effeminat men, and no way fit to endure the brunts and difficulties of war; he placed the prisoners stark naked on the one side, and their apparell on the other, commanding the Crier to sell them so apart: to the end that his souldiers and confederats might know that they had vndertaken the war against briske fellowes and faint hearts, from whom there was much to be gotten: and that therefore they should march to the combat against such effeminate ones so much the more cheerefully, hauing no more to doe but to strip them, and to put on their rich furniture vpon themselues. Therefore is it, that *Pescennius Niger* would haue souldiers, when they go to the battell, carie neither gold nor siluer in their purses, but leaue it with the Common-wealth, that after the battell ended, they might take it againe: or, if they miscaried, it would be giuen to their wiues, children and heires: that so, if any ill fortune befell them, the enemies might not gaine that boot. *Vegetius* also saith, that there was a very profitable law among the Romans, by which (when the souldiers were to receiue their pay in victuals, which the Common-wealth did furnish) the one halfe of that their pay was defalked and reserued for them, to the end they might not spend it all, but remembring this remainder they might be the carefuller to doe their dutie, and neuer forsake their colours. *Domitian* made an exception against this law, & would not haue this remainder amount to aboue fiue pounds; because *Lucius Antonius* brewing some innouations among two Legions that wintered in certaine garrisons, seemed to relie much vpon the summe of money which hee hoped to gather out of such remainders, as *Suetonius* saith. And the by-word of *Alexander Seuerus* is well knowne, *That a Souldier is neuer afraid, but when hee seeth himselfe well apparelled, and his belt furnisht with money.* For that which *Platina* writeth to *Vrsinus* is most true, That the Roman Common-wealth was the most florishing of all other, when her citisens gloried in their pouertie: for then (as witnesseth *Petrarck*) they subdued all other nations; but when they grew rich, others ouerthrew them. So that vpon the arriuall of pompous delights, and excessiue commodities, victories and vertues fled away, giuing place to dissolutions the companions of riches. And therefore is it, that some Historians haue (not without cause) deplored the death of the *Roman Pouertie*.

Herodotus wisely bringeth in *Demaratus* telling *Xerxes* king of the Persians (who prepared to make war vpon the Greeians) That Greece had euer enterteined Pouertie, and harbored vertue brought in by wisdom & seuere discipline; by which meanes domination, and pouertie, which is an enemie to vices, continued among them. Of the same opinion was the Emperor *Pertinax*, when hee saith, *That it is a far more excellent thing for a Common-wealth to bee poore, than to attaine to great riches by the way of perill and infamie.* And *M. Curius Dentatus* is iustly commended, who answered

Plutarch in his life. *Athenæus lib.* 12. *cap.*28.

Spartian in his life.

*Lib.*2. *cap.*20.

In his historie written by *Lamprid.*

Lib. of true Nobilitie.

*Lib.*7.

Iul. Capitol. in his life.

answered the Samnites, offring him a great sum of gold, *That he should neuer need gold, so long as he could command his affections. Charlemaign* the Emperor, in the oration which he made when he dismissed his armie, after he had subdued the Saxons and Lombards who had long held out against him, thus taketh his leaue of them; *Farewell my souldiers* (quoth he) *euerie man will call you valiant, companions for Kings, Iudges of the wicked. Liue hence-foorth free from trauell, giue good counsell to Princes for the commonwealth, be protectors of the Widowes, relieue the Orphans, compasse the great Lords with your prudence, and demand of them food, apparell, and entertainment: He that shall denie you, let him be accounted wretched and infamous. Who so wrongeth you, let him be guiltie of the crime of Maiestie and Treason. But take heed that you staine not by drunkennesse, iesting, or other vice, the great Honour and priuiledge you haue gotten by the iust trauell of wars; for feare least that which we grant vnto you for Honour, redound to your dishonour and punishment, which we reserue to our selues for euer, and to our successors kings of the Romans, if by chance you run into any excesse.* This sheweth, That it is a gallant thing to ouerthrow kings, to assaile prouinces, cities, and castles; but it is a far more gallant thing to command ones own passions: yea, That it is a wonder surpassing all wonders, that he, who hath ouercome many other, should after all ouercome and surmount himselfe. For such a Victorie (saith *Plato*) is the chiefest of all victories. And such a Victorie it was that *Frederick* the Emperour implied, when he said to his German souldiers (after he had defeated certaine people of Hungarie) as *Æneas Syluius* reporteth, *We haue stricken one good blow: there resteth another yet better and greater than that, which is, that we ouercome our selues, forbearing to rifle and to kill.*

Lib. 1. de legibus.

Such a Victorie is not woon without temperance and contempt of riches: and this *Ammian Marcellinus* meant when he saith, that vnder the Emperour *Maximinus*, some baggage of the king of Persias being surprised, a souldier found a certaine bag such as the Parthians beare, wherein were many pearles, which he shaked out, not knowing what they were, being content with carrying away the bag because it was a faire one to looke to. The like hapned in the memorie of our predecessors, when *Charles* duke of Burgundie was ouerthrowne by the Swissers nere Granson. As he fled (saith *Philip de Commines*) the Conquerors had a great bootie: but they knew not the worth of it. They rent the dukes Pauilion into many peeces, which was thought the fairest and of the most curious worke that possibly could be found. Many of them thought that the siluer dishes had beene of tin, and sold them away for about three pence the peece. His Diamond, esteemed the richest that was in the world, and whereat there hung a faire great pearle, being found by a Swisser, was drawne foorth of the case wherein it was kept, and after put vp againe, and the case and all throwne vnder a wagon: a while after he came againe, and tooke it vp from the ground, and sold it to a priest for halfe a french-crowne, and the priest sent it to some of their lords, who gaue him for it three francks, which make a french crowne. To be short, all the most pretious things the duke had, came to the Swissers hands, who vpon that occasion began first of all to know what gold and siluer meant. The precious Diamond before mentioned comming to the hands of Lapidaries that were skilfull in such iewels, and at last set at so high a rate that none could be found rich inough to buy it, was in the end carried into Turkie, and sold to the Souldan that then was, who made it be set (as his chiefest iewell) in the sightliest place of his Turban, which his successors neuer weare but vpon their most solemne feast-daies. The same Author writeth, That he saw the coller of this dukes Order, after his death, a most rich coller, and of most excel-

Lib. 7. of his remembrances.

lent

lent workemanship, which was sold for two French crownes in the citie of Milan. Before this Victorie, the Swissers were of such little worth and so poore in the wealth of the world, that their deputies being sent to the duke to beseech him that he would let them be at rest, confessed, That they were so poore and of so little meanes, that the bridles of the horses, and the spurs of the horse-men of his armie, were more worth than all the reuenues of the lands in Swisserland. Therefore the Swissers might doe as *Pausanias* did, and (after so great a bootie made of the campe of the Burgonians) scoffe at all this vanitie, as that great captaine did at the riches and excesse of the Persians after the ouerthrow of *Mardonius*. It is reported, saith *Herodotus*, That when *Xerxes* fled out of Greece, he left his gold, siluer, and precious stuffe which *Mardonius*, his lieutenant: and that *Pausanias* seeing such magnificent furniture which he was master of, commanded the Persian cookes and pastrey-men to prouide him a supper, such as they made for *Mardonius* when he was aliue. Which being done, and *Pausanias* seeing the beds of gold and siluer, fitted with their pretious carpets to sit on, the tables also of gold and siluer couered after the royall manner; was wholly rauished to see such sumptuous prouision: And after all, smiling, he said to his owne cooke; Make readie my supper such as they vse at Sparta: and that was a few black pottage, and some morcell of ordinarie flesh. Then laughing heartily, he called for the Grecian captaines, and shewing them the preparation of the Persians, and of the Spartans; said vnto them, *My friends, I haue called you hither to be the beholders of* Mardonius *folly, who leading such a dissolute life, hath taken the paines to come against vs that feed so poorely.* Let vs here adde that which *Tigranes* the sonne of *Artabanus* said to *Mardonius* in the presence of *Xerxes*, when he heard that the Grecians being victors in the Olympick games, receiued for all their recompense but a crowne of Oliue; *Ho* Mardonius, (quoth he) *what men are these which thou hast counselled vs to assaile, who fight not for the winning of siluer, but for carrying away the price of Honour and of Vertue?*

Lib. 9.

Lib. 8.

CHAP. XX.

A verie light occasion serues oftentimes for a direction to perfect great things.

IT was not in vaine that *Portius Latro* spake to *L. Catilina* in these tearmes: *Knowest thou not that in the expedition of affaires we must follow the opportunitie of time, take occasion by the haire, and carefully shun remisnesse, delay, and sloath? The wills of the gods haue maruellous sudden reuolutions, and if thou once let fortune goe, and she turne her back to thee; crie after her as long as thou wilt, she is euer lost for thee.* And albe it the Pagans, blinded with ridiculous and abhominable superstition, haue attributed to the goddesse *Fortune*, That she bare all the sway ouer human affaires (as *Iulius Cæsar* would haue made all the world beleeue, that *Fortune* sailed with him vpon the sea, kept him companie by land, lodged with him in his tents, assisted him in all his exploits of war) according to the saying of the Poet,

In his Declamation written by *Salust.*

Fortune *hath woon the field, then let vs follow hir,*
And where we heare her voice, by that way let vs stir.

And in another place,

The Destinies are they
Shall find vs out the way.

Let vs that are Christians, enlightned with the light of truth, attribute (as it behoueth) that sway, direction, and euent of all things both great and small, as

as well of aduersitie, as of prosperitie, to the eternall prouidence and will of the onely true God. To which purpose we haue read some latin verses, of this tenor:

He that beholds what course men take,
How euerie one doth scrape and rake;
Will say, that fraud and crueltie
Haue of this world the soueraignty.
If he obserue more curiously;
He must needs thinke that certainly,
All this that doth subsist in nature
Ascends and falls at all auenture.
But if he view all and each part,
Then must he needs say from his heart,
That the Diuine Wisedome so hie
Rules this great Vniuersitie.

Experience witnesseth, That sometimes a light occasion serueth as a directorie for the execution of most weightie things, and that against all hope; to wit, when matters are come to that exigent, that some fortune must needs happen by the speciall sufferance of God. We haue a memorable example hereof in the yeare 1527, when the duke of Bourbon led the Imperiall armie before Rome: For, being destitute of ordnance and other meanes fit for a siege, and moreouer inclosed on euerie side by his enemies, there befell a strange case, reported by *du Bellay*. An Ensigne-bearer of the Romans being appointed with his companie to guard a breach in Saint *Peters* quarter, seeing the duke of Bourbon comming vp by a little hill set with vines with some souldiers, to discouer the breach, fell into such a feare, that thinking to flie into the citie, he comes downe with his collours displaied thorow the breach, and marcheth towards the enemies. *Bourbon* seeing him come, thought that the companie followed after him, to giue a charge; and therefore made a sudden stand, with intent to gather his followers together, thereby to endure the charge, vntill the rest of his troupes were come vp, who had present notice to put themselues in armes. The Ensigne hauing made some three hundred paces without the citie, and hearing the larum and noise, comes to himselfe, and as one awaked out of a sound sleepe, gathereth his spirits to him, and turnes back towards the citie faster than he came foorth, ascending again thorow the breach. *Bourbon* wondering at this kind of countenance, made towards that place with ladders, recouereth the top of the breach, and there was slaine, but his armie entred by the breach into the citie. The same *du Bellay* writeth, How that he saw such another thing in the taking of a citie called Sainpaul: where an Ensigne-bearer standing vpon a bulwarke with his ensigne in his hand, seeing the enemies comming to the assault, tooke such a feare, that in steed of flying into the citie as his meaning was, he ran thorow a Casemat into the ditch, and with his Ensigne made towards the assailants, who cut him in peeces vpon the place. So hapned it, beyond all opinion, and by a verie light occasion, that Belgrade, a strong place by nature and art, was lost in the absence of the Gouernor. For he being gon to Buda where the king of Hungarie and the court then lay, to require pay for his souldiers, the treasurer entertaining him with words, and after all sending him away emptie-handed, whereas a hundred crownes would haue suffised to content the souldiers, and haue kept Belgrade at that time from falling into the power of the Turkes, as the Historie saith; the poore Gouernour durst not goe back to his souldiers without

Lib. 3. of his Remembrances.

Lib. 8.

J. Dubrauius, lib. 23.

without siluer. They being left without a head, agreeing but ill togither, and amased at the armie of the Turkes which (in this meane while) came to inuest them, were attached with such a feare, that they had neither resolution, courage, nor force to defend themselues, but without staying for the succours which made thitherwards with all speed, yeelded themselues and the place by composition. And thus came Belgrade to be most shamefully lost, a mightie bulwarke of Hungarie and of other kingdoms, placed at the meeting of the three famous riuers Dra, Saw, and Danuby.

To ascend againe to histories more ancient, let vs here insert that which *Abbas Vrspergensis* and other Historians write touching the Hunnes. They inhabited about the Fennes of Mæotis, where they gaue themselues to nought else but hunting, without caring for other countries; not thinking that beyond those Marishes there was any region habitable. But it so fell out, that some Hunters perceiued a Hind that in her walke crossed the Marishes, and at some times would stand still as it were to sound the foord, vntill she was gone quite ouer to the far side: the Huns finding this thing something strange, followed the Hind afarre off by the trace, vntill they were come ouer to the firme land. And then discouering a great countrey inhabited by the Scythians, they returned and made it knowne to all their people, who vnderstanding that the Marishes were wadeable, and had their bounds, could hardly beleeue the report; but in the end they gaue credit vnto it: and so concluding that the Hind had discouered the passage for them by some diuine instinct, they gathered together in great numbers, passed through the Marishes, surprised the Scythians and other their neighbors being out of order, defeated them, and within a while increased so in power, that they made themselues feared all the world ouer. *Aimonius*, who writeth the Historie of France, saith, that in like manner a Hind shewed the passage ouer the riuer of Vienna to king *Clouis*, who desired to giue battell to the Goths. *Sozomenus* in his Ecclesiasticall Historie, obseruing this deed of the Hind that shewed the passage to the Huns, reporteth, That an oxe stung with a waspe ran through the marish, and was followed by the neat-herd, who hauing discouered on the other side, an vnknowne countrey, acquainted those of his nation therewith. First of all, the Huns set vpon the Goths with a small troupe to trie their force, then after being ioyned all together they ouerthrew them in battell ray, and seazed vpon all their countrie. The Gaules that whilom besieged the Capitoll had not so happie an issue: for albeit the reuolution of worldly affaires had shewed them the way to enter thereinto, yet at the very pinch it failed them; and see how, as *Titus Liuius*, and *Plutarch* report it. After the great ouerthrow of the Romans neer to the riuer Allia, they that could saue themselues by running being come into Rome, filled all the citie with trouble & feare, so that the people confounded at these newes, scattered themselues, flying all away, some here, some there, sauing a small number of the most resolute, who put themselues within the castle of the Capitoll, determining to hold it against all extremitie that should happen. The rest that escaped the enemies hands, being assembled in the citie of Vejes, chose for Dictator *Furius Camillus*, whom the people (hautie and insolent through long prosperitie) had before that beaten and cast to the ground, accusing and condemning him as guiltie of robbing the publike treasure; but then taken downe by this affliction, they tooke him againe after this defeature, and put into his hands the soueraigne power and authoritie. But least this might seeme to bee done through the iniquitie & misfortune of the time, and that it was not by order of the lawes that he vndertooke this charge, but despairing of the restitution of the citie, had

*Lib.*1. *cap.*21.

*Lib.*6. *cap.*37.

In the 1. *Decad lib. de fortuna Rom.* & in the life of *Camillus.*

made himselfe to be chosen by a troupe of souldiers patched vp of all sorts, hee would that the Senators which were within the Capitoll should haue vnderstanding thereof, and that by their consent they should approue and confirme this election at Vejes. Now there was one among the rest called *Caius Pontius*, a valiant man, who promised to goe himselfe in person, and carie the newes of all to those that were in the Capitoll; and so vndertooke a very dangerous enterprise, because he was to passe through the midst of his enemies, who held the castle enuironed of all sides with trenches and *Corps de garde*. When hee was come to the riuers brinke, he laid vnder his stomack broad peeces of corke, and committing his bodie to the lightnes of such a cariage, let driue with the streame which was fauourable vnto him, and caried him faire and softly to the opposite banke without any danger: and there landing, he went stalking that way where he saw no light, coniecturing by the darknesse and stilnesse that no bodie was watching there. So he set himselfe to clamber vp the steepe hill where he found the rocke lowest, taking and staying himselfe by the windings and rough crags thereof so well as he could: and finally made such shift, that with much adoe he got to the top, where the sentinels hauing spied him, holp to take him vp, where he declared to those within what had bin thought good by those from whom he was sent; and receiuing of them an ordinance decreed, returned the same night & the same way, to *Camillus*. On the morrow, one of the Barbarians walking about the place, (without mistrusting ought) espied (by chance) the prints where one had stood a tiptoe, and the slidings and crushings of the grasse growne in the places where there was a little earth, with the marks where some bodie had drawne and traild himselfe, and went and told his fellowes of it, who thinking the enemies themselues had shewed them the way, stroue by vies to doe the like: and hauing marked out in the night the most couert way, ascended vp the hill, without being any whit discouered, not onely of the men that kept watch, nor yet of the dogs which were also set out to stand sentinell, so soundly were all asleepe: and yet the good fortune of the Romans wanted not voices to giue them warning of so great a danger. There were certaine Geese dedicated to the goddesse *Iuno*, which were kept at the common charge in honour of her, hard by her temple. Now this bird is very fearefull by nature, and easie to bee frighted with the least noise that is made in the night: & there was then in the Capitol great want of all kind of food, so that these geese were kept very leane, who feeding meanely, slept so much the more lightly; so that they perceiued the enemies so soon as they were at the top of the wall, and crying as being exceedingly afraid, ran against them, and were much the wilder when they saw the glittering of the armes, so that they filled all the place with a violent and vnusuall crie, which waked the Romans, who mistrusting some matter, ran presently to the wall, and from thence beat back their enemies, and threw them downe headlong. In memory of which accident, fortune doth at this day triumph ouer this deed: for vpon a certaine day they carie about in Procession a dog hangd on a crosse, and a goose laid in a little chaire vpon a cushin very sumptuous and rich.

Decad. 2. of the hist. of Sicilia. Lib. 9. cap. 6.

In regard of moderne examples, we might here infer that which *Fazel* writeth of a Hawke. The Arragonians hauing an enterprise vpon Casibla, a strong hold of the Clairmontois, came one night to the foot of the wals, and set vp their ladders vndiscouered, because the sentinels were asleep. And hauing entred one of the towers of the castle (the doore whereof they had broke open) they assaulted another tower that was higher, giuing the signall to their fellowes from that into which they went to enter, and without great adoe had possest themselues of

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the place, if a Hawke being afraid at the clattering of the armes, had not by her bating and crying awaked the Gouernor of the place and his ſouldiers; who ſeeing the enemie within, lighted with all ſpeed their torches, the ordinary ſignall to their friends, that they ſhould come and ſuccour them: by means wherof the Arragonians were forced to retire. But the ſouldiers of *Seuerus* (as *Herodian* writeth) had a more fortunat iſſue by an occaſion not foreſeene, & they not knowing any more what to do, to force a fortreſſe built in all haſt by *Peſcennius Niger* vpon mount Taurus to ſtop their paſſage: for this fort was impregnable, couered with the mountaine, and with a ſteep downfall. So being ouerwhelmed with griefe, trauell, and deſpaire, becauſe they were ſtaied of their iourney, and for that their enemies mocked them; behold the aire ſuddenly begins to bee troubled, the mountaine to be full of melted ſnow, whence growes a mightie ſtreame, which ſwelling the more becauſe the fort ſtaied and bridled the courſe thereof, began to vndermine the defences, and ſo to ſhake the foundations of the fort, that nature ouercomming art, the water made it ſelfe a paſſage: which they of the garriſon ſeeing, and that (the fort being caried away) all retrait would faile them, leauing the fort, they ſuddenly retired themſelues. The ſouldiers of *Seuerus* very glad of this good fortune, and encouraging one another, as if the gods had lead them by the hand, ſent to view the place, & ſeeing it left, paſſed ouer that mountaine without hinderance, and preſently entred into Cilicia. After the ſame maner a very light occaſion helped *Marius* (who had beſieged a caſtle in Numidia, that was ſtrong both by nature and art) in the ſtraits and dangers he was brought into, being not able to force the place which all men held vnconquerable, as *Saluſt* ſaith. For as he balanced between hope and feare, not knowing whether hee ſhould raiſe the ſiege, wherein he ſhould loſe time, money, and men; or hold it on and abide the hazard, which oftentimes before had bin fauourable to him; it happned, that a ſimple ſouldier, being gone out of the campe to walke towards the riuer, eſpied by the caſtles ſide quite oppoſite to the campe, Tortoiſes that ſcrambled among the ſtones; which he runs after, takes one of them, and then another, and caried away with deſire of gathering as many as he could, he ſeeth himſelfe (without thinking of any ſuch thing) vpon the ridge of the mountaine. There he diſcouered that which he thought would ſerue for a better end than for the gathering of Tortoiſes: ſo downe hee comes, and preſently declareth to *Marius* how ſolitarie the caſtle was left vpon that ſide, in ſo much as no man appeared in all that quarter of that caſtle. *Marius* ſent men to view it, and taking hold of the occaſion, aſſaulted the place both before and behind, whereby he made himſelfe maſter of the caſtle. Whereupon the Hiſtorian ſhutteth vp his diſcourſe with theſe words; *So it may be, the raſhneſſe of* Marius *woon him honour by his fault.*

Lib. 3.

In bello Iugurth.

The end of the fourth Booke.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Of vaine and vnprofitable attempts.

In the Tragedie of Hippolytus.

Eneca the Tragedie-writer bringeth in one, who among other complaints maketh this,

Great men vnwiſely ſeeke to doe
More than is fit they ſhould obtaine:
And they that can doe much, would faine
Doe that they cannot reach vnto.

When I noted this ſpeech, I thought it one of the excellenteſt and beſt auouched ſayings in all *Seneca*. For both in times paſt, and in our age, Emperors and Kings relying vpon their too much power and riches, haue taken vpon them to performe great and extraordinarie matters, to the end they might leaue to poſteritie ſome badge of their greatneſſe, either to ſtrike a terror into their enemies, or to ſerue for ſome good to their countrey and commonwealth. This appeareth by that pompous attempt of *C. Caligula*, who wiſhed not any thing ſo much as to effect that which he ſaw could not be brought to paſſe. For *Suetonius* ſaith, That he ioyned, by the meanes of a bridge, the ſpace betweene the citie Baiæ, and the hils of Puteoli: which bridge had about three thouſand and ſix hundred paces in length, and it was made with a huge number of ſhips of burden placed in double roe, tied faſt with anckors, and couered aboue with a banke and cauſey of earth, paued with broad ſtones like the high-way of Appius. *I know* (ſaith *Suetonius*) *many thought that* Caligula *meant by building this bridge to imitate* Xerxes, *who made a long one, but ſomewhat ſhorter than this, ouer the Helleſpont. Others ſaid, That he would thereby make the French and Engliſh afraid, to whom he bare a grudge, thinking the report of ſuch a great worke would make them aſtoniſhed.* He addeth a third cauſe, which he thinketh the likelier, though many were of another mind: to wit, That *Caligula* meant by this enterpriſe to diſprooue the Aſtronomer *Thraſyllus*, who one day had told *Tiberius* enquiring about his ſucceſſor, that *Caligula* ſhould be Emperour, when he ran a horsback ouer the gulfe of Bajæ. There remaine yet ſome arches of this bridge, made of hewen ſtone nere to Pouzol which I haue beheld not without wondering, becauſe of the great length this bridge conſiſted of, being made vpon arches and ſhips of burden from the one ſide to the other, and to the caſtle

In the life of *Calig. Sect.* 19.

of

of Bajæ that standeth ouer against Pouzol, which castle is built vpon a rock, and kept by the Spaniards. With like boldnesse *Claudius* his successor (witnesse the same *Suetonius*) vndertooke to dreine the Lake Fucin, as well for the common benefit, as to purchase glorie; and to preuent priuat men, who promised to doe the same at their charge, so that the grounds after they should be dried, might remaine to them as their owne proper lands. For, hauing cut away one part of the mountaine, and made hollow the other, he finished (not without great difficultie) the chanell, being three thousand paces long, hauing emploied eleauen yeares about it, and thirtie thousand workemen who laboured vpon it continually without any rest or intermission. There be other signes and tokens of the great power of the Romans to be seene in the high-waies paued with faire great stones; whereof may be witnesse yet at this day in some sort (time hauing worne out the rest) the way of *Appius*, stretching out in length so fara s Brundusium: although by the negligence of the inhabitants of the countrey it be ruinate in many places, and the sea hath spoiled some part of it. Besides, there be the Caues, the Water-conduits, the Theatres and Amphitheatres, the Obeliskes, Temples, and Arches which the Romans built in diuers and sundrie places. In his life.

Now to furnish the charge of such workes, the Romans were exceeding rich: For Historians write, That the reuenues of the kingdome of Ægypt alone, in the time of *Ptolomeus* surnamed *Auletes*, who was *Cleopatras* father, amounted to twelue thousand and fiue hundred talents of gold, which make seauen millions and fiue hundred thousand French crownes. But when this kingdome fell into the power of the Romans in the time of *Augustus*, the reuenue came to more; by reason of the traffick to the Indies and to Æthiopia. Not to speake of the reuenue of so many other prouinces, they drew out of the siluer mines neere to New Carthage in Spaine, euerie yeare almost a million of gold. Moreouer they had an infinite number of slaues which they fed like beasts, and made them worke vncessantly, as they in Turkie doe now a daies. But as we must confesse, that the Romans were able to take in hand, follow, and finish so many strange workes with lesse difficulties and costs euerie way than could be done in these daies, with the helpe of so many slaues which they had, besides their riches and sundrie other commodities (the Emperour *Claudius* hauing furnisht of his owne, towards the charge of the Aqueducts, or water conduits at Rome, almost fourteene hundred thousand crownes:) so fell it out also many times, that going about (as it were) to force nature, they lost their time, their labour, and their money. This hapned, by the report of *Cornelius Tacitus*, at such time as *Seuerus* and *Celer*, great Enginers, tooke vpon them to surmount nature, and to dally with *Neros* wealth: for they had promised to dig a channell from the Lake Auernus to the mouth of Tiber, either by the sea shoare, or thorow the mountaines; there being not any moisture betweene both to bring out any water, but the ponds of Pomptina, all the rest being drie and hilly: so that it was the enterprise of a labour insupportable, and of which there appeared no vse or commoditie at all. Notwithstanding *Nero* (who desired not but impossible things) assaied to pierce the hils next to the Lake Auernus; and there are yet to be seene the traces of his vaine hope. *Suetonius* maketh mention of this Channell, begun for to goe from Auernus to the hauen of Ostia (leauing the sea) a hundred and three score Italian miles long, and so broad that fiue of the greatest gallies that were might saile therein one by another easily, without danger of falling foule one of another. To ouercome this worke, *Nero* gaue commandement, That all the prisoners, euen they that were capitall offenders and condemned 2250000 li. sterling. 420000 li. *Lib.* 15. Annal. In the life of *Nero*.

should be brought into Italy, to the end they might be emploied in this worke. Not content with that, he tooke in hand (saith the same Author) to pierce the Isthmus or straite that is in Achaia: and after he had by an oration exhorted the souldiers of his guard to begin the worke, and by sound of trumpet giuen the signall, he himselfe tooke a pickaxe in his hand, and began first to dig the ground, and then filling a basket with the earth, carried it away vpon his shoulders. But he had the like successe that many other had before him, who with vnluckie issue began the like enterprise: of which number were king *Demetrius*, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Caligula*, *Caius*, *Domitius* and others, of whom *Plinie* maketh mention. *Sabellicus* saith, That the Venetians fortified with walls and a double ditch all the length of the Isthmus consisting of foure thousand paces, from the Ægean sea to the Ionian, and that in the space of fifteene daies, albeit the walls were of a measure much longer, because they could not be builded so directly forward but that in many places they were of necessitie to be made winding and crooked. From thence came the old prouerbe, when any man would speake of great attempts and enterprises which it was impossible to ouercome, he would say; *He will pierce the Isthmus*. *Herodotus* writeth, That the Gnidians went about to cut it in the place where it is shortest (to wit, of the length of fiue furlongs) to make an Isle; but the splinters of the rocks flue into the worke-mens faces: whereupon repairing to the Oracle to aske counsell therein, the Propheteſſe said thus vnto them;

Lib.4. cap.4. Decad.3. lib.8.

Lib.1.

Forbeare to cut the Straits to make an Isle where's none:
For if God had so pleas'd, he would haue made it one.

But the enterprise of *Xerxes* king of the Persians, of cutting the mount Athos, had better successe. It is a great and goodly mountaine (as witnesseth *Herodotus*) washed of the one side with the waues of the sea, and of the other side, inhabited and full of tillage, extending it selfe in manner of an halfe Isle, with a Strait twelue furlongs ouer. At this day Athos is peopled with the Calogeres, who are Greeke friers of Saint *Basils* order. *Herodotus* addeth, Xerxes *commanded (as I thinke) that Athos should be cut, to make himselfe feared; and to shew that he had a meaning and meanes withall to eternise his memorie. For, desiring to transport ships thorow the Strait, he would needs haue it cut, and gaue order, that the chanell should be broad inough to containe two gallies afront with ease.* Another king, *Nicanor Seleucus*, offred to cut the Strait which separateth the seas Euxine and Caspian; but before he could finish it, he was slaine by *Ptolemeus* surnamed *Ceraunus*, as *Erasmus* obserueth. In like manner, some of the kings of Ægypt would haue brought to passe that one might haue gone by Nilus to the red sea, digging great chanels, and broad for two gallies a front without touching one another, and of the length of foure daies sailing. *Herodotus* writeth that six score thousand men died in that worke in the time of king *Neco*: and a man may see at this present not far from Sues certaine tokens of this enterprise, as they who haue beene at the place and seene them, haue assured me. But such designes vanished into aire, as did that of the queene *Cleopatra*, who in the same place had proiected a mightie and proud peece of worke. Her purpose was to cut the Strait that diuideth the Red sea from Ægypt, and seemeth to be the bounder betweene Asia and Africa, being three hundred furlongs broad where it is narrowest; to the end shee might saile into that Red sea with a fleet well furnished with men and riches, and there lodge her selfe in some place to auoid seruitude and warre: But the Arabians that inhabit about Petra, opposed themselues against it. *Dio* also reporteth, that *Traian* began a channell to make the riuer Euphrates fall into Tigris, and to carie boats

In his Adages.

Lib.2.

In the life of M. Antonius.

In the Hist. of Traian.

which

which he had set out for a bridge that hee had purposed to set vp. But finding that the Euphrates was much higher than the Tigris, he left all; fearing least the Euphrates taking his course downewards, would haue made it selfe wade-able. Such a like thing was attempted by an ancient Collonell of *Neros*, who went about to ioyne the Mosselle and the Saone, making betweene these two riuers a ditch, to the end that the Roman armie carried by the Rhone and the Saone into this channell, might enter by the Mosselle into the Rhine, and from thence into the Ocean; by which means so many difficulties of the way by land being taken away, they might easily goe by water from the West to the North. But *Gracilis*, Embassador of the Belgi, dissuaded him from doing it; For otherwise (added he) it will be said that thou wilt lodge the Legions where they ought not to be lodged, and that thou seekest the friendship of the Gaules, which is that the Emperours feare, whereof many times ensue the interruptions of braue enterprises. Thus reporteth *Richard Dinoth*, after *Tacitus*. *Iohn le Maire* saith, That because of the continuall falles of raine which had washed the earth againe into the ditch or channell out of which it had beene taken, all this worke was laid aside. In his Remembrances.

Not to stand altogether vpon examples that are ancient and strange, let vs see what our owne Emperours haue many times attempted. *Charlemaine* was persuaded by some, that he might bring to passe that boats might bee brought out of the Danubie into the Rhine, if betweene Regnitz and Altmul (riuers of that part of Germanie that is called Voitland, as *Auentin* saith) there were a large channell cut through the fennie land, within the which the waters might runne out of both sides, to render themselues into those two riuers: and these waters would bee deepe ynough to carie boats. Touching Regnitz it falleth into the Mein at Bamberg, and the Mein ioyneth with the Rhine at Mentz; the Altmul dischargeth it selfe a little beyond Nurenberg into the Danubie. *Charlemaine* commanded this worke to be taken in hand: whereupon great numbers of people being gathered out of Bauaria, Franconia, and Sueuia, began to dig a ditch three hundred foot broad, and two thousand paces long. All the Autumne was spent about this excellent & profitable businesse: but the diuine prouidence gaue not such successe as was desired, to a worke forcing nature, but by diuers prodigies, shewed the dislike it had thereof: for in the fields were found great heaps of wheat, and of all other graine; whereof if the beasts did eat neuer so little, they died presently; and the meale that was made therof vanished away in their hands that touched it: in the night time voices were heard, as if some had dolefully cried, or (quite contrarie) had plaied gambolds, and laught vnmeasurably, with confused noises all about the banks of that ditch. Besides, it neuer left raining in those fennie places; by meanes whereof all the earth that was taken out in the day, in the night was washt into the ditch againe. The Emperour *Charles* the fourth began such a like or a greater worke (though I cannot conceiue by the scituation of the place, and course of the riuers how it could be done) when hee would haue brought Multauia, a riuer that washeth the foot of the mountaine vpon which the castle of Prague is builded, and runneth through that head citie of Bohemia, to ioyne with the Danubie, as writeth *Iohn Dubrauius*. But not to enlarge this discourse any further, such attempts (for the most part) haue neuer had good successe. For God hath set bounds to the sea and to riuers, which they shall not passe, and hath shut them within beds, out of which they are not to stir, vntill he commaund them. So said he by his Prophet *Ieremie*; *Will not this people feare mee that haue placed the sand for bounds to the sea?* Sathan was forced to confesse

Lib. 4. of the Annals of Bauaria.

In the historie of Bohemia.

Psalm. 104. 9. *Cap.* 5. 22.

Lib. 2. cap. 30.

fesse it in the Oracle at Delphos, aboue mentioned. *Ruffinus* reporteth a notable storie of the ouerflowing of Nilus, after the ruine of *Serapis* temple. It is not long since the Turkes learnt (to their cost) the certaintie of this truth: for they hauing brought a puissant armie, and many thousand slaues, to cut through a high mountaine, and to make the Rha (a great riuer disgorging it selfe into the Caspian sea) fall into the Tanais (another great riuer which separateth Asia from Europe, and runneth into the Euxine sea) were kept from following their enterprise through want, being in a desert countrey, and through the vnmeasurablenesse of the labour, and because of the serpents; and also by the Muscouits, who destroied a good part of the armie; and finally by the Tartarians, who surprised the residue in their returne, and cut them all in peeces.

So then, the bounds of the sea and of the riuers shall not stirre, seeing God hath placed them, but stand fast in despight of men that would remoue them, though all in vaine. The Ægyptians pretended to shew the same in their Hieroglyphicks, by coupling an Otter and a Sea-calfe together, beasts liuing both on the land and in the water: shewing by that bond the coniunction of the water and of the earth, each one in her limits. But yet notwithstanding, hee that hath shut the seas and the riuers within their depths, can for the triall of his power and seuere iustice against sinners, commaund these waters to goe foorth and spread themselues, at such time, in such places, so long while, and so farre as it pleaseth him: witnesse the vniuersall flood which was in the yeare one thousand six hundred fiftie and six of the worlds creation, and which lasted three hundred threescore and fifteene daies, wherein all creatures liuing vpon the earth and in the aire, were drowned, except *Noah*, his wife, his sonnes and their wiues, who were within the Arke, with the beasts that were shut into the same. This deluge is exactly described by *Moses*, who setteth downe besides for a perpetuall witnesse of Gods wrath, the ouerthrow of Sodome and Gomorrhe, where there is now a Lake described in the second Chapter of the booke next before this, a countrey that was once marueilous pleasant and fruitfull, and wherein were faire Cities and Seigniories. *Abraham Ortelius* in his description of Ireland, maketh mention of a lake called Erne, which in times past was but a fountaine: but by reason of the execrable villanie of the Inhabitants of that Countrey, who lay with beastes, God being angrie caused the same fountaine to grow to such abundance of waters, that it drowned all the countrey, where one may see yet at this day (for proofe of this iudgement) when the skie is cleare, and the aire calme, Steeples of Churches that shew heere and there within the water. *The Authour of Nature* (saith *Syluester Gyrald*) *hath iudged, that the earth polluted with sinnes dishonouring nature so shamefully, ought not to beare any longer neither those inhabitants of old time, nor any that should succeed them.* *Camden* writeth, That this lake hath thirtie miles in length, and fifteene in breadth, is inuironed with thicke woods, and so fruitfull in fish, that the fishermen find fault with the abundance thereof, because it breakes their nets. Holland, Friseland, and Zealand haue receiued often hurts by these inundations of the sea, which haue swallowed vp and spoiled a great deale of land, with great losse of people and cattell, the tokens whereof appeare in those parts yet at this day.

Pierius lib. 25.

Gen. cap. 7. & 8. Gen. cap. 19.

In his great Theatre of the world.

In the description of Ireland

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the strange force of certaine Princes. Memorable Histories and Discourses concerning Gyants.

IVlius Capitolinus and other Historians report, That the tyrant *Maximinus*, who murdered and succeeded that good Emperour *Alexander Seuerus*, was so big, that hee conteined eight foot in height, and his thumbe was so great, that hee wore his wiues bracelet vpon it for a ring: he was so strong, that with his hands he drew carts and waines full loaden; with a blow of his fist he strucke out a horses teeth, and with a blow of his feet crushed his thighes; hee crumbled stones of Tuph betweene his fingers; hee cleft young trees with his hands: so that he was surnamed *Hercules Anteus*, and *Milo* of Croton. Whatsoeuer the cause was, when he was chosen Emperour by the souldiers (as *Herodian* saith) for his prodigious stature, militarie force, and direction in battels: he was so hated of a great many for his crueltie, that they called him *Cyclop*, *Busyris*, *Scyron*, *Phalaris*, *Typhon*, and *Gyges*: for he made account (saith *Capitolinus*) that hee could not maintaine himselfe but by violence and murders. There was neuer crueller beast in the world: he stood altogether vpon his force, as if it had been impossible to kill him. To be short, thinking himselfe almost immortall because of his gyant-like stature and force, a certain Comedian defied him couertly one day in certaine verses pronounced in the open theatre before a huge companie of people, the substance of which verses was this:

The Elephant is big, the Lion of great might,
The Tigre cruell fierce; and yet by nimble sleight
We see them oftentimes destroid and made away.
What one cannot atchieue, ten or a hundred may.
Then though thou dost not feare the force of one alone,
Yet feare the powerfull hand of many ioynd in one.

But what was spoken in sport, befell to him in earnest: for, hauing besieged and furiously assaulted the citie Aquilea, because the citisens defended themselues, and repulsed him couragiously being growne more cruell, and welneere mad to see himselfe receiue the foile (like wild beasts that wax furious when they feele themselues hurt) hee fell a mawling of his souldiers; who, not able to endure such indignities, killed the tyrant together with his sonne. *Trebellius Pollio* writeth of *C. Marius*, a Cutler by his first occupation, and who in time of *Gallienus* was chosen Emperor by the souldiers, that there was not any man that had stronger hands to strike and to thrust than he had: so that the veines of his hands seemed as if they had beene sinewes: with his fourth finger called the Ring-finger, or Physicke-finger he staied a cart drawne with horses, and drew it backward: if he gaue but a fillip to the strongest man that then was, hee would feele it as much as one of vs should a blow vpon the forehead with a hammer: with two fingers he would wrest and break many strong twisted things. After he was created Emperour, the first day was spent in ceremonies; the next day he entred (as it were) into his charge; the day following he was kild by a souldier that had bin his seruant, & had wrought with him in his Smithey, who when he gaue him the blow, *This is with the sword* (quoth he) *that thy selfe hast made*. *Antonius Pondus* in one leafe of his discourse vpon old moneys and coines, representeth for a rare thing the image of this three dayes Emperour, in a coine hauing this superscription, IMPERATOR CAIVS MARIVS, PIVS, FELIX, AVGVSTVS.

In the life of the thirtie Tyrants.

Antonie le pois.

A man

A man might apply to this Emperour the flout that *Cicero* bestowed vpon the Consull *Vatinius*: namely, that his gouernment was strange and verie prodigious, for there was neuer seene in it, Spring, Summer, Harueſt, or Winter.

But seeing we are falne vpon the speech of Sinewes, I will enlarge it a little with other more ancient examples. Certaine it is, That the Sinewes make most in that which belongeth to corporall force; and *Solinus* saith that the thicker they are, the stronger the bodie is; adding, That *Varro* had obserued for an example of wonderfull force, that a Samnite fencer named *Tritanus*, was of such a making that not onely his breast but his hands also and armes were furnished with Sinewes both longwise, acrosse, and side-wise; so that without any paine, & with the least blow, he ouerthrew all those that durst encounter him. Also, that this fencers sonne, a souldier vnder *Cneus Pompeius* set so light by an enemie that challenged him, that he ouercame him with blowes of his bare hand, and with one finger tooke him vp & carried him away to *Pompeis* campe. We read also, That *Milo* the Crotonian was exceeding strong, beyond all mens conceit: for with a blow of his fist he slue a bull, and hauing dresst it, eat it himselfe alone the same day. For examples more late, *Flauius Vopiscus* writeth, That the Emperour *Aurelian* was of a verie high stature, and marueilous strong: and saith after an other Historian called *Theoclius*, that in the war against the Sarmatians, *Aurelian* slue with his owne hand in one day eight and fortie of his enemies: and that in diuers daies togither he ouerthrew aboue nine hundred and fiftie: so that in praise of him certaine jygges were made which the yong lads vsed to sing vpon festiuall daies, the foot of them was this;

Cap. 4.

A thousand, thousand, thousand, we
We haue a thousand done to death:
By one a thousand mangled be,
We haue a thousand reau'd of breath.
A thousand yeares may that man raigne,
By whom a thousand men are slaine.

Againe,

None how great so ere he be
So much wine at home doth see;
As this prince hath drawne blood
From his hapleſſe enemies
That in armes 'gainſt him did riſe,
And his sou'raigne might withstood.

The same *Aurelian*, when he was Collonell of the sixth Legion (called *Gallica*) at Mentz, made such hauock of the Franci who forraged ouer all the countrey of Gaule, that hauing slaine with his owne hands seauen hundred of them, and sold three hundred at Port-sale, they made a song of him which had for burden these verses in effect,

At one time did we by fine force,
A thousand and a thousand men
Of French and Sarmats quite vnhorse.
Let Persians come by thousands then,
I will them ouerthrow perdy,
These are my pastimes verily.

We find in the holy Historie, songs of ioy made in the praise of valiant men, especially of *Saul* and of *Dauid*; which songs were (by many ages) before those which the prince of this world made in fauour of his seruants and followers.

Now

Now, not to stand vpon the fabulous Histories of the men warriers and women warriers of times past, wherewith some giddie heads haue poisoned our ancestors, feeding them with lies, and robbing them of the truth; that which is related of the valiant *George Castriot* prince of Albania, surnamed of the Turkes *Ischenderbeg*, that is, lord *Alexander*, because of his valiant exploits; seemeth worthie (in mine opinion) to goe before all other histories of that subiect. *Martin Barlet* of Scodra hath set foorth at large the braue atchieuements of this prince. *Paulus Iouius* hath gathered a briefe of them in his discourse of Famous men, where he saith, That *Castriot* neuer refused battell, neuer shewed his back to the enemie, neuer was afraid of any danger he was in, was neuer hurt but once and that a little in the thigh, though he had made continuall war with two most mightie Emperours of the Turkes, *Amurath* and *Mahomet*, of both which he endured the charge; and (which is more) ouerthrew in set battell seauen Bashaes, their lieutenants; put their armies to flight; and at euerie time had the spoyling of their camp. *Paulus Iouius* addeth, That this prince slue in seuerall conflicts with his owne hands two thousand Turkes: *Barlet* writeth, three thousand: neuer vsing to giue but one blow where he struck. And whereas his Cimiter was verie great and massie, he handled it with such force and nimblenesse, that he neuer spent blow in vaine, but it fell so right, that either he cleft them a sunder whom he met with, or cut them in two by the wast, or whipt off their head, and sometimes all the top of their shoulders withall, so strong and so expert was he in fighting. The Turkes that escaped his hands, talking before their Sultan of the prodigious force of *Castriot*, rauished with admiration all those that heard them: in so much as *Mahomet* himselfe desired to see the Cimiter managed by that mightie arme and extroardinarie force; because it was thought to be made of such temper that no iron harnesse could resist the blowes which it gaue. The sword was sent vnto him to Constantinople, but the force remained behind in the arme of *Scanderbeg*. For the rest, he was in such esteeme because of his valour, that the Turkes after his death being possessed welneere of all Albania, went to seeke out his tombe, and hauing found it did their deuotions to the same, honoring the memorie of that great prince so far, that they opened the monument, and tooke out his bones, which they shared among them with greater care than they would haue done any riches: euerie one of them thinking that he should prooue inuincible in war, and guarded against all hurts if he carried about him any little bone of this renoumed warrior. *Barlet* reporteth this memorable thing of him besides; that when he entred the battell, and was in the hottest of the fight, among other notes of the change of his countenance this was obserued, that his nether lip would cleaue it selfe, and thereout would come abundance of blood: which also would appeare in him sometimes out of the fight, when as in handling matters of State he fell into a choller more than was accustomed. This valiant prince was taken out of the world by a feauer, in the 63 yeare of his age (which to many great persons is climacterical and fatall) the 32 of Ianuarie *Anno* 1466, after he had reigned 24 yeares.

To this example we may ioyne that which *Thomas Fazel* and *Clement Marius* of Arezzo report of *Galeas* or *Galeot Bardasin* a gentleman of Catana, That he grew from time to time to such a heigth and bignesse of bodie, that he exceeded all other men how great soeuer, from the shoulders vpward; being withall strong and mightie according to his stature: so that he was a man compleat in that regard, being too hard for all other men in leaping, throwing the stone, tossing

In the first Decad of the Hist. of Sicilia, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

tossing the pike, and in iusting. Moreouer he was exceeding valiant, nimble and bold; a braue fighter both a foot and a horsback; his taleneſſe no whit hindring the triall of his valor. For, being armed at all points, his Caske on his head, holding a Iauelin in his right hand, and the pommel of a saddle with his left, he would spring into the seat without putting foot in the stirrup or hauing any other aduantage. Sometimes he would bestride a great Courser vnbrideled, and hauing giuen him the carriere, would stop him suddenly in the midst of his course, by strayning him onely with his thighes and legs. With his hands he would take vp from the ground an asse with his load, which commonly weyed three kintals. He struggled (in the way of pastime) with two of the strongest men that could be found, of which he held one fast with one arme, and threw the other to the ground keeping him vnder with his knee; at last he puld downe the second, and neuer left till he had them both vnder him, and then bound their hands behind their backs. Being before Plombino, a citie whilom belonging to the Florentines, with *Alphonso* king of Arragon and Sicilia who had besieged the same; three horsemen enemies found him a part from all other, and ran vpon him: but he turning his horse gaue one of them such a whirret with his sword-hilts, that he felled him from his horse to the ground halfe dead: and then running with a carreire at the second, he takes hold of his middle, makes him forgoe stirrups and saddle, and throwes him downe headlong: to the third he giues such a sound blow with his elbow, that he was faine to saue himselfe by flying away. He fought in single combat twice in Italy, and twice in Piemont, & was alwaies victorious. Historians report that *Tamerlan* Emperor of the Tartarians was of a verie high stature, and so strong, that holding a bow of the greatest size at that time in one hand, he drew the string with the other so firmly (which scarce any other man could haue don) that he made it passe beyond his eare; and setting vp a brasen morter in the place of the white, shot such a mightie shoote, that he made a hole thorow it with his arrow. We read the like almost in *Herodotus* of a king of the Macrobians, a people of Ethiopia. Many are yet aliue that know how strong and mightie *George* of Fronsperg, Baron of Mindelhaim of late memorie, was. There is a booke printed and published in the German tongue contayning his memorable deeds. And albeit *Paulus Iouius* handleth him but hardly as an enemie to the Pope, yet extolleth he his force and valour. For after he hath set foorth the good seruices that this Baron many and sundrie times did to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, namely in the battell of Bicoca and of Pauia (where king *Francis* was taken prisoner) and in other places, hauing fought valiantly to the last in fifteene set battells, and in more than twentie skirmishes; he addeth these words: George *was so mightie and strong, that if he held out the middle finger of his right hand, he would therewith remoue the strongest man out of his place, sate he neuer so fast. He stopt a horse suddenly that ran with a maine carreire by onely touching the bridle: with his shoulder he would easily shoue a cannon whither he would: he marched much oftner a foot than a horsback; and when he walked, he neuer could find souldier how yong or nimble soeuer, that out-went him.* It had beene often marked, that the ioynts of this Barons fingers seemed as if they had beene of horne: And it was a thing generally knowne, that he brake with ease a twisted rope of a reasonable bignesse; that without any adoe he wrested a horse-shooe a sunder with his bare hands. Such was the force of *Potocoua*; a gentleman of Poland, Collonel of the Cosaci, who of late yeares at the instance of the Turkish Ambassador and by the sufferance of *Stephen* king of Poland was beheaded in the assembly of the States of *Varsouia*. *Iohannes Leonclauius* writeth,

That

See *Paulus Iouius*.

In the supply of the Annals of Turkie.

That this gentleman was of such strength, that he would as readily with his bare hands breake horse-shooes new out of the forge, as he would haue torne leaues of paper, or other such like thing easie to be broken.

These examples shew vnto vs, that our age hath brought foorth men comparable for stature, force, and valour, with the men of old time. But of all those that haue bin yet named, none can equall the Gyant *Ænother*, borne in Turgaw, a village of Sueuia, who bare armes vnder *Charlemaine*: for he felled men as one would mow hay, and sometimes broached a great number of them together vpon his pike, and so caried them all vpon his shoulder, as one would carie birds spitted vpon a sticke: thus writeth *Auentinus* in the Historie of Bauaria. I know very well, some are of opinion that *Rowland* the sonne of *Berta*, sister to *Charlemaine* (who, when his armie was ouerthrowne by the Sarazins through the treacherie of the Gascoines, died with labour and thirst) was a Gyant: which they thinke they are able to prooue by the armed statues of huge greatnesse that are to be seene in the market places of many cities in Saxonie, for a badge of libertie, and are at this day called *Rowlands*: And yet I haue heard some men worthie of credit affirme, That king *Francis* the first desirous to know if that which was bruted of *Rowland* were true, caused his tombe to bee opened, in the which were found his bones and his bow all rotten; but his complete armour, though all rustie, yet whole: that the king did put on the same armour, which fitted him so well, that it appeared plainly that *Rowland* was not greater than king *Francis*, who though he were of a good heigth, yet was not much bigger than a man of a meane stature. Indeed there are seene at Wormes and other cities standing vpon the Rhine, bones kept in Arsenals and other publike places, which are said to bee of those Gyants of yore. But I haue heard many dispute and make a doubt, Whether they were bones of men or of fishes. I haue also seene at Pouzol in Italie, bones of a wonderfull bignesse and length, with an inscription of certaine Latin verses, fathered vpon *Pomponius Lætus*, the effect whereof is this: *Lib.4.*

Thou, Passant, that doost see with wondring eye
These bones of mightie Gyants that heere lie,
And wouldest know how Tuscan *had them heere,*
Listen awhile, and I will make it cleere.
When Hercules *th' Iberians had subdude*
and was come hither, he the Typhons *rude*
Expelled hence, that would haue stolne his sheepe,
And with his arme did wound and pierce them deepe.
But they dispersing were pursude amaine;
Whom he with Club and Bow put to such paine,
That they fell to the ground, and where they lay
In diuers graues their corps he did conuay.
Let then Posteritie this token beare,
That shee is borne of Ancestors that were
The greatest in their time for strength and bone
That were on earth, but Hercules *alone.*

Let vs graunt that much of that which they write of Gyants is fabulous: yet what shall wee say to that which *Thomas Fazelus* reporteth of Gyants, and of their originall, and what bodies and bones of theirs hee saw (as hee writeth) of monstrous bignesse found in Sicilia? He saith, he saw in his house some of the teeth of those prodigious bodies that weighed foure ounces apeece; and that *Lib.2. Decad.1. of the hist. of Sicilia. Cap.1.*

some were found that weighed fiue ounces: also, that the bodies of these Gyants were of eighteene, twentie, two and twentie, fiue and twentie cubits: that some of them had a skull as large as a hogshead that holds foure hundred pints or measures of wine at Paris. *Antonius de Torquemada* in his first iourney, and *Iohn Chassanion* in his Recuell of Gyants, haue written many things answerable hereunto, which it is needlesse now to speake of more particularly. There haue been in old time Gyants in England, as *William Camden* reporteth in the description thereof, in verses after an ancient Poet to this effect:

There Gyants whilome dwelt, whose clothes were skins of beasts,
Whose drinke was blood, whose cups to serue for vse or feasts
Were made of hollow wood, whose beds were bushie thornes,
And lodgings rockie caues to shelter them from stormes,
Their closets hollow rocks: their hunting found them meat,
To rauish and to kill (to them) was pleasure great:
Their violence was rule, with rage and furie lead
They rusht into the fight, and fought hand ouer head.
Their bodies were inter'd behind some bush or brake,
To beare such monstrous wights the earth did groane and ake.

We read in the holy Historie, in the Bookes of *Genesis*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomie*, *Iosua*, *Iudges*, *Samuel*, *Chronicles*, and other, That both before and after the flood there were huge Gyants: among the which, *Goliath* (stricken downe with the sling of *Dauid* vnarmed, but assisted by God) is not to bee reckoned the least. We may iudge of his stature by the description and consideration of his armor. 2. *Sam.* 17. 4, 5, 6 The storie saith, That his height was six cubits and an hand-breadth: which were no great matter compared with the cubits that are now. But there is no doubt to be made, but that the cubit was proportionable to the men that liued in those dayes: and the learned Expositors coniecture, that this Gyant was twice higher than the tallest man that liueth now adayes. He was armed with a Brigandine of brasse that weighed six thousand shekels: he had boots of brasse vpon his legs, and a shield of brasse vpon his shoulders, and the shaft of his speare being like a weauers beame, weighed six hundred shekels of yron. Six of the strongest men that liue now would find themselues occupied to carie this furniture, besides the helmet of brasse that was vpon his head, and the sword by his side. Some make him lesser, to wit, nine feet of the kings measure, or twelue at most: but it was impossible he could beare such a weight of armour as he is describeth with (of many kintals now) if he had not been much taller. That *Dauid*, a young boy of a low stature slew him, is an act miraculous; whether we respect the age, the stature, the arme, the weapon and effect of the blow, or whatsoeuer followed thereof. In his Antiquities of the Bible. *Philo Iudæus* imagineth, that *Dauid* shewed to *Goliath* when he was fallen to the gronnd, the Angell of the Lord called *Ceruihel*, hauing rule ouer strength, who assisted him; and that *Goliath* seeing him, said, *Thou art not hee alone that hast kild mee, but he rather that stands by thee, whose countenance is not like the countenance of a man.* The same *Philo* offereth also to prooue, that *Dauid* and *Goliath* were cousins, which hath no resemblance of truth. We may ghesse likewise, that *Og* king of Basan was of a huge stature, by the description of his yron bed, nine cubits long. *Deuter.* 3. 11. So the Israelites (as their spies reported) being compared with the Anakims, seemed as Grashoppers. *Numb.* 13. 34. Where it is said, That of the sonnes of God, and of the daughters of men (that is, of the race of the holy Patriarchs, and of the wicked successors of *Cain*) there were Gyants borne: they are called by *Moses*, *Nephilim*, a word that signifieth violent people, and that make others afraid. *Genes.* 6. 4.

afraid. Some translate it Apostatas and Recreants, who reuolting from the obedience of the true God, from the instructions of the Patriarchs, from the doctrine of the true Church, and giuen ouer to their owne corrupt affections, made no conscience to pollute themselues with all manner of impieties, wrong-dealing, and filthinesse: for like as those leaud women had turned aside their husbands from the true Religion, so did they corrupt their children by meanes of detestable instruction, so that finally they became Atheists, sold to all violence and wickednesse. We read also in the books of the Pagan Wonders, things almost incredible of Gyants, whose bodies were found to bee twelue, two and twentie, and thirtie cubits long. And S. *Augustin* saith, that hee saw vpon the hauen side at Vtica, a cheeke-tooth so great, as being cut into peeces of the bignesse of ours, it would make an hundred such. In the same place he sheweth by two verses out of the twelfth booke of *Virgils Æneis*, speaking of *Turnus* (who tooke vp a great stone to throw at *Æneas* head, so heauie, that twelue men in *Virgils* time would haue had much adoe to haue lifted it from the ground) that there were in old time many bodies of Gyants found in that place. *Homer* had before said the same with *Virgil* in the sixt booke of his *Ilias*. And *Plinie* writeth, That in the Isle of Candie there was an earth-quake, which opened a mountaine, wherein was found a bodie six and fortie cubits high, standing vpright: which some thought was a Gyants called *Orion*, others the bodie of *Cethus*. Historiographers write, That *Oreſtes* bodie being found by some as they digged in the earth, was about foureteene or fifteene foot long. Saint *Augustin* in the place before alleaged, giueth a reason of this vast greatnesse, saying, That it pleased God, that sometimes men of vnreasonable stature should be borne into the world, to teach vs, that the beautie of bodies, their talnesse, and strength, should not be numbred among the principall good things, considering they are fauours bestowed as well vpon the wicked as the good. To conclude, this vnmeasurable talnesse hath little auailed the Gyants in regard of their saluation, saith *Baruch* in these wordes; *Where are the Gyants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre? Those did not the Lord chuse, neither gaue he the way of knowledge vnto them.* Many examples haue we in the holy Scripture of Gyants, who relying vpon their owne force, and boasting themselues to be more than the ordinarie sort of men, haue bin accurst and banished from God, because of their pride and violence. This the ancient Poets meant by the *Cyclops*, *Titans*, and other Gyants, which *Iupiter* with his thunderbolts quasht and brought to dust in the Phlegrean fields.

Lib. 15. cap. 19. De Ciuit. Dei.

In his Nat. hist. *lib. 7.*

Cap. 23.

Cap. 3. 26, 27.

CHAP. III.

Of the Sicilian Euensong, and other Massacres of men, not foreseene.

IN the yeare 1281, when *Charles* of Anjow raigned in Sicilia, his souldiers all Frenchmen lying in garrison in the cities, grew so odious to the Sicilians, that they studied of nothing so much as how to be reuenged, and to free themselues from the yoke of the French. The fittest & most resolute for the execution of this businesse, was a gentleman called *Iohn Prochyto*, a great lord in the time of king *Manfred*, saith *Paulus Æmylius*; though *Pandolpho Collenuccio* tearme him the kings Physician. This gentleman being iustly prouoked, and resoluing to reuenge himselfe of the wrong done him by the French that had forced his wife; and besides, finding himselfe much fauoured and familiar with the

Lib. 7. of the hist. of France.

Sicilian lords and gentlemen, begins by their counsell and support to build a strange designe for the entrapping of all the French, and abolishing their memorie for euer in Sicilia. To this end, first of all he made a voyage to Constantinople to the Emperour *Michael Palæologus*, to whom he discouered certaine purposes and ambushes of *Charles* of Anjow against him: in so much as (whither it were so, or not) he persuaded the Emperour, that *Charles* aimed at nothing else but to turne away the Greekes from their obedience to him, or to make them rise in armes against him. This foundation laid, *Prochyto* sailed into Spaine to *Peter* king of Arragon, who had married *Constance*, *Manfreds* sister, and made him acquainted with his enterprise against the French, promising in the behalfe of all the Sicilians, if the businesse had good successe, that with the common consent of the chiefe men, *Peter* should be called and agnised king; the rather, for that his wife was lawfull inheretrix to the crowne, and that there was not any neerer than she. Not content with all this, he made two voyages to Rome to Pope *Nicholas* the third, whom he counselled and persuaded by many reasons to promise, That if Sicilia were freed from the dominion of the French, or if they were destroied and made away, that he would inuest *Peter* of Arragon with the kingdome of Sicilia in the right of his wife. All this was so secretly and so cunningly handled in the space of eighteene months, that euer since, all men haue wondered as at some prodigious thing, how it could be, that so high, difficult, and dangerous designes could be concealed among so many people, differing in nation and in humor, without any thing discouered thereof in all that time. The watch-word or signall was, That vpon Easter day, or the Tuesday after, when the bell should begin to toll to Euensong, all the Sicilians should presently take armes, and ioyning togither with one accord, should fall vpon the French throughout all Sicilia. The conspirators hauing this signall, all the inhabitants of the Isle were gathered togither at the appointed houre, with their armes, ran vpon the French, and cut all their throats, without taking so much as one prisoner, or sparing the children or women gotten with child by the French, that they might extinguish the whole race of them. There were slaine eight thousand at that time, and there escaped but a verie small number, who fled into a fort called Sperling, where for want of victuals they were all starued to death. *Fazelus* writeth, That in his time one might see at Palermo in diuers chappels, namely of Saint *Cosmus* and Saint *Damian*, heapes of bones of the French slaine in this Sicilian Euensong. The newes of this butcherie being brought to *Charles* of Anjow, who was then at Rome, troubled him exceedingly: and thereupon he began to say (as *Papyrius Masson* reporteth after *Ricordano* and *Malaspina*, Historians at that time) *O God, seeing thou wilt that fortune should crosse me, grant, that I may lose by little and little that which hath beene gotten in a short time.* That which he wished came to passe: For, though he employed all the counsells and meanes he could make, yet could he not possibly recouer Sicilia, and euer afterwards had the wind so contrarie (as they say) that he went downe more and more euerie day; the reuolution of worldly affaires being such, as, when aduersitie once taketh hold of one, it ouerthroweth him without all redemption. *Charles* was a prince as wise, valiant, & discreet, as any of his predecessors: but he got nothing for all that. *Paulus Æmylius* setteth downe this Historie of the Sicilian Euensong, as followeth. *A mischieuous conspiracie made and ended vpon the holiest day of the yeare* 1281, *was executed thus: When they tolled in the Churches the first time to Euensong, after the vsuall manner, vpon the sollemne Feast of Easter, the French were surprised, assaulted, beaten downe, and massacred thorowout all Sicilia.* A little after he addeth

In the second Decad of the Hist. of Sicilia, *lib.* 8.

Lib. 3. of the Annals of France.

Lib. 7.

addeth, *I haue set foorth the reuolt of the Sicilians as it is commonly bruted: but some Historians worthie of beleefe, report that the slaughter began first within Palermo. As the citizens were going in deuotion vpon Easter day to a place hard by, called Monreal, the French feigning as if they would search whither any of them woare hidden armor, began to feele women and maides, to put their hands into their bosoms, and offred to groape them vnder their gownes. Hereupon the husbands and fathers transported with rage, began first to throw stones, afterwards ran and fetcht their armes, and slue the Frenchmen. The fame of this execution bruted abroad, the Islanders cut the throats of the French in all other places. The Pope vnderstanding of this insurrection, they of Palermo sent vnto him some of the Church-men, who threw themselues prostrate to his feet with as much acknowledgement of honor and supplication as they could haue made to* IESVS CHRIST *himselfe, euen so far, as they said vnto him these words borrowed out of the mysteries of their Altar,* Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri: *and againe,* Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri: *finally,* Qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. *That is to say,* Thou that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue pitie vpon vs; grant vs peace. *The Pope answered, That they of Palermo behaued themselues as they did that buffeted* IESVS CHRIST, *when they saluted him and called him king of the Iewes: That they likewise for all their faire words, were his enemies in deed.* Thus writeth *Paulus Æmylius.*

So then, after the French were thus rooted out of Sicilia by the cruell pollicie of *Prochyto* & his adherents, the kingdom was restored to *Peter* king of Arragon, and to *Constance* his wife as the lawfull inheretrix thereunto. Afterwards, there was a prouerbe made of this miserable accident, surnamed *The Sicilian Euensong*, renued some foure and thirtie yeares agoe in the Parisian Matins *Anno* 1572, wherein (though for other causes) there was spilt so much Christian blood, that it flowed thorow the streets (like raine water) in great abundance. And this butchering of men, women, and children, continued so long, that the principall riuers of the kingdome were seene couered with murthered bodies, and died with human blood; so that they who dwelt far from the places of such butcherie, abhorred the water of the same riuers, and would not vse any of it a great while after, either for themselues or their households, nor eat of the fish taken within those riuers, but cursed and detested many a time and oft the authors and executioners of such monstrous barbarisme. *Agathias* writeth, That *Narses* ouerthrew in one day so many of the Franci in a set battell, that the territories about Capua regorged with humane blood, and that a riuer thereby did ouerflow because it was full and couered with dead bodies: Therefore vpon the brinke thereof there was a stone erected with this inscription, AQVAS CASILINI FLVMINIS MORTVIS GRAVATAS SVSCEPIT TYRRHENI MARIS LITTVS, QVANDO FRANCORVM GENTEM OCCIDIT AVSONIVS ENSIS, VBI MISERO HÆC GESSIT MOREM BVLTINO. FÆLIX ETIAM ISTE FLVCTVS, ET ERIT, BARBARICO PRO TROPHÆO DIVTINE ERVCTANS SANGVINEM, that is, *The shoare of the Tyrrhene sea hath receiued the waters of the riuer Casiline loaden with dead bodies, when the Roman sword slue the Nation of the Franci at what time it obeyed the miserable Bultin. Happie is this riuer, and shalbe, which for trophey of the Barbarians shall for a long while send foorth blood.* This slaughter was made in a ranged battell, by an enemie-stranger, who erected a trophey thereof, according to the vse of the ancient militarie discipline. But that murthering in Paris and other places of France, was perpetrated vnder pretence of a marriage; and vpon those, who, trusting to the faith of a king, slept quietly in their beds, without mistrusting of traps or surprises, according to the common saying, *It is easie to deceiue him that thinketh no harme*; and all by

Lib. 2. Hist. Gothor.

Iustin. lib. 13.

those, who with their left hand cut off their right. As it fared once with the Macedonians, who rising in armes some of them against other some, by ciuile war, turned their swords (before time drawne against strangers) against the breasts of their fellow citisens, like mad-men that fall a tearing of themselues. What crueltie! what infamie! how great a blemish, which all the water in the world will neuer be able to wash off!

Florus in Epitom. 78. lib. Tit. Liuij.

To compare ancient Stories with these of late time. Once the same confusion with the Sicilian Euensong, appeared, when as by the treason of *Mithridates* many thousands of Romans were surprised and slaine in one day in Asia, by expresse commandement of this king, who by such a cruell deceit meant to let the Romans from escaping away, or from selling their skins so deere as otherwise they would haue done. Besides, he promised recompense to the murtherers, and to the prouinces where the massacres were committed, according to the numbers of the slaine, threatning the people with grieuous punishments that should saue the life of any Roman whatsoeuer. In like sort the Parthians (witnesse *Herodian*) were circumuented and had their throats cut by the commandement of *Antonius Caracalla* the Emperor, vnder the collour of a marriage, at which time this Caytife, careless of his promise solemnely made, fell vpon them that were come (without armes and vpon his word) to honour the marriage of their kings daughter with him, who with readie forces assaulted them, and made himselfe odious and hatefull to that people because of his cruell periurie. Nor did they euer leaue, till they had compelled the Romans to restore the prisoners and the spoiles, and to accept of conditions of peace much to their disaduantage. But there is a certaine miserable slaughter of the Templers, of fresher memorie, and neuer dreamt of, of whom *Gaguin* writeth, That they were accused of Heresie, of Sodomie, of contempt of their Order, of conspiracie against the State, and of other horrible villanies: but many others hold that king *Philip* the Faire (sollicited by Pope *Clement* the fift, and egged on by the false reports of the courtiers to haue store of confiscations) gaue way for men to charge them with crimes, whereby these innocents were put to death. Among the rest, *Papyrius Masson* concludeth his discourse touching the storie of the Templers with these tearmes: *What will the Readers say heere? They must be faine to confesse that this Pope* Clement *the fift, was inclement and cruell; and this king, wicked: for they cannot giue a gentler sentence.* And *Paulus Æmylius*, after he hath also spoken of it, *There are* (saith he) *worthie Authors that maintaine, that* Iames *of Burgundie great Master of the Order of the Templers, standing vpon the scaffold to be burnt, when in the presence of a great number of people he was promised life, so as he would acknowledge that which he had confessed in prison, touching his brothers and himselfe, and craue pardon for it; he spake aloud these words: Being vpon the end of my life, I should commit a great wickednesse to lie; therefore I acknowledge in heart, and declare with mouth in truth and veritie, that I haue committed a great offence against my selfe and mine, for which cause I haue deserued the grieuousest punishment in the world, when as to please those that I should not, and to saue my life in this world, being vpon the rack I charged my Order (that hath done so many good seruices to the Christian Religion) of being guiltie of horrible mischiefes: I desire not the lengthning of my life by adding of a new lie to the old. When he was set vpon the wood, they began to burne the soales of his feet, to draw some confession of crimes from him: but he continued firme in his last purpose, yea euen then also when they laide the fire about his bodie, without shewing any signe of being dismaid.* The like did two other of the principall of the Order, burnt with him, the one whereof was brother to the Dolphin of Viennois. This was (as I haue said) in the

Lib. 7. cap. 5.

Lib. 8. of his Historie of France.

the time of Pope *Clement* the fift, in the yeare 1311, all the Order of the Templars hauing been condemned at the Councell of Vienna, and adiudged to die. *Haman*, blinded with ambition, with hatred, with desire of reuenge, plotted a massacre greater than all these, and it wanted little of being executed in the time of *Ahasuerus*, as we read in the storie of *Hester*: for by the induction of this prophane, insolent, and ambitious fellow, all the Iewes inhabiting and spread in a hundred seauen and twentie prouinces of the empire of *Ahasuerus* (thought of some to be *Cambyses* the sonne of *Cyrus*; of others, *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspis*, father to *Xerxes*) had like to haue beene cruelly murdered with their wiues and children, and their goods confiscate by commandement of the king, wrongfully informed, and wickedly circumuented by this *Haman*, who had appointed the generall massacre of a multitude almost innumerable of innocents, the thirteenth day of *Adar*, which was the twelfth moneth of the Iewes, for that they were accused of Heresie and of Rebellion. But God stirred vp Queene *Hester*, who discouered the falseneſſe of *Hamans* reports, and by her prudence and pietie molified the kings heart to take a iust and an vpright resolution, and by that meanes to saue her people from emminent ruine and destruction.

CHAP. IV.

The horrible desire of reuenge in some men.

ONe day as I went from Rome with my companie, and past through the Marquisat of Ancona, we were to goe through a citie called Terni, seated in a very pleasant and fruitfull valley, betweene the armes of a riuer called the Nar. As wee entred into the citie, wee saw ouer the gate a certaine tablet vpon a high tower, to which were tied (as it seemed to vs at first) a great many Bats or Reere-mise. We thinking it a strange sight, and not knowing what it meant, being set vp in so eminent a place, one of the citie whom we asked, told vs of a certaine thing that had hapned some yeares before. There were (quoth he) in this citie, two noble, rich, and mightie houses, which of a very long time caried an vnreconcileable hatred the one against the other, in so much as the malice passed from the father to the sonne, as it were by inheritance; by occasion whereof many of both houses were slaine and murdered. At last, the one house not able to stay the fire of their violent wrath, resolued to stand no more about murdering one or two of the aduerse house by surprise and treason, but to run vpon them all at once, and not to leaue one bodie thereof aliue. They of this bloodie familie gathered together out of the countrey adioyning (vnder some other pretence) many of their seruants which met in the citie, where they ioyned them to their Brauos (which are swaggerers, Assassins, and hacksters, such as many Italians that haue quarrels keep in pay, to employ them in the execution of their reuenges) and secretly armed them, enioyning them to bee alwayes readie to doe some notable exploit whensoeuer they should be called vpon. Soon after, taking hold of occasion, they march about midnight with their people to the gouernors house, who mistrusted nothing, seaze of his person being a man of authoritie and power, and (leauing guards in the same house vntill they should haue executed their purpose) goe on silently towards the house of their enemies, and disposing their troups at euery street end, about ten of them goe on to the same house (the Gouernour being betweene them) as if they had been the Archers of his guard, whom they compelled to command that speedie opening might be made him, as if he had some

seruice

seruice of importance to dispatch within their house: and withall they held a poinyard at his throat, threatning to kill him if he said not that which they had put into his mouth. He, amazed at the death which hee saw present before his eyes, caused all the doores to be opened, a thing which they within made no refusall of, seeing the Gouernour there: which being done, those ten call their complices not farre off, put the Gouernour into safe keeping, enter into the house, and there most cruelly murder man, woman, and child, nay they spare not so much as the horses in the stable. That done, they make the Gouernour set open the citie gates, and so depart and disperse themselues into diuers secret places here and there among their friends. The wisest of them fled to the next Sea-ports, and got them away far off: but as for those that kept any thing neere, they were so diligently searcht for, that they were found and drawne out of their holes by the Iustices, greatly mooued (as good cause there was) with such a horrible massacre: so these wicked offenders were put to death with most grieuous punishments, and after, their hands and their feet being cut off, were nailed to the tablet which you saw (quoth he) as ye entred the gate, on the top of the tower, set vp for a shew to terrifie the cruell, and to serue for a lesson to posteritie: The Sun hauing broiled those limbs so fastened and set vp, maketh trauellers think (that know nothing of this horrible tragedie) that they be Reeremise. We hauing heard this pitifull discourse, with detestation of such a furious and cruell desire of reuenge, kept on our way.

This is an act euery way much to be abhorred: But *Iouianus Pontanus* speaketh of another that seemeth more exorbitant, and to be done by raging beasts, because it was executed by people that call themselues Christians: it surpasseth by ods (in mine opinion) the cruell reuenge which the ancient Pagans of Locri in Sicilia tooke of young *Dionysius* in the persons of his wife and of his children, because of a great wrong he had done to them in publique: For, after they had (saith *Athenæus*) inflicted a thousand paines and torments vpon these sillie persons, in the end (for the last torment) they thrust needles into their fingers betweene the flesh and the nailes, and then cut their throats: after that, they chopt their flesh into many small peeces, of which they boyled some, cursing all those that would make daintie to eat of it: the rest they grinded, to the end it might be swallowed downe in pottage by the poore people; and that which remained they cast into the sea: their bones were beaten in morters, and the powder mingled with those horrible messes and with the pottage made of mans flesh. But let vs heare *Pontanus*. *When I was a young lad* (saith hee) *I heard my grandmother called* Leonarda *tell (who was a vertuous Dame, and wept full bitterly euery time shee entred into this speech) that certaine houses being in quarrels and deadly hatred, some of them against others; one of the contrarie partie being taken vnawares, was at the instant cut in small peeces by his enemies, who reserued some of his liuer wherewith they made a carbonado, which was cut into morsels, and at a breakefast eaten with great ioy by the principall men, who inuited their kinsfolkes to the eating of it. Is there any famished rage of wolues, or cruell violence of a Tygresse robd of her young, that may exceed the infamous and furius bruitishnesse of these? But to come to the point, after they had dispatched this horrible carbonado, they sent for wine, wherewith they mingled some of the blood of their enemie, and dranke euerie one thereof, making great iolitie together about this magnificall exploit, with much laughing, flouting, and ieasting, for a new sauce to this lamentable meale: for the last part of their impietie, they thanked their saints and patrons that had fauoured them in the execution of their reuenge, and holding the cups in their hands they made a solemne acknowledgement thereof.* The same *Pontanus* reporteth such a like storie,

Lib. 12. cap. 14.

the

the ſumme whereof is this. *Conrad Trincio*, lord of Fuligno, in the duchie of Spoleto, hearing that the captaine of the caſtle of Nocera had ſlaine *Nicholas Trincio* his brother, for ſuſpition of adulterie; came and beſieged this captaine, and held him ſo ſtreight to it, that he being out of all hope to ſaue himſelfe, firſt cut the throats of his wife and his children, and then threw himſelfe downe from a high tower, that he might not fall aliue into the power of *Conrad*, who ſeeing himſelfe fruſtrated of the meanes to torment him according to his intent, ſet vpon the kinsfolks, allies, friends, familiars, and companions of the captaine, and as many of them as he could take he tortured without all mercie, and after kild them, pluckt out their bowels, chopt their bodies in many peeces, hung vp their quarters vpon the high-waies, their bowels and guts vpon buſhes and places of ſhew for trauailers to ſee: behauing himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that no man can call it reuenge or puniſhment, or tell what name to giue it. Thus writeth *Pontanus*.

Leander in his deſcription of Italy deliuereth a ſtorie that chanced in his time, memorable as well for the crueltie, as for the puniſhment thereof. *Altobel* a citiſen of Tudertum (which ſome call Todi) in the duchie of Spoleto, moued thereunto by ſome occaſion vnknowne, made warre againſt his fellow-citiſens, and ſeazed vpon the citie and ſtate. After which he demeaned himſelfe very cruelly towards little and great: beſides, made out-courſes vpon the neighbor-countreys, ſpoyled and rifled ſome other cities neere to Tudertum; finally, he was defeated and taken priſoner by the Popes armie. Foorthwith, he was bound ſtarke naked to a poſt in the Market-place, to the end, that all they whom he had wronged, might reuenge themſelues vpon him. Thither run the mothers whoſe children he had ſlaine, who like wild beaſts begin to teare his bodie with greedie teeth; others wound and cut him, ſome in one ſort, ſome in another: The fathers, kinsfolks, and friends of thoſe whom he had maſſacred, pulled out ſome his eyes, ſome his heart, others his entrails, not forgetting any point of extreame rigour which they made him not feele. He with a courage deſperatly obſtinat, endured theſe torments conſtantly, ſaying betweene times, That no new thing was happened him, and that of a long time hee had foreſeene within himſelfe this puniſhment: Being dead, they made an end by cutting his bodie into morcels, which (like fleſh in a butchers ſhop) were ſold by weight, and afterwards eaten by thoſe that bought them. A horrible thing to heare, and moſt execrable to ſee.

I will not adde hereunto the report of other reuenges moſt monſtrous and prodigious, the onely remembrance whereof maketh good mindes that ſometimes thinke thereupon, amaſed and forlorne: as is the reuenge of him, who hauing his enemie in his power, after a fained reconciliation many yeares, made him ſpeake ſtrange and blaſphemous ſpeeches, and after ſtabbed him; bragging in the end (Sathan-like) that he had made his enemie looſe both bodie and ſoule. This is to leaue being a man, for to become a deuill. *Lactantius* ſaith, That God not hauing giuen to beaſts the vſe of reaſon, hath prouided them from their birth with naturall defences and helps, to keepe them from danger: But creating man all naked, and ſo weake as we ſee, to furniſh him with wiſdome, he hath (for ſurpluſage) endued him with this pitifull affection, that he loueth, maintaineth, and preſerueth his like, giuing him ſuccours in his neceſſities and dangers. Therfore the ſoueraigne bond of our life is humanitie: which who ſo breaketh, muſt bee accounted a wicked one, and a parricide. He addeth after, If we will reteine this goodly title of man in his integritie, we muſt preſerue humanitie, and maintaine it inuiolable: which cannot be done, but by louing ones neighbour, becauſe he is a *Lib.6.cap.10.*

is a man as we are. Consequently, hatred and diuision ouerthrow and abolish reason in a man. And that which *Cicero* saith, is true; That man obeying nature, cannot hurt his neighbour. If therefore to hurt a man be repugnant to nature, it followeth necessarily, that it is a thing agreeable to nature to helpe and serue him. He that doth it not, despoiles himselfe of the name of a man; becausse the dutie of humanitie wills, that one should assist a man that is in necessitie and danger. But because the reuengefull and cruell are vnworthie to heare the voice of God in the schoole of his Prophets and Apostles, let vs close vp this discourse with the words of *Plato*, who saith, That crueltie throwes the wicked headlong into the bottomlesse pit of hell, from whence they neuer come foorth. Let these wretches once thinke vpon these notable words of Saint *Ierome* in his Commentarie vpon the twelue smaller Prophets, *As mercie* (saith he) *lifteth man vp to God, so contrariwise, crueltie throweth him downe to the bottom of hell.* Which (it may be) he concluded out of these words of *James* the blessed Apostle, *There shalbe iudgement mercilesse to him that sheweth no mercie, and mercie reioyceth against iudgement.* Chap. 2. 13.

CHAP. V.

The fruitfulnesse of the Kingdome of Naples, and the reuenues thereof.

THe Kingdom of Naples is a most pleasant country, and yeeldeth great contentment to the verie strangers that doe but behold it. It is called the Land of labour, either because it is so fat that men husband it with paine; or for that it is worth the labour of tilling, because of the fruitfulnesse thereof, which is much wondred at. For in that place there is (as it were) a continuall spring-time, and almost all the yeare long the trees are laden with fruit. *Polybius* spake so of it in his time, when he said, That the countrey of Campania (which we call the Land of Labour) is most excellent and fruitfull in all good things, and marueilous beautifull and pleasant. *Plinie* and *Florus* were not ignorant thereof. *There is not any prouince in all Italy, no nor in all the world, more pleasant than Campania* (saith *Florus.*) *A man cannot find a sweeter aire, nor a fruitfuller soile, where there is a double spring-time: therefore it is said, That* Ceres *and* Bacchus *doe striue there who shall haue the victorie. There the sea is nauigable, calme and verie safe. It hath goodly Hauens, as that of Gayetta, and of Misena; also the Baths of Baiæ, the Lakes Lucrinus and Auernus, which are Bayes or resting places at sea: it hath Mountaines abounding with curious wines, to wit, Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus, and Vesuuius the imitator of Mont-gibel (or Ætna) in Sicilia. Among the cities vpon the sea, are Formiæ, Cumæ, Pouzol, Naples, &c.* But with all this noble and exquisit fertilitie, the inhabitants of the countrey are so wicked, that it is spoken ordinarily and in a common prouerbe, *Il regno Neapolitano é vno delicato Paradiso, ma habitato da gli diauoli*, that is, *The Kingdom of Naples is a paradise of delights, but inhabited with deuills.* It is certainly affirmed, That the king of Spaine hath scarce any yearely reuenue out of all the Kingdome of Naples though it be so fertill, but most often all is emploied about the entertaining of Spanish garrisons which are lodged in the cities, castles, ports of the sea, and fortresses of that kingdome, as well to keepe the subiects in awe (that are not much vsed to obey a stranger) as to stop the courses of the Turkish fregats and gallies. For this cause there are to be seene within Naples three strong castles with their captaines and souldiers, allowed their standing paies: one neere to the citie vpon a high mountaine, hauing vnder it the Charter-house monkes,

Lib. 4.

Lib. 3. cap. 5.
Lib. 1. cap. 16.

monkes, which some thinke was builded by king *Robert* sonne to *Charles* the second, aboue two hundred and fiftie yeares agoe. The other is the castle of the Egge, because of the forme thereof, built neere to the hauen. And the third, seruing in times past for a pallace to the kings of Arragon, is at the hauen, and is called the New castle, built three hundred yeares agoe by *Charles* the first Earle of Anjow, king of Naples, brother to the king Saint *Lewis*, to serue for a couering to the citie and to the hauen against the alarums and enterprises of Pirats.

A certaine Neapolitan gentleman told me, That there was the like reason in the reuenues of Sicilia. Whereupon I asked him, why the king of Spaine was at so great charge with a kingdome so far from Spaine without reaping any profit, especially seeing, that, by reason of the distance of the places, he was not to looke for any great succours from it, and that it was dangerous to draw the Spanish souldiers out of the garrisons? For I had marked that no citisen or inhabitant of Naples, had any entrance into those castles, vnlesse he were well knowne, and well trusted: and when the souldiers of the garrison had opened the gates vnto vs, they enquired diligently if we were all Germans, and whither any Italian, French, or Polack were in our companie. I will tell you (answered he) what our king doth: If he haue need of some readie money, he borroweth of the States of the kingdome two or three hundred thousand crownes. They knowing that princes praiers are commandements (according to the old saying, the praier of a great man is commandement and force) pleasure the prince with it, knowing that otherwise they must doe it perforce; though they are sure they shall neuer see pennie againe of that loane. Such helpes or aides are great; and are worth verie neere as much as cleere reuenues. That the answere of that gentleman is true, it appeareth by the testimonie of *Lodouicus Viues* the learned Spaniard, who writeth, That Italy is neuer profitable for those that possesse it, but in time of peace, and so as there be no debate nor striuing, as whilom Sicilia was to the kings of Arragon. For if there fall any war, the reuenues are not sufficient to pay the garrisons, but the prince assailed must be forced to adde thereunto a great deale of his owne. I haue heard (saith he) of those that thinke they know it well, That king *Ferdinand* neuer put vp into his coffers six pence of all the reuenue of the kingdome of Naples: Contrariwise, he was faine to send thither a great summe of the money that was collected in Castile to supply the pay of the garrisons. Which sheweth that France and Spaine drew themselues drie after such time as they would needs set foot in Italy, which is not growne the poorer thereby, saue in that which the men of war haue carried from thence, or which they haue ruined and made waste.

Lib. belli contra Turcas.

CHAP. VI.

Of fraud in false swearing, and of deceiuing by Oathes. Also we must shun and loath Imprecations.

THE Ancients haue blamed (and that worthily) *Paches* the Athenian captaine, because, That when he had plighted his Faith to *Hippias*, he deuised a shift to breake his word. This *Hippias* an Arcadian captaine was summoned to be in a certaine citie called Notium, there to meet with *Paches* that they might confer togither; vpon condition, That if they agreed not, *Paches* should yeeld *Hippias* safe and sound within a citie of the Arcadians from which he came foorth to the said meeting. *Hippias* being come to Notium, *Paches* gaue order

Thucydides, lib. 3. de bello Peloponnes.

order that he should be safely kept there; and himselfe marching speedily with his troupes towards the citie of the Arcadians, enters into it by force, kils all the Arcadians and strangers who neuer mistrusted any such matter; that being done, he brings back *Hippias* to the same citie, and, after he had set him within it (according to his promise, as he said) he caused him to be shot thorow with arrowes. But that we may see how this villanous ring-worme of Periurie and Treason hath crept from *Paches* into other hearts that haue not beene more simple, Let vs speake of that which hapned in the time of the Emperour *Lewis* the sonne of *Arnald*: For, *Abbas Vrspergensis* and other Historians write, That *Hatto* bishop of Mentz did by the like pollicie surprise and ruine *Adelbert* Count Palatin of Franconia, who was the last of his race. This *Adelbert* was charged to haue slaine the Emperours sonne, and vpon that suspition was straightly besieged by the Emperour within Aldenbourg, a castle strong both by nature and by art, standing vpon a high mountaine neere to Pabeberg: but the Emperour seeing that the length of the siege did no whit further or promise either the taking or the yeelding thereof, he began to wax cold. At which time *Hatto* emploied himselfe to draw *Adelbert* his cosin by cosining meanes into the Emperours hands, his mortall enemie. He therefore went to *Adelbert*, and made a sollemne oath vnto him, that as he should carrie him safe and sound out of his castle, so he would likewise bring him back againe, if so be that they could not agree by a good treatie. When they were gone a pretie way from the castle, *Hatto* making as if he looked vpon the sunne, began to say, That he thought the morning was well spent, and that it was a long way to the Emperours campe; and therefore, that it would be best for them to returne back againe to the castle, and there breake their fast, and after that they might take their iourney the more at ease. *Adelbert*, suspecting no ill, yeelded willingly to the motion, and courteously intreated his cosin *Hatto* to goe back againe. So they turne bridle, and after they had broken their fast they take their way againe. So soone as they were arriued to the campe, *Adelbert* was deliuered to the power of the Emperour his enemie, who adiudged him to die: thereupon he calleth for *Hatto*, put him in minde of his sollemne promise, and accuseth him of treason except he satisfied his word. *Hatto* answered, That he had performed his promise, and was acquitted of it, in that he had carried *Adelbert* back againe into his castle where they broake their fast. Well, vpon this perfidious trick *Adelbert* was beheaded by commandement from the Emperour, who seased vpon Aldenbourg, and vpon all the rest of this lords Seignorie, in whom all the Noble family of the Counts Palatin of East Franconia was wholy extinguished. *Albert Crantz* rehearsing this Storie in his Ecclesiasticall Historie of Saxonie, concludeth thus: When *Hatto* had plaid this wicked part, he withdrew himselfe from the presence of *Adelbert*. He is to be called a Traitor, that deceiueth impudently one that relieth vpon his promise. And indeed, *Hatto* could neuer blot out this reproach, but he was alwaies after called of the Germans, *Hatto* the Traitor. We read in the Chronologicall collections taken out of *Petreius* his Librarie, that this *Hatto* was carried away by deuils, who threw him headlong and aliue into the burning pit of *Mount-Gibell*, and that a voice was heard in the aire crying, *Sic peccando lues, sicque luendo rues*: because he had most traitrously deliuered to death *Adelbert* the Earle of Pabeberg.

Lib. 2. cap. 25.

There is great cause therefore why we should commend the integritie of the Romans, who held, That Faith was to be kept euen with enemies: and the publique Faith was in old time had in such reuerence among them, and of such sanctitie,

ctitie, that they made a goddesse of her, and worshipped her: In so much as they had a temple consecrated to Faith, within which temple, the articles of Peace, of Alliances, and of Truce were confirmed by solemne oath, to the end that who so should violate and breake them, might stand accursed, and adiudged to the wicked spirits and infernall gods. And in particular contracts, there was not any oath more religious and holy, than the oath of Faith: but the authoritie, reputation, consequence, and dignitie of the publique Faith was had in such estimation, that priuat men held not their money no way so safe, as in the hands of the publique State. Moreouer, the ancient Romans did so religiously celebrate and so highly honour Faith, that they did not onely thinke they had then violated it when they had done any thing against the same; but also they were of opinion, that if they suffered others to breake it, they were also guiltie of their fault: whereof they made a sufficient proofe after the battell of Cannes as *Titus Liuius* sheweth; for *Hannibal* hauing giuen leaue to some prisoners to goe to Rome to fetch their ransome, vpon their promise and Faith to returne againe, if they could not treat of an agreement according to the conditions propounded by him: they inuented a sleight and a treacherie; for being gone a dayes iourney towards Rome, they came backe againe to the campe of the Africans, making as if they had somewhat to doe there: and so they goe foorth againe the second time, bearing themselues in hand they were then discharged of their promise, and thereupon put themselues within Rome. *Hannibal* sore displeased because they condiscended not to his demaunds, required that the prisoners might be redeliuered to him: whereupon by decree of the Senat they were forced to returne to the enemies campe. Hence it is that wee see in many old coines for testimonies of Faith kept, two hands ioyned together, with this inscription, FIDES EXERCITVVM: sometimes, FIDES LEGIONVM; or else FIDES ROMANORVM. Away then with *Lysander* and his companions, who taking a pride in periurie, say, That if the Lions skin be too short, one must sow a Foxes skin to it: or, as the same *Lysander* and *Dionysius* tyrant of Sicilia was wont to say; Children must be fetcht ouer with cock-alls, and men with oaths. For this cause *Plutarch* saith, That it was not the manner of the Lacedemonians to carie themselues towards the gods, as towards the enemies: but contrariwise, the iniurie done to the gods is farre more heinous: For hee that by swearing falsely beguileth his enemie, sheweth that he feareth him, but maketh no reckoning of God. And surely, periured persons plucke from God his wisdom, not thinking that all things are present before him: or else argue him of iniustice, as if by conniuencie he did beare with the malice and faults of the wicked; whereas we know that hee is a iust Iudge, and a reuenger of grieuous offences. The most ancient Pagans were not ignorant of this; and therefore the ceremonie of an oath was had among them in singular recommendation, as appeareth by the lawes of *Numa Pompilius*, the second king of the Romans, wherein he ordeineth, That the Faith giuen, either in respect of the publique or of the priuate, should be held and kept: for it is the honest bond of humane societie, and the foundation of all right and equitie. The Stoicks say, that Faith is deriued of the verbe *facere*, to doe; because all things that are faithfully promised, ought to be executed: but perfidie and infidelitie neuer goe vnpunished, but are ouerwhelmed at last with ignominie and such other punishments.

Lib. 2. Decad. 3.

In the life of Lysander.

But let vs now come to the other part of our Meditation. Men are sometimes too easie (to giue it no worse tearme) when as the sooner to obtaine that which they desire, or to giue more credit to their words, they stick not to curse,

and cast out strange imprecations against themselues : whereof wee haue a notable example in *Charles* duke of Burbon, who (by report of the lord of Bellay, a graue Historian) requiring of the Milanois a great summe of money to pay his souldiers, and they denying him, because of the former warres and exactions which had drawne them drie; promised them, so as they would helpe him that once, by furnishing the money required, that if after he troubled them with any extortion, he wished and desired of God, that at the first encounter of enemies in battell, or assault of any place, he might be shot with an harquebusse bullet; Or (as *Francis Guicciardin* setteth it downe) hee answered the Milanois thus, That he had brought some prouision of money with him, but not such as was sufficient to content his souldiers, to whom much pay was due : therefore if the citie of Milan would help him with thirtie thousand duckets for a moneths pay, hee would dislodge with his armie out of Milan, and goe to some other place : assuring them, that if before they had beene deceiued vpon the like promises, they should not be so then; because he would neuer goe against his word and his faith, vpon which they might relie with all assurance : and withall, that hee prayed God, if he falsified his promise to them, that his head might bee caried away with the first cannon shot that his enemies should make. The Milanois who thereupon hoped for some exemption (although they were exhausted of meanes, yet set to their last helping hand) gathered the summe demaunded, and furnisht it for the pay of the souldiers. But yet for all that, they were neuer a whit the gentler entreated, the Duke of Burbon, whose faith they implored, giuing them no manner of ease or release. A while after the same Duke marched with the Imperiall armie towards Florence, where not able to doe any thing, he drew straight towards Rome to make himselfe master thereof, where hauing done his endeauour, as he ascended to the breach, he was felled and slaine with an harquebusse shot, either by one of his owne souldiers, or by the enemies. Many thinke (saith the lord of Bellay further) that this befell him by the iust iudgement of God, punishing him for that he had broken his faith giuen to the Milannois. *Arnold Ferron* saith, that vpon his tombe was set this writing : AVCTO IMPERIO, SVPERATA ITALIA, DEVICTO GALLO, PONTIFICE OBSESSO, ROMA CAPTA, CAROLI BORBONII HOC MARMOR CINERES CONTINET : that is to say; *The Empire increased, Italie ouercome, The French vanquished, the Pope besieged, Rome taken, this marble containes the ashes of* Charles *of Burbon*. I know not whether this inscription, which (it may be) was made in haste, and after the souldiers fashion, be yet extant or no : at least wise, *Steuen Pighius*, who reporteth that *Charles* prince of Cleues (to whom he was Schoole-master) was shewed the sepulchre of the said Duke of Burbon; and that likewise of the lord of Lautrec in the citie of Gayetta, saith not, that he had read that which *Ferron* here setteth downe. The taking of Rome by *Burbon* fell vpon the sixth day of May 1527. *Albert Crantz* propoundeth another famous Storie touching imprecations. The Emperor *Frederick* the first, being in Saint *Peters* Cloister in the citie of Erford had occasion to goe to the priuie, some other following him : suddenly the floore that was vnder them began to sinke, and the Emperor had there miscaried, if he had not suddenly taken hold of the yron grates of the window, whereat he hung vntill some came and succoured him. Some gentlemen fell to the bottome, where they perished : among them by name, *Henrie* Earle of Schwartzenbourg, who caried the presage of his death in a common Imprecation, which was this, *If I doe it not, I would I might sinke into a priuie.*

Touching imprecations ioyned with periurie and false witnesse to the hurt of ones

*Lib.*8. of his remembrances.

*Lib.*17. of his historie.

*Lib.*8. of his hist. of France.

In his worke entit. *Herculei Prodicius.*

*Lib.*6. *cap.*45. *Hist. Saxon.*

ones neighbour, they haue a speedie and grieuous punishment following them: as we may see by the memorable example contained in the Ecclesiasticall Historie of *Eusebius: Certaine vngratious fellowes* (saith he) *not able to endure the graue and holy life of* Narcissus *Bishop of Ierusalem (because they were afraid of his censure and discipline if they should bee discouered) and feeling themselues guiltie of many hainous crimes; to the end they might preuent him, they deuised a plot, and laid a fained, but yet a grieuous offence to his charge. To persuade the people that their accusation was true, they confirme the same with great imprecations: The first sware, If I lie, I would I might die by fire; The second, If I say not truth, I pray God my bodie may be consumed with some cruell sickneſſe; And the third, If I say falsely, would I might fall blind. But for all these oathes and imprecations, the godly gaue no credit to their depositions, because that both great and small knew very well, that there was no fault to bee found in the life of honest and innocent* Narcissus: *who not able to abide the false blames that hee was charged with; and because he had before that professed a solitarie life, left the Church, and withdrew himselfe aside into the fields, where he liued hidden for many yeares. But the great Eye of diuine Iustice suffered not these leaud fellowes thus to goe away with their villanous wickednes, but they were suddenly ouertaken with the curses which they had wished to themselues by their lying and periurie: For the first was burnt with all his houshold, by meanes of a sparkle of fire that in the night took in his house; The second was taken with an incurable disease from the top of the head to the sole of the foot: When the third saw what had happened to his fellowes, the feare he had of the inevitable vengeance of God, who seeth all things to the bottome, made himselfe confesse before all the world that he and his companions had complotted against that holy man: and afterwards he so afflicted himselfe for the grieuous fault he had committed, weeping most bitterly day and night, that in the end he lost the sight of his eyes. And such punishment had these false witnesses.* *Lib.6.cap.8.*

There is a storie well knowne throughout all Germanie, of an host, who hauing receiued of a souldier a budget to keepe for him, wherein was much money, refused afterwards to restore it, swearing, protesting, and giuing himselfe oftentimes to the deuill, if euer hee handled or touched it: But in the presence of a great companie, the deuill caried him away, and he was neuer seene after. *Iohn Wierus* speaking of this storie, with another such like, of a certaine woman in the duchie of Meckelbourg. So likewise *Panormitanus*, *Iohannes Andreas*, and other Doctors Canonists report after Pope *Gregorie* the first in one of his Dialogues, how that the deuill caried away a yong child of fiue yeares old, that was wont to sweare, to blaspheme, and vse imprecations. Nor must wee forget the storie written by *Ierome Benzo* which is this: *Peter Aluarado* a Spanish captaine being hurt in a skirmish between the Indians and *Xalisco*, of which he died soone after; his widdow called *Beatrix de la Cueua*, a vaine and proud woman, bare the newes of his death so impatiently, that among other detestable words which shee in her furie cast out, she did not stick to say, That God could not haue dealt worse by her, than to haue taken away her husband. Soone after, behold there fell a great flood of raine, which lasted from the morning of the eight day of September 1541 till the euening, and all that night; the next day somewhat late, the Indians ranne to bring word, that they should stand vpon their watch, which warning was set light by. But about an houre after midnight behold there came such a great deluge of waters, which began to ouerspread it selfe vpon the top of the mountaine, and to roll downe with so great a noise and violent furie, that it beat downe whole rockes of a marueilous greatnesse. These rockes tumbling furiously downewards, crushed all that they met with. While all this was in doing, nothing was heard but fearefull voyces and cryings in the aire. *Lib.4.cap.19.* Vpon the 1. *C.Ext.de delict.puer.* *Lib.2.* of the new World. *Cap.17.*

aire. The first house that was ouer-borne with this storme, was *Aluarados*, and therein was *Beatrix* his widow then Gouernesse of Guatimala, swallowed vp, with all her houshold, shut with her in a closet, whither she had retired her selfe to make her deuotions. All the citie almost was at the same instant drowned. There died about six score persons, women, and men: Those that fled when the noise first began, escaped and were safe.

But not to seeke for examples so far, I will heere insert that which my brother *Ioachim* the Doctor told me at his returne from a iourney out of the countrey of Hesse. I saw (quoth he) not long since in the court of the most excellent prince *William* the Lant-graue, a boy dumbe and deafe, so wittie, that I could not wonder inough at his dexteritie in executing the commandements that were giuen him: for by a winke of the eie, he conceiued the will of the prince, and of his houshold. The Lant-graue seeing me wondring at the sight, *You see* (saith he) *this dumbe boy; his vse is to declare with a marueilous readinesse, by the iestures of his bodie, and by the motions of his fingers, any new thing he seeth done both in the citie and in the court. But besides all, marke one example in him of Gods iustice; This boies mother being accused of stealing, seeing she could not escape before men any other way, fell to imprecations: and because she was then great with child, to giue the more waight to her excessiue speeches, among other words she said, That, if that which she was charged with were true, she praied God that this child when it should come and liue in the world, might neuer speake, but remaine dumbe all the daies of his life. She was taken at her word, as you see, bewraying her selfe by her imprecations, and adding periurie to theft: and so the child hath beene punished for the outragious iniquities of the mother.* I will heere adde another memorable example, which hapned late not far from Noremberg. A certaine gentleman miserably afflicting his poore tenants, and giuing them ill words with imprecations and curses, constrained them by grieuous taskes of daily labour to build him a castle, and as they wrought either vpon that, or any other worke of his, he would neuer call them but his dogs. Now it so fell out, that before his worke was ended, he fell grieuously sick: but in steed of acknowledging his faults, he held on his wicked course, which drew downe the iudgement of God the faster vpon him, so as he became dumbe; and at the time I wrote this Storie, it was certified me, that there was no humane articulate voice could be heard come from him, but a sound like the barking of a dog. Another example no lesse strange hapned not long since in the court of a German prince nere to Noremberg. A certaine gentleman being charged with speaking some outragious words, which he stoutly denied; to disprooue the accusation begins to sweare and to make horrible imprecations against himselfe: and among the rest this one, That if such wrongfull speeches did euer fall from his mouth, he praied God to reuenge it presently vpon his bodie; and that if God deferred it, the deuill would doe it. He had no sooner made an end of these and the like imprecations, but he fell downe all along vpon his face to the ground, taken with such a strong and violent Epilepsie or Falling sickenesse (which he neuer was toucht with before) that they were faine to carrie the wretch away howling out with a terrible voice, to the great amasement of many Courtiers that stood about him, and so shut him vp in a chamber, where he lay still grieuously sick when I made this present Meditation, iustly punished for his rash impietie.

Touching Imprecations of parents against their children: many examples we read of the wrath of God shewed both of old, and in our time. For the Lord hath not commanded in vaine, that children should honour their parents, adding a faire promise to the obedient, and his heauie curse to the ostinate and disobedient.

disobedient. One may see yet at this day within Friberg a citie of Misnia in Saxony, the marks of the place where within the ground there stood a wild vntameable yong-man for many yeares but lately past, and could neuer be drawne out aliue, till at the last he died of the plague. His father being much prouoked to anger against him, made an imprecation that this vngracious child might neuer stir out of that place where he stood. *Rodericus Sancus* produceth another example of an older date, touching *Alphonsus Henriques*, sonne to *Henrie* Earle of Lorraine, who shut vp in close and straight prison his mother *Therasia* daughter to *Alphonsus* the sixth king of Spaine, because she had married her selfe to her father in law. She made an imprecation against her sonne in these tearmes: *Because thou hast chained me by the legs, and hast taken that honour from me which thy father left me, I pray God that thine enemies may put thee in prison, and that thou maist see thine owne legs broken, as thou hast tied mine with iron chaines.* Which hapned to him within a while after: For when *Alphonsus* had begun war against *Ferdinand* king of Leon, as he would haue gon out at the gate of a citie called Pacen, to run to the skirmish which was verie hot, his leg was hung in the bar of the gate, and there broaken, and he offring to goe on further, was defeated and taken prisoner. *Lasius* writeth, That in the time of the great dearth which was in Austrich in the yeare 1348, a girle praying her mother somewhat importunately to giue her some bread, the mother carried away with anger and griefe, made an imprecation, saying, *I would thou mightest not eat these ten yeares.* After which time the maide was ten whole yeares without eating any thing, but susteined and refreshed her selfe with a little water which she dranke, and that verie seldome. *Iohn Wierus* setteth downe a memorable Storie that hapned in Gelderland about the yeare 1575; A certaine captaine bearing armes for the king of Spaine, was married to an honest gentlewoman, whom he vsed vnworthily; and hearing that she was with child begins to cast out imprecations against her, and to say vnto her, I will stab that yong deuill that thou hast in thy belly. Within a while after, she was deliuered of a sonne, who from the wast downeward was of a good shape, but the vpper part was all couered ouer with red and black spots, the eies in the forehead, the mouth round, black, and ougly; the eares long like a hounds; two little crooked hornes on the crowne of his head; which would be as red as blood so soone as one toucht them.

In the Hist. of Spaine, *part.* 1. *cap.* 14.

In the Genealogie of Austrich, *lib.* 2.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 18.

For good cause therefore doth *Plato* thinke, that there is not any thing so much to be feared as the curses of the father against the child. But to them that be good, the contrarie doth happen, as we see in *Isaac*, *Iacob*, *Ioseph*, in *Tobias* and his sonne. Which I will enrich with a memorable narration contained in the Historie of Sicilia written by *Thomas Fazel*. The citie of Catana is famous (saith he) for the pietie and buriall of two brothers, whom the citisens call *Anapias* and *Amphinomus*; they of Syracusæ (who striue about the natiue place of these two yong men) call them *Emanthias* and *Griton*. It chanced that Ætna (now Mount-Gibel) did once burne with such furie, that setting many houses a fire, it fired (among the rest) the house wherein these two yong mens parents were, so feeble and worne with age, that they were not able possibly to stir out of the place. Whereupon these yong men ran home, and tooke vp vpon their shoulders, one the father, the other the mother, and carried them with speed out of the house thorow the middest of the fire, where, because the burden was heauie, and they could not goe but softly, the neighbours held them for lost among such and so many flames burning of euerie side. But they going on with their charitable charge, maugre the imminent danger, it hapned (verie

Lib. 7. *de Legibus.*

Lib. 2. *cap* 1. of the first Decad.

miraculously) that being readie to passe thorow the middest of a great burning that had gotten much way, the flames suddenly parted asunder and without anoying either these honourable porters, or their venerable burdens, let them passe along, and then presently shut togither and reunited themselues as before. The yong men being had in recommendation for this miracle, were honoured after their death with a tombe built most sumptuously and king-like, by the citisens of Catana, to preserue for euer the remembrance of this deed. And to that end, they called this tombe, *The field of the charitable*, and dedicated vnto them a yearely holyday in remembrance of their pietie. *Lib. 9.* *Pausanias* reporteth, that in his time the same was celebrated in great pompe. Which may serue to teach vs, that the true God hath shewed to the poore Pagans by a singular miracle, that children ought with the danger of their liues to haue care of them by whose meanes they came into the world, and to releeue them by all meanes, to the end they may not draw their curse vpon them. Now, as these two Sicilian brothers are worthie of perpetuall memorie, because of their singular loue towards their parents, yea, and deserue that all men should blesse them for euer: so, of the other side, we may see at Verona a tombe-stone represented by *P. Appian* in his Antiquities, full of horrible imprecations, to the perpetuall infamie of certaine vngracious children. The Contents whereof is this.

D. M.

MITRIVS PIVS DIVES LAM HABES DECREPITVS ET MENDICANS LVCE CARENS A TRIBVS LIBERIS ET DVABVS LIBERTABVS EXPVLSVS SITI PERII. SACRVM MIHIMET CONSTITVI. HIC HVMATVS SVM CINERES ET OSSA. HOS NATOS RENVO. IN HOC VT REQVIESCANT NOLO. SOBOLEM NEGO. PRIVO POSTEROS. OMNES ME LEGITOTE ET SINITE. VIXI ANNOS. CXXV. MENS. III. DIES II.

That is to say,

I Mitrius *the meeke and the rich, now dull, decrepite, begging, blind, expulsed by three children and two free-women, am dead with thirst. I haue my selfe made my sepulchre. Here lie my ashes and bones. These children I renounce, I will not that they should rest in this sepulchre. I denie that they are issued from me. I disinherit them. All you that passe by, reade this, and leaue me. I haue liued six score and fiue yeares, three moneths and two daies.*

To end our Meditation, They do wisely that wish well to others and to themselues: they (contrariwise) very ill, that being transported with malice and furie, take pleasure in Imprecations. For this cause, the wisdome of *C. Fundanius*, and *T. Sempronius*, Ediles, is commended; who condemned in a great fine the daughter of blind *Appius*, because she had made certaine rash, vnciuill, and wicked wishes, as *Gellius* reporteth after *Atteius Capito*: for she going out of the Theatre, where she had beheld the playes, and being much pressed with the throng of the people, which droue her one while of one side and another while of another, complaining that she was vnworthily vsed, and that shee had taken hurt, began to say; *What would they haue done to me, and how much worse should I haue beene handled and trod on, if* P. Claudius *my brother had cast away the Fleet with that great number of Roman citisens that were in it? Surely, all the world would now haue fallen vpon me, and ouerwhelmed me. I would my brother had liued yet, and were to haue had* *Lib. 10.*

the

the charge of carrying another armie into Sicilia, and cast away this rascall companie that hath handled me thus ill. *Plutarch* commendeth (and not without cause) a religious woman, that could neuer be brought to curse *Alcibiades*, saying, *That shee was commanded to blesse, and not to curse.* The like did king *Lewis* the twelfth alleage, when newes was brought that the Pope had excommunicated him: But yet (quoth he) the Pope was appointed to pray to God for vs, and to wish vs good, and not ill. It were to be wished, that this deed of the deuout woman in *Alcibiades* time might bee pondered and thought on by ambitious and desperat spirits, that now adayes swarme vpon the face of the earth, who neuer leauing to vomit out curses and imprecations against themselues, and furiously to wrong other men, are wont to gaine the fauour of the great, and insinuat into the grace of the people, by blowing and crying as lowd as euer they can, without knowing or vnderstanding what they speake; being transported with an ostentation meerely vaine and intollerable. If they were vncased of these armes of straw wherewith they braue it out so much euery day, and whereon their credit and reputation depends, a man could neuer see fellowes more miserable; for they would haue nothing wherewith to maintaine or set foorth that sufficiencie and grauitie which in fond wise they maske themselues withall. They are fellows (to vse *Quintilians* words, when he taxed *Cassius Seuerus*) which, contemning the order of things, treading modestie vnder foot, building vpon an impudent kind of counterfeit speech, are neither able to weild the armes that they boast of, nor knowing how to assaile nor defend, in stead of fighting, charge their enemies with outrages and slaunders. The Popes likewise that are now adayes, should doe well to take foorth this lesson taught by that worthie king *Lewis* the twelfth, and not giue themselues so much to cursing of princes as they doe: *For* (as *Papyrius Masson* saith) *in times past, their excommunications being seldome vsed, galled the consciences of those that feared such prickes of the spur: but when they made their Bulles common, like litter (as they say) men little regarded them.* And not without cause: for we admire that which is seldome seene, and despise triuiall and ordinarie things. Therefore we may say with *Lactantius*, *That the errour of those men is incredible and vnspeakable, who hauing embraced some opinion, and growne obstinate therein, condemne all other opinions as false and vaine: and thereupon arme themselues to fight, without either vnderstanding that which they must maintaine, or knowing that which they can confute; but runne themselues tooth and naile against all that which others shall bring that are not of the same opinion.*

In the life of *Alcibiades.*

Lib.7.cap.7.

CHAP. VII.

Strange kinds of punishments.

PLutarch in the life of king *Artaxerxes* speaketh of a kind of punishment most horrible and cruell, by which one of his domesticks named *Mithridates*, was put to death. *They take* (saith hee) *two troughs made of purpose, so euen, that the one is neither longer nor broader than the other, and he that is to bee punished, is laid vpon his backe into one of them, and then couered with the other: after, they are both fastned together, yet so, as the feet, hands, and head lie without them, by holes made for that purpose, all the rest of the bodie being couered and hid within. Hee hath meat giuen him as much as he will eat, and if he will not eat, they constraine him to eate by force, pricking his eyes with needles: and when hee hath eaten, they giue him to drinke honie mingled with milke,*

milke, and they powre thereof not onely into his mouth, but also vpon his face, turning him so that the Sunne striketh euermore into his eyes, in so much as his face is continually couered with flies: and for that he doth within these troughs all the needs that a man eating and drinking is forced to doe, with the filth and rottennesse of his excrements there engender wormes, which eat into his bodie; And when they see that the patient is dead, they take off the vpper trough, and find his flesh all eaten by this vermin, euen to his verie entrails. Mithridates *then, after he had languished in this miserie the space of seauenteene dayes, died at last with horrible and grieuous paine.* Thus saith *Plutarch.* Reading oftentimes this vnusuall and barbarous kind of punishment, I haue wondered with my selfe, what mooued *Artaxerxes*, a prince otherwise very mild, to suffer that *Mithridates* his faithfull seruant (though I am not ignorant, as *Papyrius Masson* hath obserued, that the hatred of kings is most vehemently discouered towards them to whom they haue shewed most feruent affection, and that they keepe no measure at all in their passions) should be by his commaundement, or at the solicitation of his mother *Paryſatis*, made away with such a lingring and cruell death, without any reason, saue that, hauing drunke too much (by the policie of a craftie Courtier) he was prouoked to speak freely, and to boast of his valor absurdly: as it often hapneth, that they who haue caried themselues faithfully & couragiously in some businesse, thinke they haue the more libertie to discourse thereof: for whosoeuer seeketh out punishments that are intollerable, cruell, and without measure, and is not content with those that are lawfull, but giueth place to a bruitish furie, and prouoketh himselfe thereunto like women; hee seeth not (saith *Stobæus* after *Themistæus*) that he opposeth himselfe outragiously against all right and reason, to the end he may oppresse such as are like himselfe: for he is ignorant of the principall, and that which hee should know, being to iudge the guiltie, to wit, that the death which was ordeined by the first Law-makers against offenders, was not inflicted vpon them as an euill, but for the last refuge, and in stead of a remedie for those that cannot otherwise be deliuered and vnfettered from their malice; to the end, that (at least) by such a meane (seeing it cannot be done any other way) they may be set free from the bond of iniquitie, and may not be any longer the seruants thereof.

Lib. 2. of the hist. of France.

Serm. 44. De Magistratu.

But I left wondering at *Artaxerxes* when I considered I had read in Histories, that diuers aspiring men, suspecting that they of their owne side had them in contempt, haue often-times vsed strange cruelties, for the desire they had to secure themselues in their Emperie. This is confirmed by the Apophthegme of the Emperour *Mauritius*, who, hauing dreamed that one had deliuered him to a soldier named *Phocas* to be slaine, and therupon asking his brother in law *Philippicus*, Who this *Phocas* was? as the other answered, That he was a captaine of a hundred men, a coward, but ambitious: He is then a murtherer, replied *Mauritius*. Which sheweth, that this kind of people arme themselues with violence and craft, peecing the foxes skin with the lions hide, if it fall out to be too short. So the holy Scriptures (saith Saint *Augustin*) calleth deceiuers, Foxes: and those that are afraid at anothers valour, fearefull. *Thucydides* the Historian obserueth the same, saying, That Deceit is villanous in all men; but more shamefull in the great than open violence. Now there are some Tyrants of this rancke so cruell, that a hastie death vpon those whom they would destroy, was reckoned of them for a benefit. *Suetonius* is a good witnesse hereof, who saith these words of the Emperor *Tiberius: Hauing imprisoned some, he not only tooke from them the solace of studie, but also all meanes of talking and conferring. Called to defend themselues, and to plead their cause, some killed themselues in their houses, knowing they should bee condemned,* and

In Psalm. 88. Lib. 4.

In his life.

and desiring to saue themselues from torture and ignomie: Others before the Iudges drunke poyson, and falling downe halfe dead, were caried away in that plight to prison. A little after hee addeth; *They that were willing to die, were constrained to liue.* And *Tiberius* esteemed death so light a punishment, that hearing how a prisoner called *Caruilius* had preuented it, he cried out, *Caruilius hath escaped my hands.* Taking a view one day of the prisoners, as one of them said, *I beseech your Maiestie I may die:* he answered him, *Thou art not yet in my fauour.* His successour *Caligula* (witnesse the same Historian) would neuer endure that any should be done to death, but lingringly, and (as it were) with little strokes, and by diuers fits, hauing alwayes this commaundement to the executioners of his cruelties at his tongues end; *Strike so, as hee may feele death.* The same Emperour caused a certaine Officer or Ouerseer of the Fencers and Hunts-men to bee whipt for certaine dayes together with yron chaines, himselfe being present, and would not suffer his deaths-blow to bee giuen him, till the stench of his braine all rotten forced him to it. *Paulus Iouius* witnesseth, That the tyrant *Achiolin* held the same course, whose crueltie was so strange and extraordinarie, that if the Hang-man had hastened the execution of an offender, hee was himselfe executed: for he willed that the life of a patient should be lengthened in the torments by small spaces of time, and that euery minute he should feele some new paine. *Lib. 1. of famous men.*

But to returne to our purpose. *Plutarch* wisely noteth, That *Artaxerxes* thinking hee was despised of his subiects, had the principall men in suspicion, and transported with choller, put many of them to death whom he feared. And I pray you, What assurance can there bee in the life of Tyrants? what loue? what good will to make account of? All things are there suspected and full of care: Friendship is quite banisht from thence. Who can loue him whom hee feares, or of whom he thinkes he is feared? For as the same *Plutarch* saith, *The feare which Tyrants procure themselues, is the principall cause of the murders they commit: Contrariwise, their assurance maketh them peaceable, gentle, and void of suspition.* We see that the beasts which cannot be tamed, are very fearefull, and startle at euery little noise: but the generous endure to haue themselues handled, because their confidence maketh them the willinger to trust others. Whereunto the Poet *Claudian* aymed in these verses: *Panegyr. 4. Consill. Honorij.*

Who makes others to feare, himselfe tormenteth most:
This ill doth Tyrants haunt, that they enuie the great;
The hardie they destroy; and yet they sigh and fret
Amidst their strongest Guard, and in their greatest Host,
Their Castles fortified, their poysons strong and rare,
And all because their soules with feare transpierced are.

For which cause *Xenophon* bringeth in one describing (among other miseries that the Tyrants endure) these also: *I feare companie, and I feare solitarinesse; I feare any that come without guards, and I feare the guards themselues, whom I would not see without weapons by my side, and I mistrust them if they bee armed.* Therefore *Cicero* saith wisely, *That there is no fitter thing to maintaine and keepe riches, than to be loued: nor any thing worse for the keeping of them, than to bee hated.* The Poet *Ennius* writeth well, that In his Dialog. entit. *Hiero.* In his bookes of Offices.

Whom men doe hate they feare; and whom they feare,
They wish that soone hee cleane extinguish were.

Auant therefore feare and violence, the bands of straw, not of diamond (as a Tyrant

Lib. 1. of Clemencie.

Tyrant of Sicilia pretended) to keepe a kingdome sure. For, as *Seneca* saith to *Nero*, *The good will of the subiects to their prince, is a fortresse impregnible. What can be better than to liue with the generall wish of all? Who will enterprise vpon his life, vnder whom Iustice, Peace, Assurance and Dignitie florish; vnder whom the State groweth rich and aboundeth with all manner of good things?* *Plinie* the yonger had the same consideration, saying; *The house of a prince is safe, when it is guarded and kept with loue and good will, not with crueltie and care. For experience teacheth vs, That a princes innocencie is his surest guard, his vnapprochable fortresse, his vnassaultable bulwarke, and that he hath no need of any other fortresse. He that shall not be enuironed with loue of his subiects, getteth nought by making himselfe feared of them: because armes waken men, and make them run to armes.*

In his Panegyr. to *Traian.*

A certaine vertuous and sage Prince of Germanie, in the time of our fathers, wisely obserued this document: For when as at an Imperiall Diet the other princes gloried in the rich meanes, as in their great treasures and goodly reuenues, his answer was, That he had a small countrey, but abounding with all sorts of commodities; that his best richesse was the loue of his subiects, which he found so great, that if he went a hunting, and wandred out of his way, and were alone in vnknowne places, he feared no ambushes, but without any care could sleepe safely and quietly in any of his subiects houses. Therefore the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, a prudent and a good Prince, said wisely to his sonne *Commodus* and to his friends, in the speech he made to them a little before his death, registred by *Herodian*; *Heapes of siluer* (saith he) *doe not satisfie the sensuall lusts of tyrannie: bands of guards cannot defend the Prince, if they whom he gouernes loue him not, and be not affectionate to him: For euermore they raigne long and peaceably that imprint in the hearts of their subiects a respectfull loue towards them by their gentle carriage, whereas they prouoke them by their cruell deportments.* *Plutarch* seemeth to regard this, when he bringeth in *Aratus* saying to *Philip* king of Macedonia: *There are in Candie great store of forts; and many castles placed vpon mounts raised high about the leauell of the earth within the countries of the Bœotians and the Phocians; There be also many places of wonderfull strength in the territories of the Acarnanians, as well within the land, as along the sea-shoare; of all which thou hast not taken so much as one by force, and yet all of them doe willingly embrace thy commandements: It stands robbers in hand to trust in rockes, and to seise vpon high steep-places; but a king cannot haue a stronger fort, nor better fortified, than the loue and faith, and good will of men: That, and nothing else, hath opened to thee the sea of Candie; that onely hath let thee within Peloponnesus; these are the meanes that haue made thee in so yong yeares to be chosen captaine ouer some, and made absolute lord ouer others.*

Lib. 1.

In the life of *Aratus.*

To returne againe to the punishment of the Persians: In the time of *Iulian* surnamed the Apostata, *Marcus* bishop of Arethusa was handled almost after the same sort: For after he had beene first imprisoned in certaine caues vnder ground, he was afterwards deliuered to the youths of the citie that they might punch him with bodkins: finally being annointed with brine and honnie, and shut in a cage, he was hang'd vp in the sunne that the flies and the waspes might eat him aliue: which torment (saith *Suidas*) he endured with an inuincible courage. We read, That in the time of our fathers the like almost was done. For the duke of Limbourg deceasing without issue, the duke of Brabant and the earle of Gelders stroaue about the succession, each of them pretending right to the dukedome. When they could not agree, they fell to armes: at last the duke of Brabant woon the victorie in a battell, and tooke among other prisoners the bishop of Collen, who followed the partie of the Earle of Gelders. This bishop

In his Recuell of Hist.

bishop after he had beene prisoner to the Earle of Haynalt the space of seauen yeares, was set at libertie vpon certaine conditions which he accepted: and being readie to returne home he praied the Earle that he would honour him so much as to conuoy him in his countrey. The Earle willingly condescended, and hauing brought him almost to Collen, not mistrusting any thing, he saw himselfe vpon a sudden inclosed with a troupe of horsemen which tooke him and deliuered him to the bishop, who lockt him vp in a prison where he ended his daies. And the more to vex and torment him, the bishop caused an iron cage to be made and anointed all ouer with honney, which was laid out into the sunne the Earle lockt within it. The Turkes at this present vse almost such a kind of punishment. For they cruelly put to death both the innocent and guiltie for light faults, spitting them vpon stakes, and so letting them stand in the sunne to the mercie of the flies for the greater increase and continuance of their torment. Many thousands of Christian Greekes not long since were butchered with such horrible punishments, for hauing made a little bold insurrection for the recouerie of their libertie after a most hard seruitude, what time the Christians defeated the Turkes armie at Lepantho. And since that againe, two Christians being accused at Constantinople before the Cadi (which is the Iudge or Prouost of the citie) for hauing mocked the impietie of the Mahumetans, and extolled the Christian Religion, were both executed with most cruell punishments. For the one called *Nicholas* the Greeke, was stript starke naked and laide vpon long nailes or spits of iron, where being pierced thorow in many places of his bodie, he languished miserably a long time. The other called *Lucas*, borne at Mitylene was flaied aliue, and died in most grieuous torment. So they dying in defence of the Christian Religion, acquired the immortall crowne of Martyrdom. We may heere adde that which *Gonzala Ouiedo* writeth, That the offence which was most condemned, and most seuerely punished of the Indians which inhabited the Island Hispaniola, was theft: so that whosoeuer was taken with it, was set aliue vpon a stake, and there suffred to languish till his end. In the time of *Iustinian*, certaine people called Slauins, which crossed the riuer Tanais to inuade the territories of the Roman Empire practised the same kind of punishment vpon their enemies, saith *Procopius*. Now then, let vs goe and complaine of Nature (as saith *Valerius Maximus*) for that she would haue vs subiect to many sharpe diseases and discommodities, and let vs grudgingly beare the frailtie of our condition destitute of strength and continuance. We complaine without cause; for as much as mankind, the disciple of crueltie, hath deuised so many punishments to spoile and ruin it selfe.

P. Iustinian lib. 15. of the Hist. of Venice.

Lib. 5. cap. 3. of the Historie of the Indians.

Procop. lib. 1. of the War of the Goths.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the inordinate desire to Raigne.

After the death of *Selim*, the sonne of *Solyman*, Souldan of the Turkes, in the yeare 1582, there were to be sold in Germanie certaine pictures cut in brasse, wherein were to be seene the coffins of *Selim* and of his sonnes apart the one from the other, adorned with diadems and costly curtaines. At the commandement of *Amurath* the third (who afterwards ruled the Turkes a long time as eldest sonne to *Selim*) the other sonnes his brethren were put to death, and afterwards buried after the royall manner with their father, and laide in the same sepulchre, to asswage by that meanes the hainousnesse of the murther.

For

For *Amurath* who succeeded his father, following the horrible and detestable custome of those Barbarians caused fiue of his yonger brethren to be strangled in his presence. And it is giuen out for certaintie, that when he saw the bow-string put about the neck of the yongest to strangle him, whither his loue to the yong boy mooued him, or his conscience prickt him because of so many parricidiall murthers, he wept most bitterly. In like manner, and in the same yeare, *Ismael* second sonne to *Techmas* king of the Persians or of the Parthians, put to death so many of his brethren as he could get, and all the princes or great lords that he had in suspition: but about six moneths after, his owne sister killed him with poison. Such murthers though they be had in detestation, and that worthily, yet I doe not thinke they are new or strange with those, who blinded with ambition account not any thing dishoneſt or vnlawfull, so as by putting the same in execution they may bring themselues to aduancement. These are men disrobed of all vertue and honestie saith *Gaguin*. Great men that desire to stretch themselues out, that so they may be made greater, spare neither kinsfolks nor friends. The proofe hereof is seene in *Antoninus Caracalla*, who hauing slaine his brother *Geta* in his mothers lap and betweene her armes, when one gaue him counsell that he should make his brother a god, and thereby mitigate the outragiousnesse of that so execrable murther, answered, *Let him be among the gods, so he be not among men.* So great an enemie is the desire of ruling to pietie and right! Whereunto we may apply that which *Lucan* the Poet said long agoe:

There neuer yet was Faith among the partners in a Crowne,
Nor can the greatnesse of this world brooke any but her owne.

So we see many brute beasts that (like cruell and tyrannous men) liue by prey, and are so fell and fierce through their rauenous nature, as they cannot abide that their yong should euer goe with them a hunting, nor haue their part of the prey. Agreeable whereunto *Plinie* writeth, That the birds whose clawes are crooked, goe not foorth by flocks, but prey euerie one for himselfe. In a word, it is not for nought that Historians repeat this barbarous saying so oft, *That no Kingdome is maintained without parricidiall or domesticall murther.* *Amurath* followed the example of his great grandfather *Selim* sonne to *Baiazet*, who transported with a furious desire of raigning, had not the patience to stay till the death of his father, but made him be poisoned by a Iew-physition: and after (to leaue not one standing that might quarrell with him for the crowne) destroied his brethren, their children, and kinsfolke. Moreouer, being in war against the Mammelucks, he was afraid least (in his absence) his onely sonne *Solyman* would haue iustled him out of his place, as himselfe had done his father *Baiazet*: wherefore he attempted to kill him, as some say, and to that end presented him with a robe died and steeped in the iuice of most poisonfull hearbs. *Solyman* had the like mistrust of his sonnes: for in the yeare 1552, his eldest sonne *Mustapha* returning victorious from the Persian war without any companie (for that his father would not suffer it, hauing giuen him his Faith) was receiued of all the armie with such ioy and generall applause, that *Solyman* not able to beare with the honour that was done to his sonne, commanded that he should be presently strangled in a withdrawing chamber, and after made the dead bodie be laid out in the sight of the Ianissaries, and this to be proclamed thorowout all the campe, *That there must be but one God in heauen, and one Emperour* (Solyman) *vpon earth:* with which proclamation the armie being terrified, was quiet and made no stirring at all. Two daies after, the yongest sonne of *Solyman* was poisoned, because vpon the newes of his brothers death, he had giuen a sigh. The third fearing

Ioan. Leonclauius in his supply of the Annals of Turkie.

Lib. 1. of the Hist. of France *cap.* 3.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 19.

fearing his father fled to the king of Persia, from whence he was presently sent for by ambassages, and at his returne beheaded, onely *Selym* remained, whom his father threatned with death, if he left any competitor aliue. This is the perpetuall custome in the race of the *Othomans*, and among the Turkish Souldans, namely, that all their children pretend Succession, but onely one remaines aliue. After the death of *Saladin* the Souldan of Ægypt, all his sonnes to the number of nine (except *Noradin* preserued by the valor of his friends) were put to death by *Saphadin* his vncle, who would haue made himselfe Souldan. This *Saladin*, the conquerour of the East, and the terrour of the Christians, died in the yeare 1352, saith *Iaques Meyer*. It is therefore well said by the Lord of Busbecke Embassador for the Emperour into Turkie, *That no creatures in the world are more miserable than the sonnes of the Turkish Souldan: because if one succeed him, all the rest must needs die.* For the Turkes cannot suffer any competitor in the Empire, and especially the Ianizaries. And if it happen that one of the brethren remaine aliue while the other raignes, the Ianizaries neuer lin importuning him that is raigning, to haue their pay increased: And if hee denie them, suddenly they flocke together and crie, *Let thy brother liue, God saue him, and keepe him for vs*; which is all one, as if they did alreadie appoint him Emperor: so that the Turkish Souldans cannot liue in peace, so long as they haue any brother.

Lib. 7. of the Annals of France. In his Iournall of Constantinople.

Such murders were practised long before this in the Courts of the kings of Asia. *There is not any thing so sacred which the great men of this world will not violate, if some aduantage may grow vnto them thereby*, saith *Papyrius Masson*. Of infinite examples hereof, let vs produce some few. *Plutarch* writeth, that king *Deiotarus* had a great many sonnes, and desiring to leaue his kingdome and all his estate to one of them, with his owne hands he slew all the rest; doing therein like the Vinedressers, who when they see a stocke cast foorth too many branches, cut them all away, and leaue but one, to the end it may be so much the stronger and bigger. *Iustin*, speaking of *Horodes* king of the Parthians (who had caused his brother *Mithridates* to be kild in his presence) when his sonne *Pacorus* was slaine in a set battell, and all his armie hewen in peeces by the Romans (ouer whom *Ventidius* commanded) and that the newes of this bloodie ouerthrow was brought into Persia; *Horodes* (who but a little before had receiued intelligence that his sonne had forraged Syria, conquered Asia, beaten the Romans and put them to flight) fell into such an extreame melancholy when he vnderstood of his sonnes death, and the losse of his armie, that he became frantike: many dayes together hee would not see any bodie, nor take any sustenance, nor speake one word; so that hee seemed as one fallen dumbe. After many dayes, when griefe had (as it were) broken open the floud-gate that stopped the torrent of his speech, he begins to call *Pacorus*, without saying, seeing, or hearing (as he thought) any other but *Pacorus*, to whom he would speake as being present, and would offer to sit neere, and after all would weepe most bitterly, complaining that hee was gone away. After a long time of sorrow, another care tooke hold of the poore old man; for of thirtie sonnes that he had, he knew not which to chuse for his successor in the kingdome. Many concubines that had brought him all these children (each of them desirous to preferre her owne) neuer left importuning *Horodes*. But the destinie of the kingdome was such, (the kings whereof, made it as it were a solemne custome to be parricides) that *Phrahartes* the wickedest of them all should be appointed and establisht king: who for his first exploit kild his father, as if he would not haue died of a naturall death, and after massacred all his other brethren. And yet being not content with so many murders, and also

Lib. 2. of the Annals of France.

Lib. 42.

knowing that the great Lords and principall Officers of the kingdome hated him, because of his continuall villanies, he caused a sonne of his growne to mans state to be put to death, fearing least they would haue made him king. Of this barbarous and cruell tyrant we may say that which *Polybius* reporteth was left in writing touching *Aristomacus*, That hee was a tyrant begotten of tyrants: and can a man say worse? for this name conteineth in it the seeds of all crueltie, together with all the vices that may be imagined. The very people of Israel were pestered with this disease: witnesse *Abimelech*, bastard sonne to *Gedeon*, who slew his seuentie brethren in one day, and plaid many other tragicall parts registred in the Historie of the Iudges, that hee might make himselfe king. But the end was most wreched for him, for he slew himselfe like a desperate wretch as hee was. The furious and tyrannicall ambition of *Absolom* (whose hands were alreadie imbrued in his brother *Ammons* blood) set him in the way of playing the parricide, by driuing out his good father *Dauid*, to raigne in his place, after he had lien with his concubines, and polluted himselfe with execrable incests. His brother *Adonijah* caried away with the like desire of raigne, backt by *Ioab* the Generall, and *Abiathar* the High Priest, attempted to take from his brother *Salomon* both his crowne and his life. But we will returne to prophane stories. *Artaxerxes* a most mightie king of the Persians, did wisely auoid the snares which his owne sonne *Darius* had laid for him, to make himselfe king, hauing not the patience to wait for his fathers decease, who had assigned him his successor, as *Plutarch* recordeth. Besides, this king was in his old age constrained to see his other sonnes lay traps one for another, and put one another to death, for the desire they had to raigne. The kings of Æthiopia, or of the Abyssins (the mightiest princes of all Africa) called *Negus*, and of which one in our time named himselfe *Iochan Belul*, that is to say, a most precious stone (saith *Franciscus Aluares*) were of a milder spirit: Their manner is, that the lawfull successour while hee liues and reignes, sends his sonnes, his brethren, and cousins a great way off to the highest mountaine of all Æthiopia, there to remaine vnder good and honourable guard, where they liue in all safetie, and are entertained and serued according to their greatnesse, but without being able to goe from thence, for that the mountaine otherwise very spacious at the top, is girt about of euery side with steepe downe-fals, which it is impossible either to climbe or descend, saue by one little way, and that so narrow, as one man can scarce goe in it directly forwards, being straitly guarded both aboue and below, to the end that no man may ascend towards the top, or come downe from thence, without being knowne who hee is, and what businesse hee hath: and this they doe to preuent the ambitions, ciuile wars, murders, and other mischiefes which couetousnesse of raigning doth most commonly hatch and disclose. *Aluares* calleth this mountaine Anga, and *Ierome Osorius* writeth that there be a great many mountaines in Æthiopia which are inaccessable, saue by one strait, where can passe but one man at a time, as it were through a wicket: that vpon the top of them are plaines wonderfull spacious, wherein are fountaines and springs of running water, pastures, trees bearing most daintie fruits, cleere running riuers, beasts both great and small in many herds, and so many hiues of honie, as the quantitie that they yeeld is incredible. It is not lawfull for any of these princes to goe out of this mountaine, vntill such time as after the kings death, the Lords and Peeres of the realme call and cause to come downe and bee brought to them some one of the dead kings sonnes whom they iudge fittest to raigne; and if there bee neuer a sonne, they chuse some other of the princes of the blood among those

*Lib.*2.

*Iudic.cap.*9.

2.*Sam.cap.*15, 16,*&c.*

1.*Reg.cap.*1.2.

Plutarch in his life.

*Lib.*9. of the historie of Portugall.

those that are in the mountaine, the rest neuer stirring from thence, to the end that the new king may rule without any competitor, and that enmities and partialities may at no hand disquiet his estate. For experience hath shewed that most of the people of the East could neuer suffer many masters and lords at one time, much lesse a popular gouernment: but they haue euer loued a monarchie, and the commaunding of one alone. Hereof we haue an example in the Israelites themselues, who reiecting the yoke of the Lord, desired and demanded of *Samuel* their Gouernor, a king, that might conduct them after the manner of other people. *Nicocles* said very well and to good purpose, that it was not ynough simply to consider the nature of tyrants, nor why they are either mild or seuere: but the manners of the people and subiects are to be obserued, who by their malice enforce their masters and lords being otherwise meeke, to bee cruell and rigourous to them. To which that may be referred which *Alexander* the Great said, *That the gentlenesse of kings and princes is as much enclosed in the natures of their subiects, as of themselues.* This is confirmed by the notable speech gathered by *Stobæus*, out of the Remembrances of *Serinus*. *Cræsus* being king of Lydia, shared the gouernment with his brother: whereupon a certaine Lydian said thus vnto him; *The Sunne (if it please your Maiestie) is cause of all the wealth in the world: and if the Sunne did not shine and warme the earth, there would nothing grow. But if there should bee two Sunnes, it were to bee feared they would burne and consume all: So the Lydians content themselues with one king, and hold him for their Sauiour, but they cannot endure two.* The Poet *Homer* was of the same mind, making a great person (to wit *Vlysses*) thus to say:

There is no reason all wee should bee Kings,
That all wee should commaund ouer all things:
That Policie is best of all reputed,
Which is by none but one alone directed.
Then let vs doe as hee shall please to order,
Whom Iupiter *hath made our chiefe Commander.*

It may bee that *Alexander* the great considered the same, and that this sentence came into his thought (for hee made great account of *Homers* Poesie, and read it diligently; and besides, he knew himselfe to be such a one, as it was impossible for him to suffer a companion) when hee answered the Embassadors of *Darius*, That the world could not be lightned and warmed by two Suns: and that two soueraigne kingdomes could not stand together in the world. *Marcus Antonius Zimara* asking this question, Why a multitude of Princes is not good, answereth; *That if the gouernment grow tyrannicall, there is lesse danger to haue one tyrannize, than many.* Againe, *Commonly many tyrants together haue lesse regard to the common good than if they were in a lesse number: which causeth, that the one being at variance with the rest, all the Common-wealth is thereby much annoyed: for it is easier to make one man encline to good, than many. To be short, when many command, there is no want of enuyings, brawlings, contentions, and riots.* And therefore experience hauing shewed, That the royall Throne is too narrow for two, *Aristotle* hath truly said,

To haue store of Commaunders is but an euill thing;
Let one alone be Master, and none but one be King.

Machiauel was of the same opinion, affirming that the publike State cannot be builded nor maintained, if it be gouerned by many that haue equall power; and that it is farre more expedient, that all affaires should bee directed and expedited by the addresse and authoritie of one alone: considering that two or three, the one as great as the other, agree badly together. The studious Reader

1. *Sam.* 8.

Q. *Curtius li.* 7. In the discourse, That the Monarch is the best forme of gouernment.

Lib. 2. *Iliad.*

Q. *Curtius li.* 4. In his Problemes.

may doe well to reade *Herodotus* bringing in the seauen Princes Electors in the kingdome of Persia, consulting, which of the three sorts of gouerment they should accept and entertaine for the managing of affaires, either of *One man alone*, or of *Many of the chiefest*, or the gouerment of *The people*. Albeit that *Buchanan* doe not allow of a Democratie, yet he doth so bind the king to the lawes, as he holdeth that the king is a speaking law, and the law a silent king: In sum, he will haue the King and the States of the kingdome confer togither and decree that which concerneth the publike good. For commonly (saith he) the resolution of all the States togither is safer than that of some of them apart: in some there may appeare some sparkes and parcels of vertues: but these parcels gathered into one bodie make one excellent vertue. The example hereof is seene in the compositions of medicines (particularly in Treacle) to the confection whereof there must goe a great many ingredients hurtfull of themselues, but being blended with some other they make a wholsome counter-poison: In like manner, the heauinesse and dulnesse of spirit in some, the boysterous peremptorinesse in others, is dangerous; but if there be a mingling of these imperfections togither, we see that admirable temperature of humane affaires proceed thereof, which we call a mediocritie or meane.

In his Treatise of the right of the kingdome among the Scots.

CHAP. IX.

By what meanes the forces of the Barbarians, beyond all likeli-hood, haue beene wonderfully increased.

P. Aemyl. lib. 1. of the Hist. of France.

IN the time that *Sisebut* king of the Visigoths compelled the Iewes either to become Christians, or else to depart out of Spain; certain thousands of them came into France to ioyn with their fellowes who before time had inhabited there in great numbers. But *Dagobert* the first of that name, and the eleauenth king of France, thinking what a dishonour it should be for a Frenchman to lodge within his kingdome the sworne enemies of the Christian Religion, which had beene banished by the Visigoths, and so to shew himselfe lesse affected to pietie than *Sisebut*; appointed the Iewes a certaine day, before which they were to void the kingdome on paine of death, except they would renounce *Iudaisme*, and be baptised. They that submitted themselues to the Christian Religion, were preserued in peace: the others (for the most part) chose rather to dislodge and goe away. Some write (saith *Paulus Æmylius*) that *Heraclius* Emperour of Greece gaue aduertisement to *Dagobert* by his Embassadors, that the Christians should looke to themselues, and stand vpon their guards, because of certaine complots of the circumcised: and that it behoued to compell all the Iewes in France to make themselues Christians. Euerie man knew then both in France, and in other countries far remote from Asia, the ancient custome of the Iewes: but few or none could tell of the Mahumetans and Sarazins that were circumcised, who began then but to bud and put themselues forwards. It is reported, That the Emperour *Heraclius*, who alreadie bare an eie to the Sarazins, was aduertised, either by some iudiciall Astrologians, or else by Magicians, that the power of the Mahumetans which was then but in the blade, would one day worke a thousand mischiefes to Christendome. But though the Iewes were sent out of Spaine and France by *Sisebut* and *Dagobert*, yet vnder *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* king and queene of Castile, they haue beene verie shroudly handled, and that within these seauenscore yeares: for there was

was an infinite number of them put to death, being accused of horrible crimes committed in obloquie and contempt of the Christian Religion: the rest were banished and forced to depart elsewhere. The like hapned in Portugall vnder *Emanuel*; who set downe a time and a prefixed day to the Iewes and Moores, either to be baptised, or to void his kingdome, on paine to be made slaues. These Edicts were made after *Mahumet* had taken Constantinople by assault, and ouerthrowne the Empire of the Greekes. Now, because vpon the spoile and hauock made by the Turkes (the Greekes hauing beene partly kild, partly carried away to be slaues, in diuers places) not only Constantinople, but also all Thrace was almost desolate and waste: *Mahumet* to re-people it againe, published an Edict, whereby he left euerie mans religion free to himselfe paying a certaine yearely tribute. The Iewes, tickled with the fame of this francheſſe and libertie (which they could not enioy among the Christians) in great plumps retired into Greece togither with their families and meanes. They say, that there passed into those countries to the number of a hundred thousand persons; and that the Souldan of the Turkes was wont to say, *That he wondred at the little wit of the Christian Princes, that would rather banish to their losse, than retaine for their good, such a great multitude, which might haue serued them for slaues in many profitable affaires, if they would haue kept them aliue*: according to the saying of *Horace*,

If thou a prisoner haue to sell,
That thou dost thinke will yeeld thee well,
Affoord him life, and kill him not.

Horat.

The Iewes carried into Turkie diuers occupations and trades, especially the skill to cast artillerie, and other inuentions which those Barbarians knew not before, but since haue made good vse of them; to the great disaduantage of the Christians.

Herodian writeth, That the like befell in times past to the great preiudice of the Roman Empire, though vpon other reasons. For *Pescennius Niger* being ouerthrowne by *Seuerus* in the East, many thousands of men fearing such a Conqueror, passed the riuer Tygris, and retired to the Barbarians, who by that meanes grew more hardie, and got sufficient power to withstand the Romans. Before that, they knew not how to fight but by shooting a far off with arrowes, and in manner of a fore-lorne hope, without any armour; being not able well to handle speare or sword, but couered with light and long garments, would most commonly throw their darts and shoot their arrowes in flying away. But after that some of the Roman souldiers and artificers came to inhabit and lead their liues in those Regions, the barbarous people learned, not onely to weare armour, but also to forge and make the same. For this cause the lawes both ancient and new haue expressely forbidden, That no man should carrie ought to the enemies that may either increase their strength, or make them apt and fashionable for the war. Among which lawes, there is one of the Emperours *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, and it is the last in *Iustinians* Code, in the title *de Pœnis*, contayning these words, *We condemne those to loose their liues that shall teach the Barbarians how to build ships, which is a thing to them vnknowne.* Concerning other things which ought not to be carried to the Babarians, they are comprehended there vnder a a speciall title, containing two lawes of the Emperors *Valentinian* & *Gratian*, and of *Martian*, wherein there is ordained a capitall punishment, and confiscation of goods to the breakers thereof. Whereunto agreeth the law of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, where it is said, That to learne things forbidden is almost as great a fault, as to teach them. And among other things it is forbidden to carrie gold to the

Lib. 3.

C. de Malef. & Mathemat. In lib. 2. C. de Commerc. & mercat.

Barbarians: but it is permitted to take that away which is found among them so it be handsomly done. Besides all this, there is the Popes Bull, which is called *In Cæna Domini*, by the which euerie yeare on Maundie thursday they are sollemnly excommunicated at Rome that carrie forbidden things to the enemies of the Christian Faith, in these tearmes: *We excommunicate and anathematise all those, which accommodate the Sarazins, Turkes, and other enemies of Christendome, with horses, armes, yron, chaines, and other prohibited things to war withall against the Christians.* All this is expounded at large by *Angelus de Clauasio*, in the Sum surnamed *Angelicall*, vpon the word *Excommunicatio.* The Spaniards haue such like particular lawes in the ordinances of their kingdome, vnder the title, *De las Venditas*, or of sales, in these tearmes; *The Christians must not sell to the Moores, nor to the enemies of our Religion weapons of wood or of yron.* Now though they forbid generally the transporting of weapons to the enemies of the Christians; yet when war is proclaimed, the carrying away of merchandise and victuals is onely prohibited. The punishment ordained for the offenders agreeth with the Common-law; the goods to be confiscate, and the bodie left to the kings mercie, as may be seene in the second Aduise of *Roderic Suares* the Lawier, treating of the transporting of ships and merchandise.

CHAP. X.

The libertie of admonishing and aduising is (for the most part) banished the Courts of Princes.

IT is no maruell if princes haue need of men that would admonish them frankely, grauely, and sincerely, and that would counsell them truely and faithfully: for as much as there is not scarce any one in their courts, that doth not run after the splendor of their prosperitie, and regard his owne particular profit. We read that king *Antiochus* (he that made war vpon the Parthians) being one day a hunting, was cast from his traine, and after he had a long time crost thorow woods and forests without knowing where he was, he came at the last to a little cottage of clownes, where there was not one that knew him. While they were at supper, they hapned to talke of the king: vpon which theame the king held his hosts so long, till it was far onwards in the night, desiring to vnderstand what his people thought and said of him. These Lownes did not accuse him of any crime, but contrariwise made mention of many vertues of his: onely they found fault, that in the execution of the affaires of his kingdome hee serued his turne of most leaud Officers, vpon whom hee trusted too much, and was not carefull himselfe of the businesses of the State, nor had such an eye thereto as was fitting, but gaue himselfe too much to hunting, without thinking scarce of any other thing. The king made no replie, but on the morrow, when his Guard (hauing followed the tracke of his horse) were come to him with the vestures and ornaments of his dignitie royall, turning toward them he said thus: *Euer since you haue followed me, I neuer heard one word of truth touching mine affaires, before yesternight.*

In the time of our fathers (as we haue beene enformed) liued the good and valiant king *Matthias*, sonne of *Iohn Huniades*, who albeit he gouerned no other countrey but Hungaria, yet was he feared of all the princes of Asia and Europe. This king was well learned, exceeding studious, loued good letters and Sciences with an ardent affection, and to the professors thereof hee gaue great gifts:

yea,

yea,and he caused search to be made in all places for the Bookes of the Ancients, and commaunded to buy them without sparing for cost, to erect a stately Librarie, which afterwards was wasted and spoiled by the Turkes. Among other things he was not ignorant, that the truth and free libertie of speech had but small accesse into the houses of kings and princes: and therefore though he had about him valiant Captaines and wise Counsellers, hee would (for all that) when hee was a hunting, ride away from his traine, and goe to some paisants house, or to some village, where he would passe the night, in questioning (by way of familiar talke) with the poore and sillie people, of the king, and what was thought and said of him, and of his gouernment: by which meanes the imperfections both of himselfe and of his Courtiers, as well in their priuat conuersation, as in the managing of the State, were discouered and made knowne vnto him. The same was practised of yore by *Mithridates*, a stout and warlike king, who for the space of six and fortie yeares held warre against the Romans with diuers euents: for he would depart secretly from his Court in the companie of some trustie friends, and in an vnknowne attire, and would take a suruey of all Asia, obseruing with great care all the prouinces thereof, with the scituation of the cities, and would not therein giue credit to the eyes and reports of other men. Therefore the Emperour *Gordian* wrote both wisely and grauely to *Misitheus* his father in law, That that prince is in miserable taking, to whom one dares not tell the truth: for as much as being not able to be euerie where, he must needs learne and allow of that which is told and auerred vnto him by others. *T. Manlius Torquatus* had wisely considered this before him: for when he was declared Consull, he excused himselfe by reason of the indisposition of his eyes: saying, *That the State-Gouernour, or the Generall of an armie, sheweth great indiscretion, who when he is to execute all things by other mens eyes and not his owne, requires all men to relie vpon him both for their goods and liues.* That which entreth into our minds by the eare, doth not stir men so much as that which they conceiue by the eyes, saith an ancient Writer. And the Ciuilians preferre the seeing of a thing before all other proofe.

Iustin. lib. 37.

Capitolin. in the life of the Gordians.

T. Liuius lib. 6. Decad. 3.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures: Quã quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus. Horat.

But to come to moderne examples appliable to our Meditation: *Paulus Iouius* writeth, That *Francis Galeas* duke of Milan coueting to be both loued and feared together, would now and then apparell himselfe like a poore Haberdasher, and would trauell through the countries, cities, and townes that were subiect vnto him; and if vpon the way, or in the Innes he met with any sneaking fellowes, he would of purpose put them in talke of their prince, that so hee might know at large all that was said of him, either good or bad, and accordingly reward or punish his Officers as they deserued. Hee had bestowed within barks vpon the riuers of Po, of Addo, and Tesin, watch-men that should haue an eye to the passengers. Sometimes hee would shew himselfe among them (they not knowing him) and to sound them, would earnestly importune them, yea, offer them money to let him passe ouer though he had no ticket, alleaging, that he had busines of importance, and that it should be much to his preiudice to goe backe againe. If they did thrust him backe with sharpe words, hee would con them thanke, and bestow a great recompence vpon them, as faithfull seruants and officers: if they did otherwise, and would suffer themselues to be corrupted, they were sure to die for it. Herein he followed *Leo* Emperour of the East, who would many times make triall of the faithfulnesse of his souldiers being vpon their watch, with the danger sometimes of his life. A certaine prince of Germanie hath bin much commended, for that he would be often in disguised manner among shep-

In his famous men.

Luidprand. lib. 1. cap. 3. & 4.

heards,

heards, reapers, plow-men, and such other countrey-subiects of his, of whom he would enquire particularly all that they knew of the behauiour and manners of their lord, what kind of man he was, if he gouern'd mildly, if his Officers did good Iustice, and rewarded the honest and vertuous. Hereupon there came one and asked him, why he, that was of such a noble race and a great prince, would so counterfeit the clowne? *I am faine* (answered he) *to learne the truth from the mouth of poore shepheards and husbandmen; for my Courtiers are all flatterers and claw-backs, seruing for nought else but to please and tickle mine eares.* Wherefore, those kings and princes are commended, and that worthily, not which depend wholy of the will and counsell of another, and which commit all affaires and businesses to their fauorits, and in the meane while doe nothing themselues but follow their pleasures, and seeme vnprofitable; but such as are prouident and carefull, and bethinke themselues of all things concerning the wealth and prosperitie of their subiects. The Emperour *Maximilian* the first, an excellent prince, obserued this well: therefore would he say (as *Paulus Ionius* noteth) *That it was a great shame for a great prince to be ignorant; and a greater shame for him that will command people with the true and excellent reputation of pietie and iustice, to want the graces and vertues that may arme him and make him inuincible against Pride, Wantonnes, and other such vices.* To this *Iohn du Tillet* hath regard, speaking of the allowances assigned to the kings yonger sonnes in France; *Euen as* (saith he) *the heire apparant of the kingdome should neuer haue the reines let loose vnto him; so likewise a great fault it is, if when he commeth to a competent age, he be not trained vp in affaires of State, and inured thereunto by sage and wholsome counsell: for Experience the Mistresse of all Arts and functions, is most necessarie in the charge of ruling well, being the hardest of all other, and such as* Xenophon *holdeth for diuine, and exceeding the capacitie of man. The holy Scripture also teacheth, that it proceedeth chiefly from the spirit of God, and hath need of his grace, and of most carefull institution. Iohn Bodin* is of the same opinion, saying, That to bring vp a prince well, there must be Masters sought that are fit to instruct him in goodnesse and wisedome, and that must haue large rewards for their labour: and they must not only teach him strange languages (a thing heretofore practised vntowardly, and with hurtfull successe) but aboue all they must know how to strike a liuely touch of true Religion into the conscience of the prince: for of all the discourses that are made touching Lawes and matters of State, there is none so excellent, nor that requires greater trauell, than to make a prince comprehend that he is placed in the world to serue God. Vpon this hinge hangs the weale of the State, and of all the lawes thereof. The prince that hath taken forth this lesson, That God is the beholder and Iudge of all his actions, will neuer bee prophane nor wicked: all his subiects will loue him, feare him, frame their liues and manners by his example. Happie may we call the princes and the people that demeane themselues so. Infinite examples might be produced to prooue that there haue been princes who in their childhood haue been well and carefully instructed, by which meanes they haue giuen cause of great hope to be conceiued of them, and of some magnificall deportment in future time: but being growne great, the suggestions of flatterers haue so corrupted them, that there haue not any marks of good education and discipline remained to be seene in them. Let vs therfore make this wish with the learned *Budæus: Would God* (saith he) *wee might one good time reteine & embrace firmely with both our armes the truth knowne and apprehended, with as good a heart as we vse to fawne vpon her when shee first presents her selfe before our eyes: shee is either an enemie to vs, or a stranger, or a friend. If wee chance to make the loue of the world a competitor with her, she who abhorreth vaine and perishable things, doth presently*

In the life of P. *Adrian 6.*

Lib. 2. of his remembrances.

In his *Oeconom.* *Psal.* 72. 2. *Pro.* 8. 15, 16. *Cap.* 6. of the Method of Histories.

Lib. 4. *de ass.*

presently dislodge out of our soule, as out of a lodging where she hath no more to doe, giueth vs the bill of diuorcement, and biddeth vs Adieu, leauing vs so miserable an estate as wee imagin a perpetuall abode in our vanitie. Therefore *Flauius Vopiscus* hath left a good saying; *It is demaunded* (quoth he) *what maketh princes wicked? That doth (first of all) too much libertie; next, abundance of all things; then Minions that doe no good, the guard that are readie to execute all cruell and villanous Commissions, the couetous Chamberlains, the foolish and detestable Courtiers; finally (which cannot bee denied) the ignorance of the affaires of State.* In the life of *Aurelian.*

It is reported that king *Lewis* the XI. said once, That his kingdome and his court abounded with all things, but one. And as one of his fauourites asked him, What that was? The Truth, answered hee. *Lucas Contil*, a learned Italian, hath enfolded this answere in a certaine pleasant Riddle. *There are some princes* (saith he) *that haue at home with them a certaine woman as faire as possiby may be, whom they reuerence, clothing her in a gowne that trailes vpon the ground: most commonly shee halteth of one foot, sometimes of both: so that they are very sorie when a wind out of the South or North chanceth to lift vp her gowne, and to discouer the imperfection of her feet: for which cause they haue appointed many people that open their mouths as wide as they can to deuoure these winds, euen as Scylla and Charibdis do swallow vp the waters of the sea and all that is vpon them at the hauen of Messina.* Afterwards he expounds himselfe thus: *The condition of princes much enuied of many, is borne vp by power and wisedome, and adorned with great reputation: Truth commonly discouers and shewes the defects hidden vnder the same: the mouthes of flatterers goe about to couer such defaults. For* (as a certaine wise Historian saith) *pernicious flatterie, the ordinarie disease of kings, to whom their fauourites and tale-bearers doe greater harme by whisperings, than the enemie by weapons, doth alwayes beare the sway in their Courts.* Fr. *Patric. Dialog. 5. hist.* Q. *Curtius lib.* 8. of the hist. of *Alexander.* Thence it comes (as appeares by many examples in Histories) that kings and princes, when they haue executed some thing vpon choller, outragious couetousnesse, or vpon report of flatterers, doe seldome find any bodie that dares reprooue them; or if they be told of it, they are so obstinat in their minds, that they are ashamed to confesse their wickednesse, and to take a course to remedie the same any manner of way. This defect that great Monarch *Augustus* did wisely consider: for being by nature chollericke and reuengefull, he had before-hand willed the knight *Mecænas* (among others) to stand by him when he should see him grow into anger, because he vsed to put him out of it, and to appease him by little and little. It hapned one day, that *Augustus* had a mind to make a beadroll of some that he meant to proscribe and to expose to the mercie of the first that should meet with them: and while he was in this thought, enuironed with such a crowd of Courtiers that no man could get neere him, *Mecænas* apart from all the rest, wrote in a ticket these two words, *Surge Carnifex*, calling him hangman, and willing him to get from thence; and so (as if hee would giue him some caueat of great consequence) hee threw the note into his bosome, to stop him from spilling humane blood: wherein *Augustus* gaue him credit, as he had done in diuers meetings and vpon sundrie occasions before that. *Dio* in the life of *Augustus.*

Cambyses king of Persia, a cruell prince, and much degenerating from the vertues of the excellent king *Cyrus* his father, was of a contrary humor to *Augustus:* for being one of the greatest drunkards of his kingdome, and being admonished by *Prexaspes*, one of his Minions, to drinke lesse, saying, That drunkennesse was a most filthie vice, especially in a king, whom the eyes and eares of all the world are bent vpon; he made him this answere, That thou maist know how little I am troubled after my drinking, and how I carie alwayes good eyes and steadie hands, *Herodot. lib.* 3.

hands, I will shew thee a proofe thereof presently. Hereupon he drinkes a great deale more than euer he had done at one time, and greater carowses than he was wont. Being thorowly moistned and full of wine, he made *Prexaspes* sonne to stand at the far end of the hall, and to hold his left hand vpon his head: then bending a bow, he shoots the yong man to the heart, as before he had promised and protested to doe. After which, opening his breast, he shewed the arrow-head sticking within the heart, and turning about to the father, said, How saist thou now? haue I not a steddie hand, and a sure eie? Another Persian lord called *Harpagus* hauing freely told king *Astyages* of some fault, made him so angrie, that the prouoked prince caused *Harpagus* to be serued at the table with the flesh of his owne children, asking him now and then if the meat were well drest. *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* king of Ægypt, hauing married his owne sister *Arsinöe*, it is reported that *Sotades* one of his chiefe Minions reproued him for it in couert but nipping tearmes, as he well deserued: But the king tooke his reprehension so grieuously, that treading vnder foot all former good will, he committed *Sotades* to close prison where he died in miserable languishment. *Herodotus* reporteth that *Demaratus* had better hold of himselfe: For when *Xerxes* commanded him to say his opinion touching the war he was about to make against the Grecians, *Sir* (quoth he) *how will ye haue me speake? Shall I tell the truth, or such things as will please you?* If *Apollodorus*, that famous Architect, who among other workes builded the Pallace, the Chappell, and *Traians* place of exercises at Rome, had carried himselfe so towards the Emperour *Adrian*, the Emperour had neuer put him to death. *Dio Cassius* reporteth, That *Apollodorus* being in exile, *Adrian* sent vnto him the modell and description of the Temple of *Venus*; to giue him couertly to vnderstand, and (as it were) by way of mockerie, that they could make stately buildings without his helpe: Besides, he asked him if he thought the same temple was not built formally, and according to the rules of Architecture. *Apollodorus* wrote back againe, that the temple should haue beene made higher, and more spacious, that it might haue lookt ouer the street surnamed Sacred, and haue beene able to containe the engines that should secretly haue beene set vp therein for the making of sudden and vnexpected shewes to the people vpon the theatre. He added further, that the images were greater than stood with the heigth and roomth of the temple; For (quoth he) if the goddesses should offer to rise and goe foorth, they were not able. This franke answer and censure of *Apollodorus* set *Adrian* in such a chafe and choller for that he had committed faults vnremediable, that he caused this great Architect to be slaine.

Seneca lib. 3. against anger. *cap.* 15.

Plutarch in his Treatise, how we ought to bring vp children.

Herodot. lib. 7.

In the life of *Adrian.*

Wise and religious was the remonstrance that the king Saint *Lewis* gaue to his sonne and successor in tearmes of this substance, as *du Tillet* hath set them downe: *Carrie thy selfe in such wise, that thy confessors, friends, and familiars may reprooue thee freely of the euill that thou hast done, and tell thee of thy sinister dealings.* And (indeed) the nature of man, in that which concernes his pleasures, doth commonly leane to that which hurteth him most, thinking that to be his onely aduantage which he desires to accomplish; and this is the thing that abuseth him. For thereof it commeth, that he cannot see that which is fit for him, and the dangerous waies that he hath trod cannot teach him to mistrust himselfe, nor to humble himselfe, nor to yeeld to that which is conuenient for him. For good cause therefore doth *Arrianus* commend *Alexander* the Great, because he was no lesse readie to repent him of euill, than forward to commit it; *I attribute to* Alexander (saith he) *repentance for his faults, as a gift proper to him aboue all the kings* of

Lib. 2. of the affaires of France.

Lib. 7.

of old time. For many, though they be conuicted of a fault doe iustifie it, and hold it a vertue, and thinke, that this wrong resolution is a grosse couering of their vice. But I am of this opinion, that to acknowledge and confesse ones fault, and to make manifest proofe of repentance, is the onely remedie for the fault. For whosoeuer hath beene offended, is the lesse mooued, if he that hath committed the fault confesse that he hath done euill: and the offended hath good hope that there shalbe no more wrong offred him, if the offendor seeme displeased for hauing misdemeaned himselfe. Thus saith *Arrianus*. King *Lewis* the eleauenth, as quick sighted a prince as any in his time, was as cunning a maister in this trade: He, hapning one day to talke verie vntowardly, and shewing himselfe rough beyond all reason, tooke himselfe suddenly with the manner, and turning towards the partie whom he had offended; *I know* (quoth he) *that my tongue hath done me hurt, and so it hath done me good too sometimes. At this present it were good reason I should make amends for the fault it hath committed.* And hauing so talked a while familiarly and louingly, he gaue some recompense to the man against whom he had beene so carried away with choller beyond equitie. *Philip de Commines* who writes these things, saith further; *That it is a faire grace of God for one to acknowledge vice, and to turne his thought to good things. For* (as Saint *Augustin* saith) *the humble confession of sinnes is more worth than the proud boasting of well-doing.* It also falleth out sometimes, that kings remooue from them their faithfull Counsellors, and make no account but of one, to whom they commit the managing of all their affaires: against the precept of *Aristotle*, who willeth, that for the preseruation of a State this law should be of force, namely, That the prince should neuer commit his whole authoritie to one man alone, but to many, and to such, as one of them should not dare to encroach vpon another. Those princes that haue reposed trust in one man alone, haue seldome or neuer made a good hand thereby: witnesse the example that *Papyrius Masson* produceth in these tearmes; *In the yeare nine hundred and nineteene* (saith he) Charles *remained alone within Soissons, being forsaken of the lords and peeres of the Realme, because of* Haganon *of Laon, a man of common ranke, who alone knew all the kings secrets, and without whom no matter of importance was done either in the court, or in the kingdome. The credit of this new vpstart was cause of the kings ouer-throw: for the great men could not endure that such a base scoundrell should be preferred before all the Nobilitie.* It hath beene, it is, and euer shalbe a shamefull thing to see a great Prince attached with this disease. For he that loueth but one, seemes to disdaine and hate all the rest: and to fawne so vpon two or three onely, is a meere seruitude to him that raigneth.

Quem pœnitet peccasse, pœne est innocens. Seneca.

Lib.2. of the Annals of France.

Heere we may insert those profitable lessons that are read in the life of the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, found (saith the Author of that booke) grauen in a tablet of brasse, in Caldean letters, and brought to Rome by *Lucullus* with the spoiles of Asia, after the ouerthrow of *Mithridates*, and lockt vp with the rest in the treasurie there: *He is not a wise prince that will draw confusion vpon himselfe, to keepe in authoritie the vassall that he hath made great; and that will not liue in safetie by shewing himselfe louing to all. He is not a wise prince that gathereth all in a heape for himselfe, bringing his subiects to pouertie. He is an vniust prince, that had rather follow the passions of one, than gratifie all. Foolish is that prince, who subiects himselfe to one, despising the counsels of all the rest. That prince is ouer-bold, who to loue and fauour one, maketh himselfe odious to all others.* This instruction may be inriched with the memorable example which *Hugh Falcand* hath left in writing. *William* king of Sicilia aduanced to honour a certaine notarie called *Maion de Bari*, and made him lord High Admirall of Sicilia, and afterwards committed vnto him all the charge and administration of the kingdome, beleeuing all that he said, without trusting or hearing any

Cap.61.

In his discours of the calamities of Sicilia.

any other but him, and would euerie day talke familiarly with him, all accesse being taken away from all others whomsoeuer. This *Maion* alone managed all the affaires of State, carrying the king which way he listed, making him beleeue that the crow was white, telling him lies for truth, and by villanous flatteries clawing the fooliſh forwardnesse of this miserable prince. The forenamed *Papyrius Masson* in the life of king *Philip* surnamed the Faire, (becausse he was the faireſt of all men in his time, being a prince of a tall ſtature, well proportioned in euerie lim, actiue, nimble, and marueilous valiant) reproaueth this fault in him, That he committed all the administration of publike affaires into the hands of certaine courtiers, men accuſtomed (quoth he) to regard nothing but their owne priuate commoditie wherby they ouerthrow kingdoms. Let vs adde (for the end) the good counsell which *Francis Guicciardin* (an exellent Hiſtorian) ſetteth down in theſe tearmes. *Certainely* (ſaith he) *there is nothing more needfull in great deliberations, and of the otherſide nothing more dangerous, than to be counſelled by another: and this is out of doubt, that counſell is leſſe needfull for wiſe men than for the vnwiſe, albeit the wiſe can reape much greater profit by being counſelled. For who is of ſo perfect wiſedome, that he can alwaies conſider and know all things of himſelfe, and in contrarie reaſons diſcerne alwaies the better part? But what aſſurance hath he that asketh counſell, to be counſelled faithfully? Seeing he that giueth counſell (if he be not verie faithfull and well affected to him that asketh it) though he be not carried away with ſome great and notable intereſt, yet for euerie ſmall benefit of his owne, or for euerie light contentment, doth moſt commonly frame his counſell to that which ſhall fall beſt for his purpoſe, or ſorteth beſt to his liking? So that theſe ends being moſt commonly vnknowne to him that asketh counſell of another, he perceaueth not (except he be verie diſcreet) the vnfaithfulneſſe of the counſell.*

Lib. 3. of the Annals of France.

Lib. 2. ſect. 21.

CHAP. XI.

What Enmitie that ought to be which excepteth againſt the depoſition of a witneſſe: and what it is that is called Capitall enmitie.

Per t. 3. teſtib. l. 1. §. queſtionii. De Quæſtion. & Authent. de teſtib. §. ſi Vero quis dicat. Gl. in l. aduocati. C. de aduoc. diuerſ. iud.

WHoſoeuer is but meanely read in the Ciuile law, knowes that the depoſition of an enemie is of no force. Now, although the lawes that ſpeake of this point be cleere and euident, yet the interpreters diſpute what and how great the cauſe of this Enmitie ſhould be. For ſome ſay it is ſufficient for the reiecting of a witneſſe to alleage, That the cauſe is of conſequence, or concerns all their wealth: becauſe now adaies money is as much to many, as their blood and life. Others are of another minde, and in the end conclude, that the deciding thereof ſhould be left to the arbitrement of the Iudge, eſpecially in ciuile cauſes. For in criminall, where the enmitie is tearmed Capitall, the Germans haue the Imperiall conſtitution of *Charles* the firſt, in the criminall ordinances of the Empire, article 26. It ſeemeth to me that this queſtion might be more eaſily reſolued by the lawes, if we tooke good heed to the cuſtome obſerued among the ancient Romans, which *Iacobus Rauardus* a Ciuilian of late time doth demonſtrate by moſt plaine and euident proofes: as himſelfe alſo maintaineth, hauing produced many notable examples gathered out of *Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Cicero, Sidonius Apollinaris*, and other ancient Authors. In his Commentarie of the diuers rules of the law, he expoundeth this cuſtome as followeth: If you aske (ſaith he) what it is that we call Capitall Enmities; know that the cuſtome was among the Romans, that if there fell any great quarrells among them, they ſollemnly renounced all friendſhip, and declared themſelues enemies

Lib. 15. cap. 15.

Regula 10.

enemies plainly and openly. These enmities so proclaimed, were called Capitall, because from thence forward it was as much as a mans life came to, according to the saying of *Arnobius*, That the Gentiles tooke occasion to enter into deadly quarrels and enmities vpon the least discontent that was offered them. Let vs adde hereunto that which *Seneca* the Oratour writes of one of his time, That he agreed not very well with his wife; but when she was dead, he shewed that he had bin her capitall enemie: so when any one repented that he had been so bold and familiar with another, as to haue made him his host, and to haue lodged in his house, the custome was to say, *I refuse to lodge with thee:* to the end hee might not violat the right of hospitalitie: as appeareth by *Ciceros* saying, of one that being greatly fallen out with *Sthenius* renounced this right at his hands, and went and lodged in another place. And *Titus Liuius* writeth, That *Badius* a citizen of Campania did solemnly leaue the right of hospitalitie of *Quintus Crispus* the Roman, and renounced the same in presence of the two armies, that he might afterwards assault him as his capitall enemie. This amitie of persons that were taken into other mens houses (the Innes now vsed being then vnknown) was reputed most holy, and sometimes was contracted openly. For which cause the Pagans surnamed *Iupiter, Xenius*, that is, a Lodger, or vsing hospitalitie, called vpon by guests against those that violated so holy a rite. In like manner, friends called him *Philius*; and companions, *Etæreus*; and kinsfolke, *Omognius*; and brethren, *Fratrius*; and allies, *Enorkius:* that is to say, Friend, Companion, Kinseman, Brother, Confederat: as *Budæus* hath learnedly obserued.

Lib. 2. contra Gentes.
Lib. 10. of his declamations

In his 3. inuectiue against *Verres.*
Decad. 3. lib. 5.

Moreouer, the Auncients had this custome, that the friends that were abroad wore certaine tokens or marks, as brooches, or peeces of gold or siluer, which they kept carefully and mutually, being giuen by one of them to another, that so this right of friendship and hospitalitie might passe to their children, who bringing their fathers tokens, therby made themselues knowne to their friends, and were receiued of them: but when they would renounce this law, they brake those tokens. In this sense *Tacitus* saith, that he which renounced friendship, forbad withall the other from comming any more to his house. *The Emperour* (saith he) *hauing sent letters to the Senat, affirmed, that the Ancients were wont, when they brake amities, to forbid him whom they reiected, to set his foot any more within their lodging.* And *Clemens Alexandrinus* witnesseth, that this renouncing was made sometimes by the publike crie of an Herauld; and sometimes priuatly by an Officer sent to his house that was to be renounced: for, speaking of one that made such a denunciation, *He sent* (saith he) *a Sergeant to renounce the amitie which hee had of a long time enterteined; not that he repented himselfe of it, but because he doubted some change in his friends condition or state.* We read in many histories, that our ancestors (I mean the most famous) demeaned themselues so: for they held it a fault to offend any man in word or deed, till they had first denied the right of amitie, and of familiar conuersation; but when that was done, they held it lawfull to assault one another with the greatest hostilitie they could: as also at this day kings and princes send by their Heraulds letters of defiance to those whom they resolue to make warre vpon. There are certaine Imperiall Constitutions, importing that no man shall assault another by way of hostilitie, except hee haue giuen him warning three dayes afore: as is to be seene in an Ordinance of the Emperour *Fredericke*, inserted in the Chronicles of *Abbas Vrspergensis*, and of the Emperor *Albert*, annexed to the end of the Right of the Fees of Saxonie. The same is also repeated in the Constitutions of the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, gathered together in the Panchart, commonly called the *Golden Bull.*

Vpon the law *solet. §. quantũ ad Xenia. de offic. Proconſ.*

Lib. 5. of his Annals.

Lib. 3.

CHAP. XII.

The enmities betwixt kinsfolks and friends are most bitter and deadly.

ALbeit that wise and gentle men, calling this saying to mind, That Enmities should bee of a short lasting, and Amities immortall; when they are prouoked, doe so temperatly discouer their discontent and hatred, that in the meane time they cut not away by the root all hope of peace and reconciliation, for as much as wee see sometimes a renewing of friendship betweene such as haue beene sworne enemies: yet notwithstanding the case is otherwise with men that are wicked, enuious, and prowd, who imagin that their grace and authoritie cannot stand, except they dispraise and calumniat others: feeding vpon such their malice, as the Salamander seemes (in some mens opinions) to liue by the fire. To this (I take it) the counsell of the Ancients tended, saying, That we must not trust a reconciled enemie, but with warinesse: for it hath bin seene by experience, that the assurance of reconciliation betweene enemies, whetted and exasperated one against another (I speake of natures cowardly and reuengefull, not such as are noble and heroicall) is most commonly weake and slipperie; becausse it seldome falleth out that the suspition of ill will is abolished by a kisse of the hand, an embracing, or such like ceremonious reconcilement soone after the beginning of the quarrell. And indeed (as *Thomas Fazell* saith) the root of the seeds of rancor being thrown into mens hearts, and which suddenly cleaue thervnto, is not easily plucked away: contrariwise, as men doe with ease fall from loue to hatred, so they returne not but with great difficultie into the former friendship: and it is a rare thing to see, that the mind once possessed with spite, should shew it selfe void of passion towards that partie by whom it hath beene offended: and doth not commonly reenter into such familiaritie with his enemie, as before time was vsed betweene them. *Antoninus* surnamed *Diadumenus*, warned (after the Pagan manner) his father *Macrinus* of this in a letter which hee wrote vnto him, to this effect: *Father, me thinks you haue not followed your owne nature, in that you haue saued the liues of some condemned of treason, in hope that they will be more faithfull to you, for sparing them, becausse they haue heretofore beene your familiar friends; which is a thing that neither ought to bee, nor can be: for first, it is impossible that they should loue you, hauing conceiued displeasure against you; secondly, they are the more cruell aduersaries, in that hauing forgotten they were your familiar friends, they haue ioyned hands with your mortall enemies, &c.* This is the opinion of *Diadumenus*. But the soreest and durablest enmities appeare among them that haue been once vnited together in the matter of Religion, and then come to dispute, and fall away: for there is nothing that ioynes men faster together than one kind of beleefe, and that disioynes them more, than disagreeing that way. From whence this true Prouerbe proceeded, That euerie Apostata is a persecuter of his Order, or of those that hee hath abandoned: whereof wee shall speake more fitly in another place.

Decad. 2. of the hist. of Sicilia. Lib. 3. cap. 2.

Lamprid. in his life.

C. Accusatores in 2. & gl. ibi. 3. q. 5. Didac. Couar. C. 18. nu. 3. in prac. quæ.

To returne where we began: By the ciuile Law, he that hath reconciled himselfe, is not held for a competent witnesse and iudge, where a little before he was an enemie; seeing it is a doubtfull matter, whether there remaine not still some relicks of hatred in his heart: but there must be some pause till friendship may be consolidated by effluxion of time, and all prints of priuat grudge forgotten and wiped away. Hereof it commeth, that *Cicero* in many places of his Oration for *Annæus Milo*, saith, That reconciled enmities ought to be held suspitious. Among other points, I will note these; *I haue alwayes beene of opinion* (saith hee) that

that amities should bee entertained verie religiously and faithfully, especially such as men knit againe after they haue beene some while in discord: for if, while the friendship lasted entire and sound, there were some neglect of dutie, that is excused by alleaging that it was not well thought of, or (at the worst) that some bodie was rechlesse: but if after the reconciliation a fault be committed, that is not accounted friendship contemned, but violated; and in stead of tearming such transgression, retchlesnesse; it is called vnfaithfulnesse. Therefore Saint *Ierome* made a fit protestation of himselfe, saying; That he was a sincere friend, and would not carie a stone in one hand, and offer bread with the other. And in another place he admonisheth friends which after some disagreement are reconciled, to shun euery light suspition, for feare it be thought they doe that of purpose which shall escape them vnwittingly. Whence we see it oftentimes commeth to passe, that the quarrels which haue hapned among great friends, are enflamed more and more, and grow vnreconcileable, especially when outragious words fall betweene. These wounds are such, as neuer ioyne together (or very seldome) but the scar will remaine: so farre is it off, that they may bee closed by gentlenesse or kind dealing. The reason is, that as euery naturall thing degenerating from its kind, passeth into another kind much worse than if nature had brought it foorth: (witnesse the serpent called Hydra or Natrix, that is to say, watrish, or swimmer; of which *Mathiolus* maketh mention in his Herbal, after *Nicander* and *Aëtius*; who hauing abandon'd the water his customarie element, to dwell vpon the land, becommeth more dangerous than before, and is named *Chersydros*, that is, liuing by water and land) so friends after they are growne enemies vse to hate one another deadly. This doth the Authour of *Ecclesiasticus* intimate in these words; *Who so casteth a stone at the birds, fraieth them away: and he that wrongeth his friend, breaketh friendship. Though thou dreweſt a sword vpon thy friend, yet despaire not, for there may be a reconciliation made. If thou haue opened thy mouth against thy friend, feare not, for there is some composition behind; prouided, that no iniurious and proud vpbraiding, no reuelation of secrets, or traiterous wound be mingled therewith: for such iniuries set friends far asunder.* *Cap.* 22. 20, 21, 22.

And this is not onely seene to happen among strangers that are ioyned together by the onely bond of friendship (of which there is a notable example of late memorie in two excellent captaines, the great *Sforce*, and *Braccio de Montona*, which two, *Paulus Iouius* calleth two thunderbolts of warre; who at first being tied together in a brotherly loue, bare vnder their armes a like courage, and a like hope, vntill being separated by ambition and pride, they became enemies, and in many a battell set one vpon another, and attempted to kill one another, it being a thing impossible euer to reconcile them together:) but also this lamentable mischiefe falleth sometimes among neere kinsfolkes: a thing obserued by the Ciuilians, and among others by *Baldus*, That enmities hapning among kinsfolkes could not bee dermined by intercession of friends, nor any other meanes, but by the swords point. Then (on the contrarie) highly are the Ælians to bee commended, of whom we read in *Plutarch* this that followeth: *Touching* Paulus Æmylius *daughters*, Catos *sonne married the one*, *and* Ælius Tubero *the other, who was a very good man, and bare himselfe out more valiantly in his poore estate, than any other Roman: for there were sixteene neere kinsfolkes, all of the name and race of the* Ælians, *which had but one little house in the citie, and a small possession in the countrey, wherewith they maintained themselues, and liued all together in one house with their wiues and a many little children. Among which wiues was (as I haue said) one of the daughters of* Paulus Æmylius, *borne vnto him after he had been twice Consull, and had twice triumphed; who for all that was no whit ashamed of her husbands pouertie, but admired his vertue, for* In his famous men.

In l. cum oportet C. de bon. quæ liber.

In the life of *Paulus Aemyl.*

which he was poore: whereas, brothers and kinsfolkes now adaies, if they be not seuered one from another by distances of climats, or except some riuers diuide them, or walls bound and keepe their inheritances in seuerall, and some great void spaces be betweene them, neuer lin warring and iarring, and raysing sutes one against another. Iustin the Historian hath another good example of brotherly loue. As *Artamenes* and *Xerxes* the sonnes of *Darius* were entred into variance about the succession in the kingdome after their fathers death, who had preferred the yonger before the elder: so far was it off that their cause did make a quarrell betweene them, that *Xerxes*, who obtained it, did no whit lift himselfe vp aboue his brother, and *Artamenes* who was put by it shewed no token of discontentment: but contrariwise, while the cause stood vndecided, they sent presents one to another; feasted one another merrily without treason or suspition; and (at last) the cause was ended verie simply and without any adoe. In those times brethren shared kingdomes between them with far more moderation, than they would now adaies a patrimonie of a small value. They behaue themselues now as *Plutrch* saith they did in his time, as is before alleaged out of the life of *Paulus Æmylius*. But though there be many examples both ancient and moderne to this purpose, I haue thought good to make speciall choice of one out of *Titus Liuius* touching two neere kinsmen that were Spaniards, to adde to this Meditation. Corbis *and* Orsua *brothers by one father being at variance whither of them should be the lord of a citie called Iba, resolued to determine their quarrell by the sword.* Corbis *was the elder. The father of* Orsua *had this citie after* Corbis *was borne, by the death of an elder brother of his.* Scipio *would haue taken vp the matter in peacefull sort, and haue ended all quarrels betweene them: whereto they would in no wise condescend, each of them saying to those of his kin, that they would neuer accept other Iudge among the gods or among men, but the god* Mars. *The elder was the stronger, and the yonger being in the Aprill of his age, the fiercer; each chusing rather to die with the sword in his hand, than be subiect to the other: and for that it was impossible to cure them of this rage, they were as a spectacle and good lesson to the Roman army, shewing, how great an euill, desire of ruling is among men, as we haue before prooued by some examples.* Corbis *more nimble and valliant had soone the mastrie of the violent and vndiscreet rashnesse of* Orsua. To this example let vs ioyne that of two other brothers, *Polynices* and *Eteocles*, sonnes to *Oedipus* king of Thebes, set foorth by a great many ancient Authors, because of the vnreconcilable hatred of these two princes. After they had kild each other in the combat, as their bodies should haue beene burnt, they were kept asunder by the fire which would not receiue them together, as *Statius* and *Lucan* say, but they were faine to be burnt apart the one from the other.

Lib. 2.

Decad. 3. lib. 8.

In this great and weightie question, Whether the sonne of the elder sonne ought to represent his deceased father, and succeed his grandfather, rather than his vnckle, the grandfathers yonger sonne? the Ciuilians alleage that which hapned vnder the Empire of *Otho*. When such a difference was fallen betweene the Vnckle and the Nephew, touching the succession of this Nephewes grandfather; and friends not being able to arbitrate the matter, the Emperor ordained that the quarrell should be decided by combat. They came to the fight, and fought two seuerall times in a close place; where the Nephew was alwaies Conqueror, and so the sword determined the sute. There is another notable but lamentable Storie recorded by *Bernardin Scardeon*, touching two brothers of a verie ancient house, called *De Limino*, borne in Padua. We read (saith he) that in this family there were once two brothers, who being on a Sommers day in the countrey, went abroad after supper, talking togither of many things. As they were

In the description of Padua, *li. 3. class. 13.*

were ſtanding and gaſing vpon the ſtars that twinckled in the skie being then verie cleere, one of them began in meriment to ſay to the other, would I had as many oxen as I ſee ſtars in yond firmament. The other anſwers him preſently, And would I had a paſture as wide as the firmament, and therewith turning towards his brother ſaith vnto him, where wouldſt thou feed thy oxen? marrie in thy paſture, quoth his brother; but how if I would not let thee, ſaid the other? I would (quoth he firſt) whither thou wouldſt or no. What (replies the ſecond) in ſpite of my teeth? yea, (anſwers the other) whatſoeuer thou couldſt doe to the contrarie. Hereupon their ſport turnes to outragious words, and at laſt to furie, the one ſtill offring to be louder than the other; that in the end they drew their ſwords, and fell to it ſo hotly, that in turne of a hand they ran one another thorow the bodie: ſo that the one fell one way, and the other another way, both weltring in their blood. The people of the houſe hearing the buſtling ran towards them, but came too late, and carrying them into the houſe, they both ſoone after gaue vp the ghoſt. *Petrus Iuſtinianus* reherſeth another Storie almoſt as freſh, and no leſſe lamentable. An extraordinarie chance hath of late hapned (quoth he) in the confines of Toſcane. *Iohn* Cardinal *de Medicis* ſonne to *Coſmo* duke of Florence, a yoong prince of great eſtimation, got vp a horsback to ride a hunting, accompanied with two of his brethren *Fernand* and *Cartia*, attended with ſome others. Their dogs hauing followed a hare a long time in the plaine field, at the laſt kild her. The brothers thereupon began to debate about the firſt hold, each of them attributing the honour thereof to his hounds. One ſpeech drew on another, and from bare words they fell at laſt to girds. The Cardinall not enduring to be light ſet by, and being of a hautie nature, gaue his brother *Cartia* (who expoſtulated with him) a box on the eare. *Cartia* carried away with choller drew his ſword, and gaue ſuch a thruſt into his brother Cardinals thigh, that he preſently died. A ſeruant of the Cardinals in reuenge of his maſter gaue *Cartia* a ſore wound: ſo that with the veniſon, they carried home to duke *Coſmo* one of his ſonnes dead: and for *Cartia*, his wound was alſo ſuch, as within a while he died of it. Thus for a matter of nothing the father loſt two of his ſonnes in a pittifull and fearefull ſort. Theſe are the words of the Hiſtorian: out of which we may gather, that as a ſparke which ſcarce maketh any ſhew, when it findeth fit matter, kindleth ſo great a fire that it conſumeth Rampiers, Forts, Cities, Forreſts, and Prouinces: Euen ſo the leaſt contention that is, doth often-times enkindle ſuch hatred, that thereof commeth quarrelling, then bitterneſſe and vnreconcilable enmitie, which conuerts to ſecret malice the mother of horrible rancor, & that brings foorth in the end execrable murthers, if the matter by wiſe friends be not in time taken vp & ordered. Not without cauſe therefore doth the wiſe *Soloman* ſay, *That the beginning of ſtrife is as when the water breakes open a dike: therfore flie contention before thou be entangled with it.* Prouerb. 17. 14.

In the Hiſt. of Venice, lib. 14.

But not to dwell vpon examples of other nations, in our time the ſame had like to haue hapned betweene two princes of the Empire, both of one blood, if ſome ſtrange accident hapning betweene had not beaten downe the blow of their violent purpoſe. For our age hath not wanted wonderfull and (almoſt) inexplicable differences, which ſometimes haue had euents altogither vnhoped and vnlooked for. And for that the Storie is knowne to few, I haue thought good to incloſe it in this chapter, as it was deliuered to me by a perſonage of authoritie, who had of a long time frequented the courts of Princes. Some indiſcreet Courtiers (whoſe names I will not here ſpecifie) hauing ſowne great diſſentions betweene the two famous princes *George*, and *Albert* (who was ſonne to

Casimir Marqueſſe of Brandenbourg) preuailed ſo far in the end that theſe princes hearts were diuided, whereof enſued a diuiſion of lordſhips betweene them, and diuers contracts to that effect were conceiued. Thereupon it fell out, that the Marqueſſe *George* (a wiſe prince, and who alwaies carried an eie to *Albert* his couſin-german, that he might traine and faſhion him in matters) found that ſome went about to abuſe the vehement nature of this yong prince, ſo that by their abbettings he tooke ſuch reſolutions as tended nought elſe but to troubles and confuſions: therefore *George* being led with an heroicall diſdaine, and neuertheleſſe giuing the bridle beyond moderation to his anger, vnderſtanding that *Albert* was come to Newſtad, reſolued with himſelfe (without acquainting any bodie) to write a letter vnto him, the contents whereof was; That albeit he ſaw himſelfe traduced many waies, and that *Albert* did diuers things both againſt honour and dutie, yet he would not mooue war againſt him, to the ruin of their innocent ſubiects, who knew not what ſuch contentions meant; but had rather (old as he was) preſent the combat to *Albert*: wiſhing him, if he were a noble prince, to be vpon ſuch a day in a forreſt not far off (which hee named) all alone on horsback, with ſuch armes as befitted a prince: that (for his part) he would not faile to meet him then and there alone, in like furniture; in which place without arbitrators, they would determine their quarrels by armes: adding, that *George* would there with a merrie heart oppoſe his white beard againſt *Alberts* red which then began to bud, & trie who ſhould be the better man. This letter faſt ſealed he giues to a page of his, a yong gentleman of Poland, to carrie to *Albert*, charging him to deliuer the ſame to none but himſelfe. The page willing to obey his lord, prouides forthwith for the iourney. But as he was readie to take horſe, another page his companion, handling vndiſcreetly a piſtoll that was charged, let it goe off, and therewith kild the poore Polonian page: About whom the princes letters were found, which comming to the hands of his Counſell, and his intent being diſcouered, they wrought ſo with him, that by their counſell, and vpon conſideration of the miſaduenture that might happen, he changed his opinion. The other page, who by retchleſneſſe had committed ſuch a murther (and therefore was ſhut vp in a dungeon, the princes anger being appeaſed) got his pardon through the interceſſion of the Counſell. This happened in the yeare 1541.

In his Chronicles. *Lib. 4. cap. 1.*

We haue ſpoken of ſtrange and enormous cruelties: but there fall out grudges ſometimes betweene the children and the parents far more execrable, and (as it were) in deſpite of nature. Whereof we haue a notable example reported by *Trithemius*, of *Frederick* Earle of Pfinten, who in the yeare 1233, after he had beene long time detained in ſtreight and hard impriſonment, was at the laſt cruelly murthered by his owne ſonne. We find almoſt the like Storie in *Philip de Commines*, ſet out thus: There was a yong duke of Gelderland called *Adolf*, who had married one of the daughters of *Burbon*; He committed a moſt facinorous fact, for he tooke his father priſoner one euening as he was going to bed, and carried him fiue German leagues a foot, without hoſe or ſhooes, in a verie cold weather, and then caſt him into a dungeon, where he ſaw no light but at a little loop-hole, and kept him there ſix moneths. Vpon this there aroſe great war betweene the duke of Cleue (whoſe ſiſter the ſaid priſoner-duke had married) and this yong duke *Adolf*. The duke of Burgundie offred many times to accord them, but could not doe it. At the laſt the Pope and the Emperor ſet themſelues earneſtly about it; and the duke of Burgundie was enioyned vpon great penalties to take duke *Arnold* out of priſon, which he did; for the yong duke durſt

durst not but deliuer him, because he saw so many great men busied about that matter, and besides feared the power of the duke of Burgundie. I saw them both (saith *Commines*) in the duke of Burgundies chamber many times, and in a great assemblie of Counsell, where they pleaded their cause: and saw the good old man offer the pawne of Combat to his sonne. The duke of Burgundie desired very much to make them friends, and fauoured the young man, and offered him the title of the gouernment of Burgundie, and the countrey of Gelderland should haue remained to him, with all the reuenue thereof, sauing a little citie standing neere Brabant (called Graue) which the father should haue had, with the reuenue of three thousand florins, and as much in pension: so the whole should haue bin worth to him six thousand florins, with the title of Duke, as reason was. I was appointed among other (saith *Commines*) to carie this word to the young duke: who answered, *That hee would rather cast his father into a well headlong, and himselfe after, than yeeld to such an agreement, and that it was foure and fortie yeares that his father had beene Duke, and that it was now time for himselfe to bee Duke: but he would willingly leaue him three thousand florins yearely; vpon condition hee would neuer set foot within the duchie*, with other such words, foolishynough God knowes. This happened iust at the time when the king tooke Amiens from the Duke of Burgundie, who was then with these two that I speake of at Dourlans, where he was much troubled, and thence departed vpon a sudden to retire to Hesdin, and so forgat this businesse. This young Duke put on him a French sute, and got him away with none but two in his companie, to goe into his owne countrey. As he passed by a hauen neere to Namur, he paid a florin for his fare; a Priest saw him, and had a suspition of him, and spake to the Boat-man, who beheld him in the face that had paid the florin, and knew him: so he was taken and caried to Namur, where he continued prisoner till the death of the duke of Burgundie, and then the Gantois set him at libertie, and had a mind to match him by force with her that was afterward Dutchesse of Austrich, and caried him with them before Tournay, where being but meanly accompanied hee was mischieuously slaine by the iust iudgement of God, who suffereth not any wickednesse to goe long vnpunished.

It is most true which is commonly said, *That loue doth descend more than ascend:* by meanes whereof one father doth maintaine with lesse labour ten children, than ten children can maintaine one father. We will enrich this prouerbe with a notable storie that hapned whilom at Gant, where it is yet to be seene grauen in brasse. A certaine father and his sonne being condemned to die for many heinous facts by them committed: the Earle of Flanders desiring to know in whether of the two the naturall affection of the one to the other was more vehement, promised to saue his life that would cut off the others head. But at the last the father hauing persuaded his sonne with many reasons (who yet had a long time denied to do it) was woon to performe the executioners office, and to behead his father. Also the Imperiall lawes ordeine, when such two must bee put to the racke, that the sonne should first goe to it, but in the fathers presence or with his priuitie: because it is a thing in nature, that the father doth more feare the torments of his sonne, than the torments of his owne bodie: and so consequently, being more tortured with the paine which he seeth prepared for his sonne, than with any other paine which himselfe can be made to endure, he is the more easily brought to confesse the truth. To come neerer yet to our first purpose, *Cornelius Nepos* magnifieth (and that worthily) *Pomponius Atticus*, of whom he writeth he had heard, That hauing at the age of threescore and seauen yeares

L. Isti quidem de eo q. met. caus. iunct. gloss. in verbo magis, & §. fi. Institut. de noxal. act.

yeares buried his mother that was ninetie yeares old, he neuer had been troubled with reconciling himselfe vnto her, and had neuer fallen out with his sister almost of the same age that he was of: meaning, that it was a greater thing that he was not troubled with reconciling himselfe, than that he had not fallen out: for hee neuer had offended his mother; but if there were any falling out betweene him and his sister, it proceeded not so farre as to quarrels and enmities, which neuertheless are oftentimes too frequent and too bitter betweene brothers and sisters.

Not to speake of Christians, who are commanded expressely of God to honour their fathers and mothers, the very Pagans haue adiudged to most grieuous punishment the children that are cruell, rebellious, and vnthankfull. Such was *Platos* law, which I thought good to insert heere, because it is worth the remembring. *If any honour not his father and his mother as hee ought, and loueth them not aboue his owne children, his grand-children, and himselfe, to please them with all manner of duties and seruices by obeying their wills and commaundements; let him bee brought by his father, or by some other to the three Elders of the Colledge deputed for the keeping of the lawes, and to the principall ouerseers of mariages. Let them looke into this offence; and after they haue diligently sifted out all that dependeth thereof, let them represse the children that carie themselues vndutifully. If they be but young, let the males till they be thirtie yeares old bee chastised with rods and imprisonment; and let the women till they bee fortie yeares be punished likewise. If after this age these children continue careless of their parents, and deale hardly with them, let them bee brought to the generall Counsell of the whole people, and of all the assemblie let there bee some Elders appoynted to enquire of the fact. Afterwards, let him, whom the Iudges shall condemne, bee punished with a more grieuous punishment than any criminall offender is bound to suffer. If the father growne old, and troubled with the violent dealing of his children, cannot complaine to Iustice; let euery free man that shall haue notice of the fact, bee bound to report it to the Magistrate, and let him bee held for a wicked person if hee doe it not, and let it be lawfull for euery man to accuse him for a villaine. If a slaue disclose the matter, let him bee made free, whether hee bee in the power of the parents offended, or of the children offendors, and let him bee set free by the Magistrat, without paying any summe for his freedome: If he be some citisens slaue, let the citie pay his master the price of the slaue, and commaund that hee be set at libertie: let the Magistrat take order that the Information be no way preiudiciall to the Informer.* These be *Platos* lawes; to which we will adde for the end an ordinance of king *Clotarius*, and it is the xxxv. among those of the ancient Germans, of this tenor: *If any Gouernor haue a wicked and rebellious sonne, which either by his owne follie, or deboished by seditious fellowes that would trouble their countrey, offereth to rise against his father, and taketh armes to make warre vpon him, his father being still in Office, and hauing the meanes to doe the king seruice by leading an armie, strong to mount a horsebacke, and to execute the kings Commissions: if his sonne seeke to dishonour him, and to take his charge and place from him, let him not obtaine his purpose. If his father ouercome him, and can apprehend him, let him haue the power either to banish him the prouince, or to confine him within such a countrey as hee shall thinke best, or to send him to the king, disinheriting him of all his goods, because he hath done that against his father which he should by no meanes haue done.*

Lib. 11. de legib.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Why Bacchus *is made wearing hornes in his forehead. And of the ſundrie ſorts of being drunke.*

BAcchus is painted commonly with hornes: and certaine friends diſputing thereupon, the queſtion was, Why in old time, and now, Painters and Imagers haue ſet out this *Bacchus* moſt often with hornes in his forehead, who (they ſay) was a man of warre, but neither deformed nor horned? Some ſaid, that becauſe *Bacchus* was thought by the Pagans a god, they drew beames about his face, being a thing made crooked and ſharp-wiſe like hornes, which the ignorant libertie of Painters hath alſo giuen to *Moſes* the holy Law-giuer, whoſe face did ſhine at his returne from talking with the true God: for beames and hornes are both one word among the Hebrewes, as *Pierius* ſaith. Others were of opinion, that *Bacchus*, after the cuſtome of the Indians, had curled and knotted his lockes like hornes, as the Curteſans of Venice doe alſo weare theirs. And *Virgil* calleth theſe hornes by the name of creſts, ſaying, In his Hieroglyphicks.

——*The hornes of a red creſt.* *Æneid. lib.* 12.

Where he meaneth the haires frizled and faſhioned in ſuch ſort, as one would ſay they were hornes, and the Greekes alſo giue them that name: alſo for the word To ſhaue, they vſe the verbe *Kourein* (from whence it may be are deriued *Coronæ* and *Cornua*, which are Crownes and Hornes:) and they will haue theſe curling knots (eſteemed ſo much in thoſe times) to be hornes; witneſſe the pictures of king *Lyſimachus*. In the like dreſſing are the Armenian Prieſtes and others to be ſeene at this day, as *Lilius Gyraldus* hath learnedly obſerued in his Hiſtorie of the Pagan gods. The Indians and Arabians haue yet ſtill this cuſtome (as they that trauell thither ſay) that when they goe to the warre, they make hornes of their locks, and thinke to make their enemies afraid with thoſe perriwigs ſo fantaſtically framed. Some would maintaine, that ſage Antiquitie meant by ſuch painting to diſcouer the nature of drunkards, who when they haue their lading of wine, are wont to bee more bold and venturous than ordinarie, vndertaking ſometimes things, which they would not dare to thinke on being ſober. By this laſt opinion, hornes ſignifie an outrecuidance and ridiculous brauado, which laſteth but for a fit: for ſuch fellowes, who (for the moſt part) haue neither cloake nor ſword, that cannot ſhew prouiſion for one good meale, and poſſeſſe neither fire nor hearth, being ſworn enemies to husbandrie and readie money, ſo ſoone as they haue a little wine in the horne, are little Kings, Generals of armies, builders of cities, giuers of milions of pounds to thoſe and to theſe. This is the fume of the wine, which paints in their heads ſuch Chimæras, and fils their braines with theſe idle diſcourſes. So ſaid a Poet, that after drinke *Lib.* 8.

—— *the poore man taketh hornes.* *Baſil.* in his ſermon of Drunkenneſſe.

And *Horace* ſpeaking to the wine, ſaith thus: *Lib.* 3. *Ode* 21

Thou bringeſt Hope and Strength againe
To minds oppreſt with care and paine;
So arming the poore man with Hornes,
That hee feares not the frownes and ſtormes
Of angrie Kings; nor yet the harmes
Of Souldiers gliſtering all in armes.

We may here inferre that which the ſame *Gyraldus* alleageth out of *Porphyrion*, That hornes are aſcribed to *Bacchus* and to ſome others, becauſe Drunkenneſſe Vpon the 2. booke of the verſes of *Horace*.

nesse bringeth foorth pride and furious violence, signified by the hornes. To this purpose *Festus* an ancient Grammarian said, that hornes haue beene added by painters and image-makers to the images of *Bacchus* who is thought the inuenter of wine, because drunkennesse maketh men readie to push like bulls when they are angrie. *Horace* seemeth to meane as much in these verses, *Lib.* 2. Epist. 5.

Quid non ebrietas designat? operta recludit:
Spes iubet esse ratas: in prælia trudit inermem:
Sollicitis animis onus eximit: addocet artes:
Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum? That is,

What doth not Drunkennesse atchieue? things hid it brings to light:
Makes hope cock-sure as any thing: the naked driue to fight:
Dischargeth minds of burd'nous cares, and plaies the doctor right.
Full Cups doe make the stammerer excell in eloquence;
The poore-man free and careless though he starue with indigence.

Thus we see how they haue tricked *Bacchus*, called otherwise *Dionysius*, and *Liber*, that is to say, Free; giuing him other names that represent the effects of drinking too much; as Furious, and Mad, because they that drinke wine or other drinke that maketh one drunke beyond measure, become mutinous and quarrelsome; as *Athenæus* brandeth them, saying, That wine doth hurt those that drinke too much of it, and maketh them to require things vnreasonable. *Lib.* 14. *cap.* 1. The same Author saith in another place, That some considering the effects of drunkennesse haue compared *Bacchus* to a Leopard and to a Bull, because wine makes those to become furious that take of it excessiuely. *Lib.* 3. at the beginning. All which superstitious antiquitie would represent by the Thyrse or Iauelin that *Bacchus* carried, the point wherof was wrapped about with yuie: which signifieth (after the interpretation of *Macrobius*) that the furious fits of drunkennesse are to be brideled with the reines of patience: For the yuie branch doth naturally wreath and wind about that which it embraceth; and the heat of wine doth commonly carrie the drinkers to actions sauoring of rage. *Lib.* 8. *Lilius Giraldus* in his Historie of the gods doth likewise obserue, that the Argians worshipped *Bacchus* vnder the name of *Bugones*, that is, the sonne of an Oxe; and many Greekes haue surnamed him *Bulls-head*, holding that he was the sonne of *Proserpina*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* report. *Lib.* 5. They haue also nick-named him Bull, and haue giuen him hornes. *Diodorus* is of opinion that hornes were attributed to *Bacchus* (who is the same that the Ægyptians call *Osiris*) because he was the first that yoaked oxen to plow with. *Lib.* 4. In another place he holdeth that *Dionysius* or *Bacchus* hath beene represented hornie, because he was the sonne of *Ammon*, who (by report) had the head and hornes of a Ram.

Now although the aforesaid coniectures be not without some learning: yet (me thinkes) the opinion of the aboue-named *Athenæus* is not to be reiected; who thinketh (by report of *Pomponius Lætus*) that *Bacchus* was painted with horns, for that, when the Ancients would set cock in hoope, and ful-gorge themselues with wine, they were wont in steed of bolls and goblets to be serued with great hornes to drinke carowses in. *Athenæus* writeth, That *Philip* king of Macedonia, when he would feast his familiars, did vse to drinke to them out of a horne. It may be that they were these goblets of king *Philip* (or other such like) that were carried in shew, when *Paulus Æmylius* triumphed, after the taking of *Perseus* the last king of Macedonia. For *Plutarch* writeth, that he had men (among others) In the life of *Valentinian*. *Lib.* 11. *cap.* 8.

others)that carried cups of siluer,bolles and goblets made in fashion of Cornucopia,and other pots to drinke in, all verie beautifull to looke vpon,as well for their hugenesse, as for the singularitie of the grauing and embossing that was about them. The same *Athenæus* describeth also the customes of the Athenians and others,that vsed hornes of gold and of siluer in their feasts. *Cæsar* saith, That the Dutch-men sought verie narrowly after the hornes of wild Oxen,the brims whereof they set with siluer, and made vse of them as goblets, when they met at their great feasts. *Cornelius de Kempt*, in his booke of the beginning, scituation,qualitie and spaciousnesse of Frizeland,writeth, That the Frizelanders both in old time and now,were and are serued in their sollemne feasts, with certaine great and long hornes (in steed of cups or goblets) which hold a great deale,and are garnisht with siluer at the edges,at the ends,and in the midst. *Athenæus* thinketh,that the cup or boll to drinke in was named of the Greekes Krater, as who would say *Kerater*, a word deriued of *Keras*, which signifieth horne. There be that haue brought from the furthest Regions of the North to Noremberg, such great hornes grauen verie artificially, vpon which are read Gothish-rhimes,and besides they are tipt and garnisht with gold and with siluer. I haue beheld them with great delight for the rareneſſe in a merchants house that traded into those countries,who told me that yet at this day those Northren people tooke greater pleasure to drinke in such hornes than in any other vessels, and they neuer rise from the table till they haue so soundly knockt their heads with those hornes, that they grow almost mad with it. *Olaus Magnus* witnesseth the same in his Northren Historie.

In the life of *P. Aemylius.*

Lib.6.de bello Gallico.

Cap.20.

Lib.13.cap.38.

Hereupon we may fitly obserue, That the force of making drunke doth not consist onely in wine taken beyond measure, or in beer and ale,or other forcing drinke made of graine or fruits, which ouercasteth the braine with fumes, and troubleth,dimmeth,and woundeth reason; but also,that there be some people which both heretofore and in this our time haue willingly and by other means prouoked a furie or madnesse,continuing some houres. Whereof we haue an example in the ancient Thracians, who in their feasts vsed to walke about the harth,and to cast into the fire certaine seeds of hearbs,the smoke wherof would make them drunke and fall a sleepe. The Babylonians would put fire to certaine fruits of trees,and after would draw in the smoake, which wrought so in their heads,that they neuer left laughing, singing and dancing,so long as the operation of that vapour lasted. In our time we see the same among the Turkes,whom the Alcoran of *Mahomet* forbids the vse of wine: They often take Opium; also another pouder named of them Maslach, (which some take to be hemp-seed, others the seed of furious Night-shade)& prouoketh drunkennesse exceedingly. The vse of the Opium of white poppey (chiefely in such as accustome themselues thereunto) maketh them rather mad for the time, than sleepie and senseless. *Bellon*, *Nicholai*, *Theuet*, and others that haue trauelled into the East, speake largely of this Turkish practise; and *Wier* hath made a reasonable long discourse thereof in his Commentarie of the Impostures of deuils. The Historie of Scotland writtten by *Buchanan* containeth a memorable example of the effect of Nightshade, a venimous and stupefying herbe, which aboundeth in Scotland: for with the helpe thereof and by the craftinesse of the Scots,the armie of *Suenon* king of Norway was surprised and hewen in peeces. The victuals that were brought to the campe being infected with this herbe,the Norwegians, who were besides loaden with wine, grew so drousie that their enemies defeated them, and slue them all sleeping. Moreouer, there is Darnell which groweth most

Alexander *ab Alexandria*, *lib.3.cap.15.*

Lib.3.cap.18.

Lib.7.

most commonly among good Corne; If the same be grinded and made into bread, it makes them that eat of it, drunke: The husbandmen euerie where almost can report many examples thereof. This graine is verie rife in Italy, where they call it Imbriaca, that is, making drunke; and they make thereof a distilled water that is good for some diseases. Of this Darnell *Wier* maketh mention, and telleth a pleasant Storie of a certaine woman that was a little too niggardly, who hauing hired threshers to worke a good many daies; that she might find them the better cheape, tooke darnell and made it be grinded, and after mingled it with Rie-meale, & so baked bread of it. After the threshers had eaten of it, they began first to feele a dazling in their eies, & so to turne round like men out of their wits: and after being not able to beare themselues vp, they fell all along vpon the ground, where in steed of threshing the old womans corne, they did nothing but sleepe and snoare. They vsed this so often, that after some daies she perceiued what the cause was, and after fed them with good bread that she might be the better serued of them.

Lib. 3. *cap.* 17.

The like may be said of the Simple or shrub called Tabacco brought out of the West Indies, of which there be many plants to be seene in diuers gardens of Europe. I will set downe that which *Ierom Benzo* writeth hereof, as an eie witnesse, who affirmeth that this wonderfull drug doth grow chiefely in the Island of Hispaniola, from whence it was first brought into Europe. *There are found in those Islands* (quoth he) *as also in some other countries of that New world, certain little low trees, almost of the bignesse and fashion of reeds, that haue leaues like those of the walnut tree, and rather greater than lesse. The people of the countrey where it is vsed, make great reckoning of these leaues: and the verie slaues that the Spaniards haue brought thither out of Barbarie haue them in great estimation. When the season serues for the gathering of them, they lay them in heapes, and hauing bound them in little bundles or sheaues, hang them in the smoake. There they leaue them till they be verie drie, and when they will vse of them, they take a leafe from the stalke of their great bastard corne (which we commonly call Turkie-wheat, or Sarazin-wheat) together with one of those Tabacco leaues, and fold them vp together like a coffin of paper, such as Grocers make to put spices in, or like a small Organ pipe: then putting the one end of the same coffin to the fire, and holding the other end in their mouthes, they draw their breath to them. When the fire hath once taken at the pipes end, they draw foorth so much smoake, that they haue their mouth, nose, throat, and head full of it: and as if they tooke a singular delight therein, they neuer leaue supping and drinking till they can sup no more, and thereby loose their breath and their feeling. There be among them that take so much of it, as their senses being all ouercome and made drunke with the fume, fall downe flat to the ground as if they were dead, and there lie without sense or feeling most part of the day or of the night. Some others that be a little more discreet, content themselues with swallowing downe so much as will serue to make their head dizzie, and no more. But I doe not thinke that the deuill of hell can vomit out an infection more penetratiue, or stinking than that is. When I trauelled the Countries of Guattimala and Nicaragua, I should no sooner enter by chance into the house of one of those Indians, that had taken of that hearbe (which in the Mexican tongue is called Tabacco) but suddenly there would come such a sharpe and piercing smell of that right infernall smoake, and take mee so by the nose, that I was forst presently to depart from thence and goe to some other place.* We may also remember that which *Peter Martyr* a Milannois writeth, where he setteth downe diuers things concerning this plant, or of another much like it, the vapour whereof passing by the nostrills to the braine, maketh those Islanders grow (as it were) mad, and they thinke that the houses wherein they dwell are turn'd vp-side downe, and that the people goe with their head downe-

Lib. 1. of the Historie of the New world, *cap.* 26.

Decad. 1. *lib.* 9. of his Hist.

wards,

wards, and their feet vpwards. He calleth this hearbe that so maketh drunke and ouerthroweth the fences, *Cohobba*.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Drunkennesse, and of the euils that come thereby.

A Friend of mine told me not long since, how at the mariage of a Dutch gentleman not farre from Noremberg, there had been a prise and a reward propounded to the waiters at the feast that should drinke most wine. Many hauing laid about them couragiously with blowes of glasses, at the last there was one that caried away the prise, who in a few houres had swallowed downe eighteene measures of Noremberg, which amount to the sixth part of a pipe of wine, and more. And though such detestable and drunken trickes are not to be tollerated in a well gouerned State or kingdome, (much lesse among those that are called Christians, and that it is greatly to be feared they will draw down a sudden destruction vpon Germanie) yet for all that a great many, not of the common sort, but euen of the principall and cheefest of the countrie, thinke that it is a great honour to them, and they are esteemed valorous, when they haue strength ynough to emptie many goblets of wine. They remember not the warning of the wise Auncient, saying, *Shew not thy valour in wine*. As if hee should say, Shew not that thou canst drinke much: He addeth immediatly, *for wine hath destroyed many*. But how can it be otherwise now, seeing we haue lost the true names of things, and vertues are become vices? Or as a learned man of our time complainingly saith: All villanies are now adayes borne with, whereas in former times men were ashamed to sinne; but now vice is counted more excellent than vertue. But the Apostle Saint *Peter* reckoneth Drunkennesse, Gluttonie and drinkings, among the filthie lusts of the Gentiles, and willeth Christians to flie such excesse. The Prophet *Esay* in one of his Sermons sheweth, that drunkards shall not remaine vnpunished: *Woe vnto them* (saith he) *that rise vp early to runne after drunkennesse, and to drinke carouses vntill night. The viol, harpe, timbrell and pipe, and the strong drinke are in their feasts: but they regard not the worke of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands. Therefore my people is led into captiuitie, becausse they had no knowledge: and the most honourable among them are men poore and famished, and the multitude of them is dried vp with thirst.* And a little after he addeth: *Woe vnto them that are mightie to drinke wine, and to them that are valiant to poure in strong drinke.* In this sense the Prophet *Amos* vpbraideth the Gouernors of Israel, *That they drunke wine in basins, and sung to the sound of the Instruments, but no man was sorie for the affliction of the Church.* *Ioel* propoundeth the same doctrine, saying, *Awake yee drunkards, and weepe: howle all ye drinkers of wine, becausse of the new wine; for it shall bee pulled from your mouth: yea, a nation commeth vpon my land, mightie, and without number, &c.* Also the Apostle Saint *Paul* wrote to the Christians in these tearmes; *Bee not drunke with wine wherein is excesse, but be ye fulfilled with the spirit.* Vpon which place Saint *Ierome* writeth, *Wee cannot bee full of wine, and of the spirit together: for the Apostle hath set these two opposite the one against the other, it being impossible we should serue at once two masters. Who so is fulfilled with the spirit, is indued with wisedome, gentlenesse, modestie and chastitie: who so with wine, bewraieth himselfe to be foolish, furious, impudent and filthie.* Out of these places we may gather, how temperat, honest and sober the feasts of Charitie of the Ancients and first Christians were. *Tertullian* is a good witnesse here-

Eccles.31.25.

1.Pet.4.3.

Cap.5.vers.11, 12,13.

Verse 22.

Cap.6.5,6.

Cap.1.5,6.

Ephes.5.18.

Apologet.ca.39.

of, who saith, *There they eat so much onely as will serue to banish hunger, and they drinke sufficient for temperate and chaste people. The meale begins and ends with prayer. They talke so, as if God sate in the middest of them to heare what they say. When they come to washing of hands, and the candles are set vpon the table, then some body wils euery one to sing a Psalme, and to repeat somewhat that hee hath learned out of the holy Scriptures, or as he can say of himselfe. When they goe foorth, they gad not vp and downe, or play the wantons: but they know that they are to spend the night also in prayers, and carie themselues as those that are fed and watered with holy lessons and instructions.* S. *Augustine* saith very well, *That the Drunkard is swallowed vp of the wine that hee taketh, is hated of God, despised of the Angels, mocked of men, trodden downe of all. The drunkard confoundeth nature, looseth grace, is depriued of glorie, and falleth into eternall damnation.*

Lib. de pœnitentia.

Wise (though superstitious) Antiquitie perceiuing that wine taken vnmeasurably is one of the principall enflamers of wickednesse and mischiefe, was of this opinion, that the signe *Virgo* abhorreth the vine. And *Orpheus* saith, that a man should beware of planting a vine so long as the Moone is in that signe: because the Virgin hateth the vine. Antiquitie also seeing that wine maketh drunkards most commonly to stutter, ordeined, that milke should be offered to *Mercurie*, and not wine; thereby to shew the sweetnesse of eloquence: for which effect there was dedicated to him in Rome a street surnamed the Sober. Now as drunkennesse and all other excesse deserueth reprehension, and the riotous incurre the blame of those that bee good and honest: so it is not without cause that *Plutarch* attributeth inuention and eloquence to the moderate vse of wine. *There be some* (saith he) *that haue a prettie inuentious wit, which yet before meale is but dull and heauie; contrariwise, hauing drunke, they are like frankinsence, and hauing taken heat, they begin to cast out a vapour: because the wine banisheth feare, a passion that is an enemie to deliberations: also it quencheth many other grosse and degenerating affections, vnfolding and bringing into open view ill will, enuie, grudgings, the right linings and furres of the soule: and by the words of him that hath taken his liquour, discouering all sorts of thoughts in the mind. Besides, wine putteth forward the libertie of speech, and the truth, without which things all knowledge and wisedome are bootlesse and to no purpose.*

In his Table-talke.

The learned *Adrian Iunius* hath taken occasion from hence to represent *Bacchus* like a young boy, hauing wings vpon his shoulders with this motto, VINVM INGENII FOMES: meaning, that wine taken moderatly, asswageth sorrow, maketh the mind nimble and cheerefull, like birds that mount into the aire by the helpe of their wings, as *Pausanias* an ancient Greeke Author sheweth. Of this ranke of drinkers was *Bonosus* a Spaniard (whose father was of England) had in great honour with the Emperor *Aurelian*. *Iohannes Auentinus* after *Flauius Vopiscus* reporteth, that when sometimes Embassadours sent out of Germanie came to the Emperor, this *Bonosus* was appointed to drinke carowses with them, to the end they might be made drunk, and so by that gentle torture be brought to confesse the secrets of their Princes and Lords: as for him, the more hee drunke, the lesse he foltred in his talke, and wine made him more holding and discreet. Worthily therefore doth *Plinie* say, That there is not any thing so good for the force of the bodie, as wine, nor any thing so hurtfull as the pleasure of drinking too much.

Emblem. 34.

In Laconicis.

Lib. 2. of the Annals of Bauaria.

Lib. 4. cap. 15.

In this Meditation I remember what *Herodotus* writeth of certaine Æthiopians, called *Macrobij*, dwelling in Africa towards the South sea. King *Cambyses* hauing vnder the name of an Embassie sent vnto them spies, who caried certaine presents, namely a purple cloake, a chaine, gold bracelets, precious oyntment, and a tunne of Phœnician wine, the king of the Macrobians taking the cloake

in

in his hand, and hauing vnderstood of the Embassadors what it was, he said vnto them, That it was the part of deceiuers to be delighted with painted garments. Afterwards they came to the chaine and bracelets, to their price and fashion, whereat the king did nothing but laugh, and thinking they had beene chaines to chaine prisoners with, said, That he had some that were much stronger, and shewed to the Embassadours many people fast fettered with heauie chaines and manicles of gold: and for the oyntment, hee made as little reckoning of it, as of the cloake. But for the wine, enquiring how it was made, hee tooke great pleasure in drinking of it: after hee enquired what *Cambyses* fed vpon, and how long the Persians liued? They answered, that their king did liue of bread, and declared vnto him how it was made; and that the longest time a Persian liued was fourescore yeares. To this the other made answere, That he wondered not that men liuing of mud remained so little while in the world, where yet they would continue lesse but for that good drinke, to wit, the wine. This *Herodotus* writeth of the Macrobians of Æthiopia. The West Indians (part of which are subdued by the Castilians) are not so barbarous, but they haue alwayes preferred the Spanish wine (after they had once tasted it) before all other liquor. *Benzo* hath these words: *Of all the commodities that haue been caried out of Spaine into the West Indies, there is none which the Indians haue more gladly embraced, than the Wine. Indeed they make a kind of wine with their Maiz and other fruits: but they say themselues, that all their wines and drinkes neither comfort the spirits, nor warme the stomacke, nor make a man sleepe so soundly as the wine of Castile doth.* *Lib.2.cap.17.*

To come againe to Pot-skirmish; I will heere adde what Saint *Basil* thinketh of such riotings. *The Deuill* (saith he) *is the Iudge and stickler of this combat: the prise of the victorie, is sinne: for he that swalloweth downe most wine, is hee that carrieth away the prise; but truely the glorie of such fellowes is nought else but shame. They striue mutually together, and reuenge themselues vpon themselues. Who can comprehend or expresse the villanies that these companions commit? In all their behauiour there is nothing but confusion. The vanquished and the vanquishers are as drunke the one as the other, &c.* In his Sermon of drunkennesse.

Plinie detesting the manners of drunkards, saith, There be some that lay about them in talke, and cannot refraine from speaking things that enter againe into their throat, which bringeth destruction to a great many. The Grecians haue represented that by the surname of *Liæus* which they haue giuen to *Bacchus*, called in the same sence by the Latins *Liber*. *Plato* writeth, that for the finding out of the dispositions of young men, bankets were sometimes permitted, wherein they drinke carowses and healths, that thereby the young men might discouer their affections, and shew foorth that which they kept most secret in their thoughts. Also in times past (to conferre ancient Histories with moderne) these skirmishes of drinking healths were vsed among the Pagans, but to their confusion: witnesse *Plutarch*, who reporteth, That after the buriall of *Calanus* the Indian Gymnosophist, *Alexander* inuited many of his friends and Captaines to sup with him, where hee propounded a crowne for a prise to him that should drinke most. There was one called *Promachus*, who dranke to the quantitie of foure *Brocks of wine, and so woon the crowne which was worth an hundred and fourescore pounds: but he liued not aboue three dayes after: and of the rest that played at *Who drinkes most?* there died one and fortie, by reason of a great cold that came vpon their drunkennesse and vpon their wine, as *Chares* the Mitylenian hath left written, who addeth in his Recuels alleaged by *Athenæus*, that *Alexander* set this match in fauour of the Indians, who loued wine passing well. Furthermore, drunkennesse doth not onely bring death, as we haue *Lib.14.* In the life of *Alexander*. *The word cõmeth of *Brochus* being a measure lesse than *vrna* by a gallõ and a pottle: *Vrna* conteins 2 gallõs, a pottle, a quart, a quarter of a pint, and an ounce English: so the quantity that he drank, was 5 gallons and a pint, besides the odde ounces.

now shewed, but also destroieth the sense. For that which the Latins call *Temulentia*, is and signifieth no other thing, but a voluntarie furie, wherewith drunkards are taken after they haue drunke too much. They haue also called wine *Temetum, quia tentat mentem*, because it trieth or shaketh the mind and members of the bodie. Whereunto *Virgill* alluded saying, That wine

Lib. 2. Georg.

Laies fetters on mans feet, and manacleth the tongue.

Which *Plinie* the yonger confirmeth by a notable example, saying, That king *Antiochus* was kild at a banquet by his Minions, because he would force them to drinke beyond their will. Whereupon the Interpreter addeth; *This example sheweth, that wise men haue not said without cause, that drunkennesse is a voluntarie Frensie which turnes to a plaine Furie, if a man hold on drinking the space of some daies.* It was also the saying of Saint *Ambrose*, That *Drunkennesse transformed men into neighing horses, who with their feet would ouerthrow all that they should meet with.* *Maximinus* the Emperour was so deepely plunged in Drunkennesse, saith *Eusebius*, that he became mad, commanding things when he was drunke which he greatly repented of when he was sober againe.

Cap. 14. de Viris illustr.

Ecclesiastic. Hist. lib. 8. c. 16.

Saint *Augustin* writing to the Virgins, defineth Drunkennesse as followeth; *It is the mother of all mischiefe, the matter of offence, the roote of crimes, the spring of vices, the whirl-wind of the braine, the ouerthrowing of the sense, the tempest of the tongue, the haile of the bodie, the wrack of chastitie, the losse of time, a voluntarie rage, a shamefull languishment, the filthinesse of manners, the shame of life, the staine of honestie, the plague and corruption of the soule.* For this cause they that be drunkards are branded with sixe markes which may distinguish them from those that are not: lifting of the shoulders and armes; shaking and reeling of the bodie and feet; stuttering of the tongue; aking of the head; folly and amasement; after which ensue the Quinsie, Lethargie, Apoplexie, and other diseases which take such hold of them that they are not able to speake. To this the opinion of the Ægyptians is answerable, who held, that the vine sprang vp of the blood of the Giants that was spilt in the earth, for which cause wine contained in it Folly and Drunkennesse, saith *Pierius*. These effects of Drunkennesse haue beene also obserued by the Orator *Isocrates*, who counselleth him that wise is to flie the custome of drinking more than is fit. For we see (saith he) that it fareth with the mind that is couered with the fumes of wine, as with a chariot that hath no guide, which rolleth here and there at hap-hazard: Euen so the mind depriued of reason falleth into many errors. *Athenæus* inricheth this sentence with a notable pleasant Storie. *Certaine yong men* (saith he) *hauing their mazerds well heated with drinking, were growne so infatuate and senseless with the wine, that they bare themselues in hand they were sayling in a galley sore tossed with waues and winds in the maine sea. They thereupon entred into such a folly, as they cast out at the windowes into the street, the beds and all the stuffe that was in their chamber: because they thought the Pilot had told them that they must needs lighten the vessell, if they would auoide shipwrack. And when many came running and carrying away, euerie on somewhat of the things that were cast out (as it were) at randon, and that this drunken crew neither all that day nor the night following could be brought againe into their right wits, there were some captaines that went into the house, and there they found these drinkers vomiting so extreamely as if their hearts would haue come vp, they were so sea-sick, and so giddie-headed. The captaines asked them what they were a doing; they answered, that the tempest had so beaten them, that to saue their liues they were forced to cast their lading ouer-boord. The captaines standing amased at such rogueries one of the drunkards (the eldest of all) said vnto them, As for me noble Tritons (he tooke them for sea-gods) feare hath made me throw my self vpon this bed, to be so much the safer in the bottom of the*

Lib. 53. of his Hieroglyph.

In his Remonstrance to *Demonicus*.

Lib. 2.

the vessell. The captaines pittying the madnesse of the poore fellowes, aduised them that thence forward they would drinke lesse wine, and so left them. Grammercie (answered the yong men:) And (quoth one of them) if after this storme we euer come a land, doubtlesse when we are in our countrey, we will acknowledge you (among the other sea-gods) for our sauiors, seeing you haue appeared vnto vs as Patrons to saue and preserue vs. Euer after, this House was surnamed the Galley.

Seneca said verie well, That wine immoderately taken troubleth the mind, and is nought else but a voluntarie Furie which maketh a man dull, hurteth the braine, burieth and ouerwhelmeth the vnderstanding. Therefore, some haue had reason to tearme this familiaritie and acquaintance which many contract at a table, *Glasse-friendship*. Indeed it falleth out, that when we drinke one to another, we seeme courteous and great friends: but at our awaking when the wine is disgested, all this straight alliance that seemed so vndissoluable flies away with the fume of the wine, or rather growes distastfull and loathsome, and sometimes is turned into furie. This I haue obserued sometimes in my countrey-men Rutters neere Straesbourg; when some of them went to serue the French king, others bare armes for the prince of Condey, both sorts where they might haue best pay. They when they should meet by chance in one house, after they were well whitled, were either brothers, or cosins, or allies, but at the first encounter they would kill one another. I will not forget to insert here (for conclusion) that among the other goodly pictures, and ridiculous redoubtable rellicks which the ancient Pagans were wont to carrie about in their processions, was the image of *Manduce*, which had long hanging chaps, and a mouth (ô heauenly wide!) open to the verie eares, and would keepe such a cracking with her teeth, that women and children durst neuer stand neere it. This was the right representation of that cosining fellow *Phago*, described by *Flauius Vopiscus*; who saith that this king of Gluttons did eat in one day a whole wild-boare, a hundred loaues of bread, a sheepe, and a roasted pig, and drunke as much wine as a herring barrell will containe. Of this race of people were certaine Philenes or Philocotonists, as *Athenæus* tearmeth them (as one would say great swillers of wine, and friends to great goblets) that wished to be transformed into whales, so as the sea might be turned into daintie wine, to the end they might tumble themselues therein ouer head and eares, and drinke their belly-full at their ease. Certes such men (if we may so call these pierced hogsheads, or bottomlesse-barrells) deserue to haue set vpon their tombes the Epitaph of a certaine smell-feast, which is extant at Rome without the Gate Capena, where the ancient Romans for the most part had their monuments: which Epitaph goes thus; HEVS, HIC SITVS EST OFFELIVS BVBALVS BIBVLVS, QVI DVM VIXIT, AVT BIBIT AVT MINXIT. ABI PRÆCEPS. It agrees well with a drunkard. *Lilius Giraldus* setteth out the Epitaph of *Timocreon* the Rhodian, being to this effect, That after he had eaten and drunke his fill, and reuiled people all that euer he could, he was there buried. The latin verses are these:

In the life of *Aurelian*.

In the Historie of the Poets.

MVLTA BIBENS, TVM MVLTA VORANS, MALE DENIQVE DICENS
MVLTIS, HIC SITVS EST TIMOCREON RHODIVS.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Militarie Discipline of the Turkes and Christians. And of the puissance and impuissance or weakenesse of the Turkes.

MAny great and wise Captaines haue written of the Militarie discipline of the Turkes, who haue atchieued so manie victories, & gotten so much ground in Europe, not so much becausе their Armies are composed of troupes & forces without number, but becausе they can be obedient, can skill to prosecute their point, can fight manfully in plaine fields, can assaile and defend places couragiously, can liue soberly and peaceably one of them with another. All which proceedeth from the strict discipline to which they are inured euen from their child-hood. I haue heard that great Captaine *Lazarus Suenda* discourse more than once of the meanes and addresses to hinder that vigilant enemie from gayning any further ground in Hungarie and Croatia, and from proceeding any further towards Germanie. His opinion was, that the same consisted more in war defensiue than offensiue, or in the hope of being able to recouer the places that are lost. That we should not onely fortifie the frontiers with victuals, armes, souldiers, and all other things requisite for the bearing off, and putting back of an enemie: but also assure the garrisons of an vndoubted hope of succor and helpe, if they shalbe pressed with any long or hard siege. For no place (quoth he) though neuer so strong and well fortified, can long hold out against a powerfull enemie, if the besieged be once destitute of hope of reliefe; becausе it is impossible but at length their courages will faile them, and so they will yeeld to a composition.

There be three miseries (saith another valiant and fortunat Captaine) that discourage many a worthie man from going to the wars. The first is, the sacking and killing of innocent persons, that neuer did harme to any. The second is, the Villany and licentiousnesse of souldiers. The third, is Ingratitude, when such as haue deserued best, are most commonly cast off and reiected. We may ioyne to this, as the cause of all, the contempt of Militarie discipline, whereby it falleth out that they who are appointed for the guard and defense of a countrey, doe spoile and ruin it as much as they that are hired to commit all hostilitie. Another miserie may be this, the discord of Christian princes, a thing so well pleasing to the Turkes, that they entertaine it by all deuises and meanes they can, sparing no money nor labour whatsoeuer, to hinder vs from ioyning our forces and counsells togither. For all men of any vnderstanding agree in this, That if Germanie alone (without speaking of other Christian countries) were vnited in agreement, it hath sufficient store of men, treasure, canons, victuals, and other necessarie things to represse the violence of the Turke, and to driue him out of Europe. But that is a thing more to be desired than hoped, considering the manifold lets that oppose against so holy a worke. But that this disagreement is well knowne, and much pleasing to the Turkes, it appeareth sufficiently by the oration of the Cardinall *Bessarion*. I will relate (saith he) the Apologue which all men know, and was rehearsed by the Sultan *Mahomet*, when one of his Councell went about to dissuade him from making war vpon the Christians. It is to be feared (these are the words in effect of that Counsellor) that the Christians hurried with our armes will all agree to war vpon vs out of a common charge. *Mahomet* answereth, Remember, that once the wolues hauing heard newes that a great crie of hounds were comming against

againſt them, whereat they began to be afraid: one of the eldeſt among them got him to the top of a hill hard by to diſcouer the comming of the hounds; and perceiuing that they were of a diuers and ſundrie haire, though otherwiſe a great number, he came downe very ioyfully, and leaping and skipping called to his companions, that they ſhould be of good cheere; for (quoth he) our enemies are ſo variable, and their faſhions and purpoſes ſo differing, that it is impoſſible they ſhould euer agree to ſet vpon vs all at once: and if they come ſome and ſome, we will eaſily worrey them, and eat them vp. Not much vnlike to this was that compariſon which *Imbraim* the Turkes Embaſſador made, ſaying, That the hearts of the Germans were like a beaſt with many heads, and more tailes: this beaſt being ſtirred, and offering to goe through a hedge, her diuers heads ſought euery one a ſeuerall hole to paſſe through; whereupon it neceſſarily followed, that neither the bodie nor the tailes could ſtirre, but were hindred from going either forwards or backwards: But the Sultan his maſter might be compared to a mightie beaſt, hauing one head and many tailes; which beaſt if it put the head into a hole, the bodie and the tailes muſt follow readily without let or ſtay. By both which tales they meant nothing elſe, but the diſſention of the hearts, and the diſtraction of the forces of Chriſtian princes; and contrariwiſe, the concord and vnited power of the Turks.

One *Hippolytus de Colli*, an excellent man, writeth thus of the Turks militarie diſcipline. It is thought that at this day the Turkes haue the aduantage of all other people, for keeping their rankes, and for ſubmitting themſelues to the diſcipline of warre: for they practiſe it ſo ſeuerely, and ſo iuſtly, that in this behalfe they are thought to ſurpaſſe the Grecians and the Romans. One ſhall neuer heare of any quarrell or fighting among them: the leaſt offence with them is death. They willingly obey their Captaines without flinching, or turning their backes, though it ſtood vpon their life. A man ſhall neuer heare any noiſe or crie in their campe; and though there be an infinite number of people, one would ſay there were not one perſon, ſo great and admirable is their ſilence: at the leaſt ſigne either of hand or eye, they are readie. They ſwimme ouer deepe riuers, clamber vp high rockes, watch and faſt long, neuer a woman or wench among them. When they are marching, they doe hurt to no bodie, for which cauſe the husbandmen neuer runne away when any of the ſouldiers come at them, nor doe they leaue the plough, or forſake their houſes, ſeeing they feare no danger or violence of that ſide. If any of them ſteale or filch ought, he is hangd for it: as a Ianizarie was, who tooke and drunke ſome of the milke that a countrey-woman was bringing to ſell at the market, without paying for it; being accuſed before the Iudge, and denying the fact, he was hangd by the feet, and ſtrained by the middle with a rope, which made him caſt vp the milke, whereupon hee was foorthwith ſtrangled to death by the Ordinance of the ſame Iudge.

Iohannes Leonclauius hath written a diſcourſe ſhewing how and by what means the Turkes are ſtrong, and how they are weake. The pillars of their power are theſe: Firſt, they glorie much in their ſuperſtition, and in the agreement that is among them for the maintaining thereof, and call themſelues *Muſulmans*, that is, *hauing the true beliefe*, as if there were no Religion in the world ſaue theirs, which is indeed but an impious and bruitiſh opinion. They boaſt much of their vnitie in opinions and ceremonies, in all places where their power is extended vnder the authoritie of the Mufti, or chiefe Biſhop. Secondly, the libertie which they graunt to the Chriſtians of commerce and trafficke into their countries, with-

without searching them for Religion, is a good helpe to vphold their greatneſſe; which Religion of theirs they maintaine very ſeuerely, forbidding diſputations: and it is neuer ſeene that Chriſtians winne many Turkes to quit their Mahometiſme; for ſo ſoone as euer they open their mouthes to that end, vpon the leaſt accuſation they die for it: contrariwiſe, the Turkes freely ſolicite the Chriſtians to Apoſtacie, and proceed therein with great affection and much cunning, whereby many turne Mahometiſts. Thirdly, theſe Barbarians are endued with politike wiſdome, which ſauors of nothing elſe but barbariſme, and which they purchaſe with vſe, and conſideration of things paſt and preſent: which diſcouereth it ſelfe in their conduct and adminiſtration, the witneſſe of their counſels and reſolutions in ſecret; the Sultan hauing his Viſiers or Counſellers with whom he conſults in the Diuano of all important affaires; ſhewing, or not ſhewing himſelfe among them, as he thinks good. Fourthly, within ſome yeares paſt there haue bene publiſhed many bookes, eſpecially the Annals and hiſtories of the Turkes, which doe teſtifie that they are remembrances made for the Common-wealth, and not to pleaſe the Sultans, whoſe faults are therein diligently marked. They are not ignorant alſo of other principall Hiſtories; for there haue been read among them of a long time the notable acts of *Alexander* the Great: but they abhorre the many ſorts of idle and vnprofitable bookes, which Europe is almoſt ouerwhelmed with, through the ignorant couetouſneſſe of the Teachers, the vaine curioſitie of the Readers, and the miſerable ambition of the writers. Fiftly, true it is that the Turkes haue no Colledges, Academies, or Vniuerſities; being content to know ſomething by vſe, hating extreamely the Pedants, the great diſcourſers that are content to wag their tongues, but hold their armes acroſſe. Friers and Monkes ſhould be vnwelcome among them: for they loue thoſe that vſe their hands and lead an actiue life, whether it be in warre or in peace. Sixtly, they eſteeme it a great matter that their gouernment is Monarchicall, all being ſubiect to one; and they haue oftentimes theſe wordes in their mouth, *One God in heauen, and one Sultan vpon earth:* and the right of their Monarchie is hereditarie, which they thinke farre more ſafe than the elective. Seuenthly, that which maintaineth their principalitie, is, that they ſeeme to haue more care thereof than of their particular: and their principall ſtudie and endeauour is armes, of which they make more account than of any other exerciſe. Eightly, they adminiſter Iuſtice to their people without acception or exception of perſons, without prolonging of ſuits, without allegation of lawes, without heapes of writings compoſed of complaints, anſweres, replications, reioynders, rebutters, ſurrebutters, &c. they reiect pleas, ſpeeches, long diſcourſes, and in few houres cleere great matters, without the ſhamefull bawling and wawling of Lawyers and Atturneys, and cauſe their decrees to be as ſpeedily executed as they are readily pronounced. Ninthly, their men of warre are ſure to be well recompenced if they behaue themſelues valiantly; as contrariwiſe they are vndone if they commit any cowardiſe, or performe not the dutie required of them: the puniſhments are rigorous, the rewards honourable, as they may very well be in ſo large an Empire. Tenthly, another pillar of their ſtate, is the number of their Souldiers and Captaines, well faſhioned for the war, with ſtrong fortreſſes and places: by meanes whereof they eaſily impeach and repreſſe the mutinies of the people. Eleuenthly, they maintaine themſelues by rigor, hauing to deale with people and nations vneaſie to be tamed, & with their violence they mingle many policies, in the exerciſe whereof they go beyond (welneer) all other countries. The twelfth and laſt principall ſtay of the Turkiſh great-

greatneſſe, and which they brag moſt of, is, their militarie practiſe conſiſting in three things, money, munition, and armes; of which they haue had no want hitherto, whenſoeuer they would put into the field: Foot-men and horſe-men neuer faile them, but they haue too many by thouſands. And when they are to rig a Fleet, they ſoone find Mariners and Souldiers to fill their veſſels, whom they keepe in ſeuere diſcipline: yea, euen the men of warre that bee ſtrangers refuſe not to helpe them if they be required, namely, thoſe that border neere vnto them; and at this day the Tartars are halfe Turks.

Now let vs ſee their weakneſſe. Firſt, their pretended vnitie and league in the matter of Religion is nothing; for they are full of ſects, of which the Perſian vnder the Sophie is the chiefeſt, who hath greatly weakned them by warres not long ſince. I ſpeake not of the perillous ſeditions hapning of late yeares in the Turkiſh empire, vnder pretence of religion, namely in Ægypt, Arabia, Soria, and Africa. There be at this day a million of men, which vnder pretence of a more exquiſit kind of Mahometiſme, labour to ſhake off the yoke of the Turkiſh tyrannie, which indeed is moſt inſupportable to men that haue any feeling or iudgement. Secondly, if a man conſider the Chriſtians among the Greeks, Seruians, Bulgarians, Armenians, Georgians, Maronites, Iacobites, and others, as well in Europe as in Aſia, their number is greater without compariſon, than the number of the Turks: ſo that by their helpe the other Chriſtians might ſubdue the Mahumetiſts, which they had done ere this, if the victory woon in the Sea-battell in the gulfe of Lepanto had been proſecuted. I omit an infinit number of ſlaues among them readie to cut their cruell maſters throats, if occaſion were offered: ſo that a man may ſay, that the State of the Turkes is a wall that totters, and there wants but one puſh to giue it the ouerthrow. Thirdly, this profane nation, poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of blaſpemie againſt the Sonne of God (a ſlaue to *Mahomet*, the moſt execrable Impoſter that can be imagined, witneſſe his Alcoran, hauing neither eſtate Eccleſiaſticall, nor Politicall, nor domeſticall worthie of ſuch a title, but defiled and ſoiled moſt ſhamefully both before God and his Church) hath now ſtood a thouſand yeares, with many ſucceſſefull fortunes, and thoſe very great in reſpect of the world, it being the matter which the diuine Iuſtice hath made vſe of for the breaking in peeces of one part of the Weſt, and of the greateſt part of the Eaſt. Theſe prophane wretches confeſſe that their domination ſhall not laſt much more than a thouſand yeares; and they ſay, that *Mahomet* their falſe prophet told his followers ſo by certaine ſignes a little before his death: for as they talked with him of the continuance of the ſuperſtition and rule wherof he had laid the foundations, he put foorth his two hands, and laid abroad the ten fingers: which his principall diſciples interpreted at firſt ten yeares: but they being paſt, they ſtretched the tearme to a hundred yeares: and when thoſe were expired, they concluded that euery finger ſignified a hundred yeares. Many Armenians knew thus much from the Turkes themſelues, who haue oftentimes told it to the Chriſtians. Fourthly, there are other preſages more certaine and neerer at hand of ſome great change of this tyrannous power, and that ere it be long, to wit, the declining of the authoritie, wiſdome, and direction of the principall Counſellers in that State, couetous and faithleſſe bribings hauing crept in among them infinit wayes within ſome few yeares; a thing both ſeene and knowne to thoſe that doe giue heed therevnto: from whence enſue diuers factions among the Baſhaes and Counſellers, and the contemning of the people. Fiftly, their Sultans grow dull, doers of nothing, diſſolute, plunging themſelues in effeminate and ſhamefull delights,

ſeruants

seruants to the Gouernors of the prouinces,& to the Counsell,who rule them at their pleasure,so that now they serue but for a shadow and a cifer. Sixthly,they haue of a long time dispenst with themselues for breaking the publike Faith solemnly promised; men without shame,noted of extreame wilfull perfidie, and right disciples of *Machiauel*, whereof the Historie of Hungarie (among other) might furnish notable examples: as also their owne Historie, especially within these two hundred yeares. None,either great or small, Christian or other,hath had any recourse to them for fauour,succour,or reliefe,but he hath repented it first or last. In a word, This Turkish court is a Rock, against which an infinite number of ships haue beene dasht and wrakt. Seuenthly, to their cautelous treacherie they haue ioyned a desperate impudencie, seconded with bloodie floutings, with terrible despightings, with murthers and massacres, and next with an insolent hatred of their owne subiects and vassals, yea of their Tributaries whom they handle like slaues,vilifying and scorning them most vnworthily,a thing well knowne to the Vayuods of Transyluania,Moldauia,and Valachia: For,they durst neuer come neere the Turke to kisse his hand, till they had put off their hats, and couered their heads with the turban of the Boluc-bassars,who are the captaines of the Ianissaries,apparelled like Free-booters and men of no qualitie. Their perfidie towards the confederats is in this sort: In striking leagues,they receiue, and promise to receiue at a certaine time,certaine presents of the same confederats, saying, That they must not come to the great lord and his principall officers,but with their hands full; such a present they call *Dost luct*,that is, *The honourable guift of a friend:* but among themselues they name it *Haratzum*, that is, *Tribute:* and after that, they doe not expect it modestly as sent from friends,but exact it shamefully as comming from Tributaries. Eightly,to the contempt of God and men, they ioyne a couetousnesse, the basest that one can imagin,especially among the greater sort,with whom all things are vendible: in so much as a man may say,That Turkie would soone change her master, if she could finde a buyer. Ninthly, their counsell seemes to be composed of men of great authoritie; but they are all seruile wits, inconstant, and turning with euerie wind. They desire nothing, but to applaud their master, and his principall Counseller; and if any Bassaes be in credit(as *Hebraim* and *Sinan* haue beene in our time) there is nothing spoken but what pleaseth them: so that it is commonly seene,that the will of one or two in that Soueraigntie, giueth the motion to all affaires both of war and peace. Tenthly, their arrogant ouerweening will spoile them: For that head and those members doe so presume of their forces,as they thinke nothing impossible for them. From hence proceed those sudden deliberations and violent executions that we read of in their Histories, whose beginnings are by them qualified holy, iust, necessarie, easie to prosecute,done purposely,confidently,and with little charge: But time discouereth that all the same were builded vpon nothing but rashnesse, that there was nothing but profanitie, iniustice, and ambition in their thoughts: That (according to the prouerbe) they embarkt themselues without bisket, hoist sailes at all aduenture, and ran headlong against the next Rock, to their owne shame, with infinite losse,without all profit or pleasure: And this the war with Persia (among other) hath plainely shewed. Eleauenthly,for a more speciall testimonie of their insatiable couetousnesse, their countrey is molested with great and rough exactions: and euerie day they inuent new,abolishing by little and little all priuiledges and exemptions, so that they, who in former times were free, finde no longer franchise nor assurance. Twelfthly,so many disorders, and an infinite

infinite number of other, which it is needlesse now to touch, make the Ianissaries, Spahilars, and other men of war, the Priests, Turkes and others to murmur, complaine, mutin now in one prouince, now in another against the Sultan, whom they hate and curse not onely because of all this, but especially for that they see nothing but appearances of greater confusions in the gouernment both publike and priuate: which disposeth them to a marueilous commotion and insurrection, when the time of Gods iudgements vpon that Empire shall begin to shew it selfe.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Turkes Ianissaries.

HIstorians are of diuers opinions touching the name, order, and first institution of them. We will follow the opinion of *Leonclauius*, who attributeth the first beginning and institution of the Ianissaries to *Murat* the first, after he had conquered *Andrinople* about the yeare 1363. Then did the Sultans of the Turks begin to take for themselues (and so haue continued euer since) the fifth part of all the bootie taken in war; and, as if the same had beene done by some Oracle and Diuine commandement, there was a custome brought in, That out of the slaues, the faireſt boies should be chosen out for the Sultan, which being so chosen and culled out were carried to the court of *Murat*, and there presented to him: and then caused them to be transported into Natolia, and to be distributed among the Turkes, there to be trained vp in armes, in labour, and in learning of the Turkish language. After the end of two or three yeares, according as they were instructed and made fashionable, they were brought to the Court, to be enrold among the Ianissaries (who are harquebuziers a foot) and euer since they haue retained this name, which signifieth new or yong souldiers. *Sabellicus* is of the same opinion, adding further, That they are chosen from ten yeares old to fifteene: And that, if there be no prisoners, the Commissaries doe take some out of the prouinces conquered vpon the Christians, and carrie them away whither their parents will or no. They turne them first from Christianitie, bewitching them with the superstition of *Mahomet*, and then deliuer them ouer to certaine men that fashion them to armes, and instruct them in the Militarie discipline: and so being growne expert they follow the Sultan to the war, and are called Ianissaries. If there be any among them of generous and quick spirit, they are preferred to offices and charges by diuers kinds of degrees, and come at last to be gouernors of fortresses, and cities, and prouinces: the rest are either in garrisons, or guarding the Sultans doore, whom they attend whensoeuer he marcheth. In the war he is in the midst of a squadron of Ianissaries of choice. The compleat number of these Ianissaries is about twelue thousand: and there is not any great village, towne, or citie, but it hath some of them, either more or lesse, which doe serue to maintaine peace and quietnesse, and to keepe leaud persons from offring wrong to the Iewes and Christians. They goe in gownes that reach to their anckles, and vpon their head they were a Manch or Sleeue, whereof they put on some part, the rest hanging downe behind their neck. It hath on the fore-part, a long case of siluer and guilt, garnisht with some counterfeit jewells, and stones of small value, and within the same a plume of feathers made fast.

In his Annals of Turkie, *cap.35.*

The lord of Busbeck doth describe this institution of the Ianissaries more exactly

In his booke of the way how to war against the Turke.

exactly and particularly than any others doe, as followeth. The Sultan of the Turkes sends men euerie yeare into diuers prouinces, to require and carrie away of euerie three or foure children that are borne of Christians, one. Being brought in troupes to Constantinople, such of them as haue the best grace, and promise alreadie some generous disposition, are retain'd for domesticks to serue the Sultan, or some of the Bassas, or some of the other Gouernors. The rest are carried into a certaine place where are a great multitude of men, especially of paisants and countrey-men. They desire the Commissioner, that they may haue such of those children as they like best: he takes for euerie one the value of a Ducket, registring both the age, and diuers marks of the child, whereby he may be knowne all his life-time after. Then is it lawfull for that man, be he citisen or clowne, to carrie the child beyond-sea into Asia or into any other part of the world where he dwelleth, to make him worke as his slaue so long as he can stand. The child hath for his nourishment bread and water, sometimes a little water-gruell, fruits, or hearbs for his pitance. He is meanely apparelled, only to defend him from the iniurie of the weather. He is instructed in the ceremonies and superstition of Mahumetisme. Thus being depriued of all delights, remooued far from all embracings of his parents, and hopelesse of euer seeing them againe, he growes strong, of an able bodie, and readie to endure any paines. If need require, the Sultan sends to haue him againe from his master to be emploied in the wars: so as out of this Seminarie they fill vp the leagions of the Ianissaries, when they either die or grow vnprofitable for armes. Being enrolled, his pay is a ducket and a halfe by the moneth: For they thinke that ynough for a new souldier. Yet, least he might be driuen to some great necessitie, he hath his diet gratis in the Cambrado to which he belongs, vpon condition that he dresse the meat, and serue his fellowes. The most expert in that Cambrado for the managing of armes, doth traine and fashion him in the affaires of the war, shewing vnto him by continuall exercises how he ought to handle his weapons.

Now although the Ianissaries be euen from their yong yeares brought vp and retained like slaues in great awe and seuere discipline, yet with in these few yeares they haue plaid strange parts of obstinacie and rebellion, euen to the forcing of their Sultan to condescend to strange and shamefull conditions. The lord of Busbeck reporteth to this purpose, that certaine Ianissaries hauing hurt some of his men and he to buy their peace being forced besides to giue them a sum of money, *Rustan Bassa* sent him word to rid himselfe cleanely of those mad-braines: for he knew how such fellowes did so domineere that in the time of war *Solyman* himselfe could not rule them, but was sore afraid of them. It may then easily come to passe (as it fell out in old times among the Romans) that these captaines and souldiers of the guard will trouble the Turkish Empire, and transfer it to some others whom they shall chuse at their pleasure, yea, and sell the State to him that will giue most for it. By which meanes, that which was inuented for the keeping thereof, will turne to the ruin of it. It is long agoe since *Claude de Seissel* did fore-tell some such thing, after others; namely, That the destruction of the power of the Turkes should come from that ordinance which the Sultans haue thought to be the strongest prop of their Empire, and whereof they haue made happie proofe vntill this present. The institution of the Ianissaries (saith he) is a barbarous and cruell inuention: It will one day be the ouerthrew and destruction of the Empire of the Turkes. For such souldiers, tired with bearing that tyrannicall yoake, will rise vp and share it in peeces among them: and the rather for that they possesse nothing, and maintaine themselues

Lib. 2. de re-pub. Franc.

selues but meanely with their wages. *Leonclauius* obserueth the same, when he writeth how these Ianizaries transported with rage, slew *Ramandan* the Bassa or Gouernour of Tripoly, without any respect either of his dignitie, or of their Sultan, who had placed him in such a charge. Hee addeth further, the Sultan *Murat* could neuer hitherto haue reason of this murder committed vpon his Lieutenant, as his authoritie required: which is not to be marueiled at, because wee must not now seeke for that obedience and discipline among the Turkes, which hath been seene among them in former ages. He annexeth another example of a strange mutinie among the Ianizaries, who a few yeares since slew *Achmet Bassa*, Beglerbeg or Gouernour of Cyprus, with his people, within Famagusta. *Murat* extreame angrie at this bold part, sent another to succeed *Achmet* with ten galleyes, enioyning him to entrap the murderers by some fine sleight, and to see round Iustice executed vpon them: But the Ianizaries preuented him, cut his throat, and the throats of all his souldiers, and seized vpon the ten galleys to their owne vse. Whereupon *Leonclauius* concludeth, That though *Murat* was terribly mooued with this second fault of the Ianizaries, violating and vilifying his Maiestie so villanously: yet because his affaires in the warre of Persia were very much disioynted, thinking it best to shut his eyes for that time, least he should raise a new tempest, and a ciuile war, he enterprised no more matter against them.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Pagans deuout and profane.

ALthough the Pagans for the most part haue either mocked the doctrine of the immortalitie of mans soule, or haue made a doubt of it: yet (for all that) a great many of them haue receiued it for most certaine, and I thinke (if I may bee so bold as to speake it) some of this number haue had some feeling and knowledge of the article of the resurrection of the bodie, as a man may gather by some of their arguments and lessons (if at least they be not new forged) according to the opinions of diuers men: Insomuch as I haue wondred many times, how it could be, that in such profound darknesse of the ignorance of God, in which those men were plunged, they could haue a cleere insight into an article of such high consequence, by the onely helpe of humane wisdome. *Plato* instructed in the Pythagoricall sect, propounded the *Metempsychosis*, that is to say, the passage of the soule from one bodie to another, which the Pharisees (who came and intruded themselues into the Iewish Church, to the hinderance of the celestiall doctrine) borrowed of the Pythagorians, as *Iosephus* witnesseth, and the Manichees did the like afterwards in the Christian Church, as *Ruffinus* saith in his Ecclesiasticall Historie. *Theopompus* also writeth, that *Zoroastres* held opinion, That all men should one day take life againe. *M. Varro* and *Plinie* make mention of many raised againe after their decease: and that which we read of *Auiola*, of *Corfidius*, and of *Gabinius* is most memorable. *Suidas* recordeth in his Recuels of Histories, that *Æsope* was so highly in fauour with the gods, that he reuiued after he was dead, as did also *Tyndareus*, *Hercules*, and *Glaucus*. Moreouer *Zeno* the Stoick taught, that there was a Hell, and that the good did remaine in places apart from the wicked: that the good dwelt in peacefull and pleasant countries; but that the wicked were tormented in places of darknesse, and in horrible bottomlesse pits full of mire and filthinesse. *Socrates* was not ignorant

Lib. 1. *cap.* 17. In his Fragments. *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 22.

of these things, when as he, making as though he directed his speech to *Anytus* and *Melitus* his false accusers, said to his Iudges, *Anytus* and *Melitus* may kill me, but they cannot hurt me. *Plutarch* setteth downe his opinion more fully herein, whereby one may gather that this man had great knowledge in the doctrine of heauenly Philosophie: *Hee* (saith *Plutarch*) *that hath neuer so little knowledge of the nature of the Soule, and discourseth and considereth with himselfe, that when death commeth, hee changeth this life for a better, or (at least) not for a worse; surely it is a great meane for him to entertaine rest and tranquilitie into his soule, so as it shall not need to feare death.* And a little after he addeth (answering *Menander*, who had written, that *No man liuing could say, This shall neuer befall mee*) *Yet for all that* (saith he) *this wee may say, So long as I liue, I will neuer doe this, I will neuer lie, I will neuer deceiue, I will neuer falsifie my faith, I will neuer circumuent any man.*

In his treatise of the contentment or rest of the mind.

Wee will not for the present stand any longer vpon such opinions, but propound a few memorable inscriptions of some of the profane Pagans. *Sardanapalus*, a mightie king of Assyria, plunged in beastly pleasures like a Sow wallowing in the mire, shewed himselfe most profane of all others. To omit his bruitish life, which was a loathsome and perpetuall dissolution, his sepulchre shall suffice vs for the present: vpon the same was an Image cut, clad like a woman, holding her right hand ouer her head with some of the fingers close, after the fashion of those that would giue a fillip: and by the same these wordes in substance, written (as *Athenæus* hath gathered them out of *Aristobulus*:) Sardanapalus, *the sonne of* Anacyndaraxes, *hath builded Anchiala and Tarsus in one day. Eat, drinke, and be merrie. The rest is not worth a fillip with the finger.* As if he would haue said, A fig for all the rest.

Lib. 12. of his Dipnosophists.

Strabo setteth foorth certaine verses of the Poet *Cherilus*, added to the same inscription, the substance whereof is this:

In his Geograph.

Knowing thy selfe mortall, embrace with liuely cheere
All pleasures thou canst see, abandoning all feare:
For after thou art gone, all ioy is gone with thee.
I once held all the world obedient vnto me,
But now all that I am is but a little dust,
And of all my great wealth nought else remaineth iust,
But that which I haue eat; that sticketh by me still;
Which may a lesson bee to all men euery where,
That they may wish to be such as I would they were.

Cicero reporteth, that *Aristotle* lighting one day vpon this sepulchre and inscription, suddenly stayed, and hauing read one part therof, said, *This should haue beene written vpon the graue of a beast, not vpon the tombe of a king.* But reading the last verses, he began to laugh, adding, *Hee braggeth to haue that dead which hee had not aliue, but so long as hee was thrusting it downe his throat.* *Plutarch* maketh mention of the same in these tearmes; *Dionysius the tyrant said, That wee should deceiue children with Dice and Cock-alls, and men with Oathes.* And vpon the tombe of *Sardanapalus* was engrauen;

Lib. 5. quæst. Tuscul.

Lib. 1. of the fortune and vertue of Alexander.

Of all I had, there now is left me nothing,
But what I ate, drunke, guzled, got with whoring.

This filthie king was followed afterwards by a great many profane men and wicked Atheists, who also desired that all posteritie might know it. *Appian* telleth of one that lieth buried in the head citie of the kingdome of Arragon. His inscription is this: QVO VADAM NESCIO. INVITVS MORIOR. VALETE POSTHVMI. M. POSTHVMIVS EQVES. There is the like to be seene at Rome in a Notaries house, called *Peter Chiaueluccio*, in these words: DIS MANIBVS

SEXTI

SEXTI PERPENÆ FIRMI. VIXI QVEMADMODVM VOLVI. QVARE MORTVVS SVM NESCIO. There is another neere to the place of the Iewes in these words; IVLIA B. PRISCA VIX. ANN. XXVI. NIHIL VNQVAM PECCAVIT NISI QVOD MORTVA EST. At this day there is to be seene at Padua the Epitaph of *Pætus*, hard by Saint *Thomas* Church in these words: MER. S. D. POPILIVS PÆTVS GN. LABEF. POETA, COS. DESIG. FRATRI SVO B. M. F. HVNC SOMNO ÆTERNALI PATRIA RETINET. And in the citie of Bresse there is another to be seene, such; D. M. QVI ME VOLENT. VALETE MATRONÆ MATRESQVE FAMILIAS. VIXI ET VLTRA VITAM NIHIL CREDIDI ME VENERI ALVMNÆ ADDIXI. QVOS POTVI PELLEXI PHILTRIS ET ASTV. VIRO HVMATO NON VIDVA FVI NEC MARITI NOMEN ADEPTA. QVÆSO NON INVIDETE. PORTIA FAMILIA EST VENERIS DOMVS ILLICIVM CVPIDINVM. CAVE VIATOR NE ME DIV CALCATAM CALCES. To all these profane Epitaphs sauouring of Atheisme, we may adde the verses which *Adrian* the emperor made a little before he died, saith *Ælius Spartianus*: which declare the miserable perplexitie of this prince ignorant of the true Religion, and of his owne saluation; yet otherwise verie carefull of the worship of his gods, and the establishing of their seruice. These be the plaints and meditations which he makes to his soule:

Minion Soule, poore wanton thing! Animula, vagula, blandula,
The bodies gueſt, my deareſt darling! Hospes, comesque corporis,
To what places art thou going Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Naked, miserable, trembling, Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Reauing mee of all the ioy Nec, ut soles, dabis ioca.
Which by thee I did enioy?

It appeareth then, that many Pagans haue not onely liued in blind forgetfulnesse, proud ignorance, and profane contempt of the life to come, and in beastly and desperat impietie, which Almightie God bare with, through his wonderfull patience and long suffring: but they haue also thought, that the best way to make themselues renowmed and immortall, was, to leaue to posteritie the ayduring markes and tokens of their Atheisme: for euen the Philosopher *Aristoxenus* did not sticke to maintaine (as writeth *Lactantius*) That the soule of man was a matter of nothing, no not while it liues in the bodie; but euen as the tuned strings of an instrument make a certaine accord, which the Musicians call Harmonie, so in the bodies of men the meeting together of the entrailes, and the vigor of the members bring foorth the vertue, and faculties of the inward and outward sences: Such an errour, as there cannot bee found a more ridiculous, or that is voider of reason. But this is more to be wondred at, that among the people of God, the Saducees, corrupted with the Philosophie of the Grecians, were of such affinitie with the Epicures and other profane fellowes, that they durst impugne, and that publikely, the doctrine concerning the resurrection of the flesh, and deny that there were either Angels or Spirits: and yet (for all that) were so desperate in their impietie, as to haue themselues called Iust, or Iusticiaries, as the name of Sadducee importeth. How many such monsters are there at this day among the Christians, that oppose themselues against the truth of the articles of the faith, and labour to abolish out of the hearts of those that heare them, all apprehension of euerlasting life and death? *M. Antonius Zimara*, a learned Philosopher of Italie asked this question, Why Priests and Monkes are more afraid of death than any other men? And answering it himselfe, saith, That it is either for that they are of a lumpish melancholy nature, or

 because

Lib. 7. cap. 13.

In the 50 Probleme.

In his Recuell of histories.

becauſe they beleeue that their bodies and ſoules are then vndone, not knowing what ſhall become of them after death. Saint *Auguſtin* ſaith, That the Manichees denied the reſurrection of the fleſh, and in ſteed thereof imagined a tranſmigration of ſoules out of ſome bodies into other, ſpecially of thoſe that one had loued, or put to death: as for example, if any man had kild a Flie or a Mouſe, after his death he ſhould become a Flie or a Mouſe. Moreouer, as error groweth into folly, they imagined that there was a change of the condition, ſo that the rich became poore, and the poore rich. This opinion made ſuch braineleſſe fooles to abſtaine eating of fleſh, thinking it a crime to taſt of any thing that had life; for feare (quoth *Tertullian* flouting them) that ſome one eating a morcell, ſhould bite the ſhoulder or the thigh of his great grandfather.

But what is there more monſtrous or abſurd among true Chriſtians than ſuch an opinion, or what comfort ſhould remaine for them, if after ſo many vexations the hope of the bleſſed life were taken from them? Therefore Saint *Ignatius* ſaid verie well after the Apoſtle, *That if our confidence in Chriſt did not exceed the bounds of this preſent life, we were of all men the moſt miſerable. If the dead riſe not againe, what difference ſhall we obſerue betweene vs, and betweene dogs and aſſes, which without any apprehenſion of the future time, haue no care but of their feeding and beaſtly pleaſure, being deſtitute of reaſon, the guide of the vnderſtanding?* To this agreeth the doctrine of *Chryſoſtome*, *When you ſhall ſee* (ſaith he) *the iuſt man preſſed downe tormented with ſickneſſe, and end the courſe of this preſent life vnder the burden of infinite other aduerſities, ſay in your ſelfe, If there were no reſurrection and laſt iudgement, God would neuer haue ſuffred that this good man, which hath ſuffred ſo many miſeries, and enioyed no iot of proſperitie ſhould in this ſort depart out of the world. Whereby appeareth, that he hath prepared for the good another life ſweeter and more deſirable than the preſent. For otherwiſe how ſhould this hang togither, That he who is iuſt, and ſo accounted, who rewardeth euerie man according to his workes, ſhould endure that wicked men ſhould remaine vnpuniſhed, after they haue paſſed this life in all iollitie and pleaſure; and that many iuſt ſhould be afflicted here with infinite miſeries?* The ſame *Chryſoſtome* ſaith alſo in another place, *That the goodneſſe of God hath ordained, That there ſhould be combats and troubles in this preſent life: and that the euerlaſting life ſhould be full of crownes and rewards of good workes: and that the troubles ſhould be of a ſhort continuance.*

1. *Cor.* 15. 19.

In his Epiſtle to thoſe of *Tarſus.*

In his Treatiſe of Sickneſſe.

Furthermore, the deuill is not content to impugne this article of the reſurrection, as we haue ſhewed; but alſo vnder a ſpeciall pretence would perſuade men, that if they would reiect the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and follow their fooliſh inuentions, they ſhould neuer die. To this effect he vſed the ſeruice (when time was) of a Samaritan called *Menander*, who tearmed himſelfe a Sauiour, ſaying, That he was ſent downe from heauen, and from the inuiſible worlds, for the ſaluation of men. This deceiuer taught, That no man might ouercome the Angels, Creators of the world, except he were firſt inſtructed in his Magick and Diſcipline, and indued with his Baptiſme. He promiſed to his diſciples eternall life in this life, where they ſhould neuer waxe old, nor change, prouided they kept alwaies with him. Thus writeth *Euſebius*, who reporteth many things touching *Menander* gathered out of *Iuſtin Martyr*, in theſe words, *We haue knowne a certaine Samaritan called* Menander, *borne in a village named Capparatea, a diſciple of* Simon, *gouerned with wicked ſpirits, and reſident in Antioch, where by his magicall illuſions he ſeduced many, making his followers beleeue that they ſhould neuer die. There be ſome yet aliue, that affirme all this of him. The purpoſe of the deuill was to defame (by the meanes of magick, and of theſe deceiuers, hating the Chriſtian name) the great myſterie of godlineſſe; and to vndermine the doctrine receiued and taught in the Church touching*

Hiſt. Eccleſ. *cap.* 26.

touching the immortalitie of the ſoule, and the reſurrection of the dead. But they that haue adhered to ſuch falſe Chriſts, are fallen from the hope of ſaluation. For others, when Sathan ſaw he could not turne them away from the ſincere affection which they bare towards the Sonne of God, he fell vpon thoſe which he found wauering, and halting of both feet, and ſeiſed vpon them as his owne. The ſame *Euſebius* writeth, That there aroſe others in Arabia, which ſaid, that the ſoules die in this preſent life, and rot with the bodies, but that at the laſt day they ſhall both riſe againe. *Lib. 7. cap. 17. of his Eccleſ. Hiſt.*

Let vs come againe to our Pagans. There be ſome found of a quite contrarie ſtraine to thoſe we haue deſcribed before, of whom we read verie honourable teſtimonies, and which ſeeme to declare a certaine hope of the life to come. At Rome there are to be ſeene engrauen in a certaine Vrne theſe verſes following.

D. D. S.

Vrna breuis geminum quamuis tenet iſta cadauer,
Attamen in cælo ſpiritus vnus adeſt.
Viximus vnanimes Luciuſque *&* Flauius: *Idem*
Senſus, amor, ſtudium, vita duobus erat.

That is to ſay,

The aſhes of two bodies this Pot here doth encloſe,
But yet one ſoule to Heauen is gon, there to repoſe.
We Lucius *and* Flauius, *while we did liue, were one,*
One will, one loue, one liking, one life we had alone.

In the ſame citie of Rome one may read theſe other following, in a table of Marble.

Aulus Palateina Egnatius Priſcillianus
Arte ſuper gemina nobilis & ſophia,
Dum vixi, didici quæ more quæ Vita homini eſſet:
Aeterna vnde animæ gaudia percipio.

There is at Verona the ſepulchre of one called *Felicianus*, which is inſerted among the antiquities of *Petrus Appianus*. I cannot tell whither it ought to be reckoned for ancient, becauſe it hath beene told me that the race of the *Felicians* is yet remayning in honour there. Such is the inſcription:

Mihimet Felicianus *Veronen. Sacrum Conſt. qui inquietus viuus, nunc tandem mortuus non lubens quieſco. Solus cur ſim quæris? vt in die cenſorio ſine impedimento facilius reſurgam.*

That is to ſay,

I Felicianus *a Veronian haue my ſelfe made mine Epitaph. Who aliue hauing neuer beene in quiet, now at laſt dead, am not willingly in reſt. Doſt thou aske why I am alone? That at Doomes-day I may riſe againe the more eaſily and without let.*

At Rome we may read another, and it is this:

D. M.

Aurelio Balbo, *vita integerrimo moribuſque ornato, qui ſe quietioris perfectioriſque vitæ deſiderio, ex negocijs ciuilibus, in quibus fuerat cum laude verſatus, Iouis Op. Max. beneficio ducto hic in ſpe reſurrectionis quieſcenti locus publicè datus eſt.*

That is to say,

The people haue giuen a place to Aurelius Balbus *a man of vnreproueable life, and vertuous; who desiring a more peacefull and perfect life, by fauour of the most good and most great* Iupiter, *hath beene retired from ciuile affaires, wherein he emploied himselfe with great honour, and here he resteth in hope of the Resurrection.*

To these a man may adde the Epitaph set vpon the base of the image of *Attilius*, a learned man borne at Como, where he died:

Morborum vitia, & vitæ mala maxima fugi,
Nunc careo pœnis, pace fruor placida.

That is to say,

The bodies hurt I fled, all Vice I did detest,
Now free from greefe and paine I liue in pleasant rest.

This moreouer is worth the obseruation, that in the most ancient tombes there be some things which doe shew, that among the Pagans, as there are some found that haue mocked the immortalitie of the Soule, so there be some others that haue held it a certaine and doubtlesse thing: for we see commonly grauen in Marble and in Brasse, without any inscription at all, doores halfe open, or shut. The halfe open shew, that the dead were perswaded that death was a passage out of this life into the other: the shut signifie, they had a meaning that the bodie and soule perished both together. I was taught this by a very learned man, and studious in Antiquitie within Rome, where I haue seene one of these ancient monuments in the Capitoll, in the palace of the Conseruators, as it is tearmed. There is a table of Marble, within the which is very artificially grauen a house, in the middest whereof appeareth a doore halfe open. I haue seene another of the like in the mount Cælius, not far from the entring into S. *Iohns* of Lateran. In this table one may perceiue a man starke naked, entring in at a doore standing betweene open and shut, which it seemeth hee would set wide open. There is a third almost like to those at Florence, hard by the great Church. To these engrauings we may referre the inscriptions of *Trebia*, noted by *Poliphilus*, of which we haue made mention in some other place. These Pagans (I speake of the lesse ignorant) which had the vse of many good precepts of the auncient Sages, and followed superstition yet without cleauing thereunto, might well draw out of the Bookes of *Moses*, and some other Bookes of the Bible, translated into Greeke by the Septuagints (when *Ptolemeus Philodelphus* was king of Ægypt, in the yeare of the world 3694, according to *Iosephus*) some instructions and resolutions touching the article of the Resurrection of the flesh. And that it is so, one may gather by the oration which the Emperour *Constantinus* made to the Bishops assembled at Nice, where he saith among other things: Pythagoras, *that made profession of modestie and of silence aboue all other Philosophers, shall hee found a lyer, in that he saith, he learned in Ægypt by diuine reuelation that which he taught awhile after in Italie: considering, that the Prophets had propounded and set foorth all that long before.* *Bodin* in his Method of Histories, reporteth out of the Commentarie of *Simplicius*, that *Aristotle* wrote to the Philosopher *Calisthenes*, praying him to search the Antiquities and writings of the Chaldeans, whilest the armie of *Alexander* should take the spoyle of Babylon: and that *Calisthenes* wrote back vnto him, That after diligent search made, he had found a Historie of one thousand foure hundred and three yeares; a number that agreeth exactly with the Historie of *Moses*, and of *Philo*, if we reascend from *Alexander* vnto the time that the sonnes of *Noah* were dispersed ouer the sundrie parts of the

In his Antiquities, *lib. 2. cap. 2.*

Lib. 1. de Cœlo.

the earth, and the sonnes of *Sem* began to people Asia. From the wise obseruations of the Ancients haue proceeded (by succession of time) many good Imperiall Constitutions inserted into the bodie of the Ciuile Law, That none should remooue or trouble the bones of persons that rest in the earth, and that none should take them away from thence but by commaundement of the higher powers. *Titul. de religios. & sumpt. fun.*

But leauing the Heathen Philosophers, who being drenched in the fables of Greece and of Ægypt, thinke that their bruitishnesse is the full measure of Science, saieth *Lactantius* in his Institutions; either not comprehending throughly that which they know, or talking fondly or proudly, becausse they make account to know that which they are ignorant of. It is a wonder that the inhabitants of the West India (a bruitish kind of people, and the most horrible Idolaters that can bee) should haue not onely some tast and feeling of the immortalitie of the soule, but also of the resurrection of bodies: which the ceremonies of their burying doe demonstrate; as also the prayers which they commonly make to the Spaniards, diuing into sepulchres in hope to to find gold and siluer, That they would not take away or cast foorth the bones of the dead, that they may rise againe so much the more readily and easily; as the Spanish Historians affirme. Besides these *Thomas Hariot* writing of the inhabitants of Virginia (a countrie discouered not long since by the English) ioyned to America towards the North, saith, That these poore idolaters beleeue the immortalitie of the soule, and hold, that presently after it is seperated from the bodie it is carried (according to the workes that it hath done) either into the habitation of the gods, there to be happie for euer; or into a great and deepe pit which they thinke to be verie far from thence, at the worlds end towards the West, and they call this place *Popoguſſo*, there to burne for euer in a fire that shall neuer be quenched. In like manner *Hariot* reporteth some examples of those whom they hold to haue returned from death to life. *Osorius* writeth, That the East Indies of Narsinga beleeue the immortalitie of the soule, and that after this present life, the iudgement of God hath ordained rewards for the good, and punishments for the wicked. *Benzo* reporteth, That the father of *Attabalipa* king of Peru, was so beloued and honoured of his subiects in his life time, that yet at this present they mourne for him, and hold for certaine that he must rise againe speedily, and returne to gouerne the countrey. He lies buried within the liberties of Quito (where also the sepulchres of his predecessors are) with a huge quantitie of gold and siluer wrought into the forme of men, of women, and of sundrie sorts of beasts and fishes. The Spaniards haue done all that they could by torturing and tormenting the Indians, to know where his sepulchre might be: but they could neuer bring them to tell it, nor they will neuer shew it, though they should be all kild one after another. If the Spaniards should meet with such sepulchres as that of *Semiramis* was, the mightie queene of the East, perhaps they would be better aduised, and would not so boldly dig into tombes, nor so vnworthily ransack the bones of the dead, in hope of finding gold among them. She caused to be grauen vpon her tombe these words; *Whatsouer king he be that shall find want of money, let him open this graue, and there take whatsoeuer he needeth.* Darius, *a couetous Prince, reading those words caused the sepulchre to be opened, but found no money there; but onely another writing containing in effect this that followeth: If thou wert not wicked, and seised with insatiable couetousnesse, thou wouldst neuer ransack the tombes of the dead.* A most pleasant reproach and controlling of the wolfe-like hunger after riches. *Lib. 6. cap. 18.* *August. Zarat. Lib. 1. of the hist. of Peru.* *Benzo lib 3. cap. 20. of the Hist. of the New world.* In the hist. of Portugal, *li. 4.* *Lib 3. cap. 5.*

Touching

Touching the manner of burying the bodies of the dead with iewels of gold and siluer, it was a thing vsuall among the ancient Romans, as appeareth by the answer of *Vlpianus* the Lawyer, which forbiddeth such excesse, in these tearmes, *There must no Iewels nor other precious things bee interred with bodies, as the simple people vse to doe.* *Iohn de Lery* in his voyage to America, the sixteenth chapter hath these words, speaking of the sauage Americans: They doe not onely beleeue the immortalitie of soules, but also firmely hold, that after the death of the bodie, their soules that haue liued vertuously (that is, in their meaning that haue well reuenged themselues, and eaten many of their enemies) goe away behind high mountaines, within goodly gardens (these be the Elisian fields of the Pagans) where they daunce with the soules of their grand-fathers: and contrariwise, that the soules of the dissolute and lazie, that haue made no reckoning to defend their countrey, go with *Aygnan*, so they call the deuill in their language; with whom (say they) they shall be tormented incessantly.

In l. & si quis. §. non oportet. De religi. & sumpt. fun. & in l. fin. §. fin. de auro & argento legat.

CHAP. XVIII.

The consideration of this Sentence, Doe not that to another, which thou wilt not haue another should doe to thee.

IT is reported, that the Emperor *Alexander Seuerus* tooke so great delight in this sentence vttered by our Sauiour Christ, *Whatsoeuer you would that men should doe vnto you, doe you likewise vnto them,* that he commanded it to bee written and grauen in his palace, and vpon the publike buildings. Besides, *Ælius Lampridius* writeth, that the same Emperour determined to haue placed Christ in the number of the gods, and to haue builded him a Temple: which thing the Emperour *Adrian* before him would also haue done, who purposed to forbid the setting vp of any Images in the temples, but hee was turned from doing it by some that asked aduice therein of the Oracles, which made answere, That all the Pagans would become Christians, if that were suffered, and that the temples would goe to wracke. To come againe to our excellent saying; *Vlpianus* the Iurisconsult, principall Counseller to *Alexander Seuerus*, out of the same framed the Constitution which is found in the Pandects collected by the commandement of *Iustinian*, vnder the title, *Quod quisque iuris in alterum statuerit, vt ipse eodem iure vtatur.* The substance of the same Constitution is, That whosoeuer shall vse towards another any matter of new right, shall bee handled with the like, if his partie require it. *Valerius Maximus* produceth some examples thereof; and among the rest this is most remarkeable, That all they that conspired against *Cæsar*, perished by a violent death, and were kild with the same poinyards wherewith they stabbed him. The same also hapned to the murderers of *Gordian*, saith *Cordus* the Historian of that time: for of nine that were at the killing of him, there escaped not one, but all of them (after that *Philip* and his sonne the authors of the murder was slaine) kild themselues with their owne hands, and with the same poinyards which they had serued their turnes withall in making away that good prince, by the treason of the said *Philip* great master of the Empire, by nation an Arabian, and very meanly borne. There is to bee seene at this day in an auncient monument almost worne out, and whereof no reckoning is made at Rome, these words among other, AB ALIO SPERES ALTERI QVOD FECERIS: that is to say, *Looke for that of another, which thou shalt haue done to thy neighbour.* There also in another monument is this to bee read: ASPVLENIA GERIA VIX. ANN. XXII. QVOD QVISQVE VESTRVM OPTAVERIT

Lib.8. cap.6.

TAVERIT MIHI ILLI SEMPER EVENIAT VIVO ET MORTVO. That is to say, *I* Aspulena Geria *haue liued* 22 *yeares. Let that befall euery of you aliue and dead which he shall wish to me.*

This commandement of doing that to another which we would haue done to vs, deriued from the fountaines of the Law of nature, hath been diligently obserued by the ancient wisemen. *Lycurgus* that renowmed Law-maker of Sparta, neuer ordeined any thing to others, which he did not first exactly obserue himselfe: yea, the force of this truth hath such credit among all nations, that the most barbarous and fierce submit themselues thereunto, some more, some lesse. *Mahomet* that deceiuer hath cunningly repeated and recommended this article, inserting it among the eight Ordinances which hee left to his Musulmans, and which he affirmeth were brought him from heauen by the Angel *Gabriel.* This ordinance should the Sultan *Baiazet* the first, aboue all others haue remembred, when hee was taken by the Tartarian *Tamberlan*: for he being demaunded of the Victor, What he would haue done, if the victorie had fallen to him? answered prowdly, If I had gotten thee into my power, thou hadst now beene shut into an yron cage, and I would haue caried thee for a shew whithersoeuer I went. *Tamberlan* hearing this answere, caused presently an yron cage to bee forged and fitted, and that was the prison for *Baiazet*; who not able to endure the indignities and outrages that were done him in that shamefull spectacle, gaue his head so many knocks against the barres of his cage, that therewith he died, as the Turkish Annals mention at large. *Lucian*, ieasting after his old fashion, bringeth in *Menippus*, who rehearseth the ordinance established and decreed in hell, importing, That the soules of the rich which were to returne into the world, should enter into Asses, where they should carie packs, and passe from the bodies of some asses into the bodies of othersome, where they should carie packs and heauie loads for the space of many thousands of yeares, vnder the command of poore men that should cudgell them without ceassing, and pay them home for the outrages which they had done to the poore. Of this commandement of God and of Nature, one of those that were taken prisoners by king *Charles* the sixth in a castle of Zeland, should haue had a better remembrance. *Gaguin* reporteth, That when they were taken, they chose to die rather than to accept of the conditions which the king propounded vnto them: but there was one of them, who albeit the rest were of his blood and parentage, offered to bee their hangman, and to put them to death, so as he might haue his life saued. To be short, they past through his hands, and were executed by him: but the king crying out of the impietie of the wretch, made him passe the same pikes presently after the rest. Let vs here insert the memorable storie that fell out at Rome, written first by Cardinall *Benno*, and after registred by *Bale.* The Emperour *Henrie* the fourth vsed to goe often to praiers in S. *Maries* Church in the mount Auentine. Pope *Gregorie* the seuenth, who caried a watchfull eye ouer all this princes actions, commanded one to take notice of the place where he was wont to pray either standing or sitting, and got a certaine fellow, with promise of great recompense, to go vp vpon the top of the Church, and there vpon the beames to place certaine great stones, which should be so fitly laid, that with the least touch they should fall downe directly vpon the Emperors head, and braine him at the first blow. This mercenarie villaine, as he would haue plaied his part, went so hastily to worke, that as he thought to haue rolled downe a very heauy stone from the roofe, the stone with his weight drew him on so, that the man and stone fell together vpon the temple floore, where the man was kild with the stone that fell vpon

Lib. 9. cap. 2. of the hist. of France.

In the life of the Popes. *Lib. 5.*

vpon him. The Romans hearing of this trick ran into the Church, tied a roape about the feet of the wretched traitor, and drag'd his carcasse three daies together throughout all the streets of Rome: But the Emperour vsing his wonted clemencie commanded that he should be buried. For good cause therefore doth the wisest of all the kings say, *He that diggeth a pit shall fall therein, and he that rolleth a stone, it shall returne vnto him.* Prouerb.26,27.

For conclusion, we may not forget that which hath hapned in our time during the war made vpon those of the Vale of Angronia and their neighbours. One called *Iohn Martin Trombaut* of Briqueras, vaunted in all companies where he came, that he would cut off his nose that was the pastor of the Church of Angronia: but a few daies after a wolfe enraged ran vpon this threatner, and pluckt his nose from his face, whereof he presently died; neither was it found, that this wolfe after that time did euer any harme to any bodie. We read of another notable Storie which hapned in the fifth voyage of the Frenchmen to Terra Florida vnder the conduct of *Dominick Gourgues*, a wise and valiant captaine of Gasconie: He hauing by the helpe of the inhabitants of that countrey, in the yeare 1567, won three sconces which had been made and well fortified by the Spaniards, did cut them all in peeces that were found therein (being about the number of foure hundred) saue some that were taken prisoners who were brought vnto him; And after they had beene reuiled by him for the wrong they had done to all the French Nation contrarie to their faith giuen, they were all hanged vpon the boughes of the same trees that the French men had beene hanged at before; fiue of which had beene strangled by one Spaniard, who then seeing himselfe ouertaken and lead to execution, confessed his fault, and the iust punishment which God inflicted vpon him. But in steed of the writing which *Pedro Melandes* had caused to be set vp, implying these words translated out of Spanish; *I doe not this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans:* Gourgues *caused to be written in a fir-boord with a hot yron; I doe not this as to Spaniards, nor yet Mariners, but as vnto Traitors, Robbers, & Murtherers.* The occasion of this requitall was, That this *Pedro Melandes* some yeeres before had against his promise, put to death betweene eight and nine hundred French persons, men women and children, together with their captaine *Iohn Ribault* lieutenant for the king (as the Storie published thereof doth witnesse) and committed strange parts of crueltie vpon those whom shipwrack, hungar, nakednesse, and extreame miserie had brought vnder his power and plighted Faith. These then made that saying good which was giuen foorth for an answer long agoe by an Oracle, and hath since passed for a prouerbe, *That which a man doth to another, shall in the end come to himselfe.* But for as much as this present Meditation agreeth in many respects with that which followeth, the Reader may gather there-out what this may seeme to come short of.

In the hist. of the war of Angronia.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Like for like, or the punishment of Talio, or Retaliation.

Aristotle propoundeth a sentence of the Pythagorian Philosophers, which defineth simply that to be law which euerie one receiueth deseruedly either in reward or in punishment: and they say, That this is the justice which *Rhadamanthus* executeth in hell, punishing offenders according to their demerits. From hence is deriued the punishment of Talio, or Retaliation, or Like for like. It appeareth by *Moses* Law that the same was vsed among the Israelits

Lib.5. of his Morrals, cap.5.

Exod.25.12. Leuit.24.17. Deut.19.4.11.

lits, and the practise thereof was shewed plainely vpon the person of *Adonibezec*, whose thumbes of his hands and feet they cut off, because he had done so to seauentie kings his prisoners. This punishment was registred in a Law of the twelue Tables, renewed againe by the learned *Cuias*, in these tearmes, SI MEMBRVM RVPIT, NI CVM EO PACISCIT, TALIO ESTO. That is to say, *If any man maine another in any limbe, and compound not with him, Let him be punisht with the like.* The Law of God saith, *An eie for an eie, and a tooth for a tooth, &c.* *Cato* maketh mention of this Law of the twelue Tables, in these tearmes: If any man giue his neighbour a maime, or breake a bone of his, let his next kinsman requite him with the like. We may see in the Gospell what our Sauiour Christ teacheth out of this Law, saying a little after, *With what measure ye mete, it shalbe measured to you againe.* The Prophets threaten Spoylers that they shalbe spoiled. And good cause why, for as much as the Law of God, of Nature, and Nations holdeth it iust and reasonable, that whosoeuer out of his priuat authoritie and affection hurteth another, should himselfe looke to be handled after the same manner. Therfore the Lord said in *Genesis, Who so sheadeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shead.* Againe; *He that leadeth into captiuitie, shall goe into captiuitie: and, he that killeth with the sword, shall die by the sword.* Now although the Imperiall Constitutions doe oftentimes speake of the Law of Retaliation, especially in regard of the Iudge that taketh no care to punish the Offendor that shalbe found guiltie before him (for the lawes condemne him to be punished with the same punishment that belonged to the malefactor, whom he spared and acquited by conniuencie; as in old time the accusers were formally bound to vndergoe the same punishment with the accused, if they fail'd in their proofes, and so were punished *De facto:*) yet afterwards, by the mildnesse of the Prætorian law, the punishment of Retaliation was reuoked, and at this day it is not onely out of vse, but also these vndergoings haue ceased; as also the assurances that were taken to appeare, and the costs, damages, forfeitures, and interests that were liable to the same vndergoings, as is to be seene in the Ordinances of the Empire, namely for the Peace, publikely ratified in a Diet holden at Ausbourg, *Anno* 1548. *Gellius* propoundeth two reasons of this change: to wit, the incommoditie of the law, and the difficultie of rendring Like for like. True it is, That if the Accuser be euicted, there is still at this day a punishment of Talio ordained for him, which is not abrogated: for that shall be done to him which he would haue done to his brother, according to the commandement of the Diuine Law, *Deutron.* 19. 19. *Paulus Iouius* bringeth a notable testimonie hereof in the 12 booke of his Histories, where he setteth foorth the memorable example that hapned to this purpose in the citie of Naples. And *Petrus Iustinianus* recordeth another no lesse memorable than that, in the 15 booke of his Historie of Venice, where he speaketh of *Alexander Bon*, who being conuicted of calumniation was put to death. Yea in the criminall ordinances of the Empire *tit.* 68. speaking of false witnesses, there are yet to be seene some remnants and markes of this punishment of Talio: as also there be some speciall titles thereof, namely, the 38. 107. and 180. in the Electorall constitutions of the Duchie of Saxonie, where it is shewed how far, and vpon whom this law may take effect.

But to come to our Historicall Meditations, we haue a memorable example of the punishment of Retaliation, reported by *Iohannes Dubrauius* bishop of Olmutz, in the life of the Emperor *Charles* the fourth. As *Charles* was sitting in his court of Audience, there came a priest before him, whose eies (as the Storie saith) a certaine gentleman his Patron had put out, because he had reproued him

Iudic. 1 6,7.

Titul. de Iniurijs.

Math. 5, 38.

Math. 7. 2.

Cap. 9. 6. *Apoc.* 13. 10.

L. C. Ne sanct. baptis. iteretur.

L. libellorum §. item subscribere. Et l. si cui de accusat. L. 3. vbi DD. C. qui accus. non poss. l. 2. C. de exhibend. reis. l. Vlt. C. de accusat. l. non prius. C. de calumnijs cum similib. lib. 20. l. 1. §. 1. ad legem Corn. ad legem Authen. omnes pergr. C. commun. de succes.

Lib. 22. of the hist. of Bohemia.

him of heresie; and required satisfaction for the wrong that had beene done vnto him. The gentleman called *Zachora*, appearing in person, confessed the fact, excusing himselfe, That he was at the time when he did it, transported with the heat of a vehement anger, and offring for amends any sum of money that the Iudges should impose vpon him. The Emperour beginning to speake, pronounced the sentence, importing, that the offence could not be repaired but by the punishment of Retaliation, considering that the blind mans eies could not be restored him againe: Therefore it was ordered, That *Zachora* should haue his eies put out as the priest had; otherwise the law should not be vprightly executed. Thus saith the Historie. The Asians in old time inclined to this opinion of rendring Like for like; as witnesseth the Storie reported by *Herodotus*, touching *Hermotimus* and *Panionius* of Chios: although I denie not but that *Hermotimus* gaue too much libertie to his coller and reuenge, and passed the limits of the punishment of Retaliation. It so fell out that *Hermotimus* taken prisoner in war was sold to *Panionius* who caused him to be guelded. This base merchant made a traffick of such dishonest gaine; for all the faire boies that he could lay his hands on, in Ports or at Faires where he went to buy them for money, he handled in that sort; and after carried them to Sardis, or to the citie of Ephesus, where he sold them (almost) for their weight in gold: because they that be guelt are much more set by for all manner of seruices among the Barbarians, than they that be not, as *Herodotus* saith. *Xenophon* bringeth in *Cyrus* to be of that opinion, and therfore doth he commit the keeping of his bodie to Eunuchs rather than to others. Albeit the word may signifie not onely those that are insufficient for generation, either by nature, or accident and violence; but also other seruants and principall officers about princes, as the holy Scripture beareth witnesse. But to proceed with our Storie, *Hermotimus* was presented (among other guifts) to king *Xerxes*, with whom in succession of time he grew into greater credit than all the other Eunuches. The king departing from Sardis to make war vpon the Grecians, *Hermotimus* went about some businesse into a quarter of the countrey which those of the isle of Chios did plow and husband, where finding *Panionius* he tooke acquaintance of him, and in a large and common conference which they had togither, recounted vnto him the great benefits he enioyed by meanes of his aduenture, promising to promote *Panionius* and to aduance him to great wealth and honour, if he would remooue himselfe to that place with all his family. *Panionius* gladly accepting such an offer, went thither a while after with his wife and children: *Hermotimus* so soone as he had him and his familie within his reach, vsed these words vnto him; *O thou the wickedest man of all the most wicked that euer were in the word! that vsest the most vile and most detestable traffick that may possibly be deuised! what hurt or displeasure didst thou or any of thine euer receiue of me, or any that belong to me, that thou shouldst bring me in that case wherein I am, and of a man that I was, make me neither a man nor a woman? Didst thou thinke the gods were ignorant of thy practises? Doest thou not see how they, doing right and iustice haue deliuered thee (wicked wretch that thou art) into my hands, that thou maist not find fault with the punishment I shall inflict vpon thee.* After these and such like reproaches, he caused *Panionus* his foure sonnes to be brought into his presence, and compelled the miserable father to gueld them all one after another with his owne hands: and after that was done, the children were forst to gueld also their owne father. Thus was *Panionius* paid home with the punishment of Retaliation, and the mischiefe that he had done to *Hermotimus* fell vpon him and his. Thus writeth *Herodotus*. Now albeit (as we haue before touched) Eunuchs and guelded persons

were

Lib.8.

Lib.7.

2.Reg.8.9.20.24.25.Chap. Esther.1.2.4. Chap. Esai.39. Dan.1. Act.8.

were in old time of great esteeme and authoritie among the Asians, as they haue been since among the Emperours of Greece, and are at this present among the Turkes: neuertheleſſe the Emperors of Rome haue alwayes reiected them, placing them in the ranke of thoſe that are neither men nor women, as is plaine to be ſeene in *Valerius Maximus*, where one called *Genutius*, who had guelded himſelfe, was iudged vnworthie (moſt filthie fellow that he was) to haue the benefit of a mans laſt Will and Teſtament: *Becauſe* (ſaith *Valerius*) *it ſeemed a foule matter, that the place of Iuſtice ſhould bee polluted with the voice and preſence of ſuch a monſter and third kind of men, vnder colour of demaunding his right.* *Baſil* in a letter to *Simplicia* maketh a bitter inuectiue againſt ſuch, and ſo doth alſo *Claudian* the Poet, and others. *Lib.7.cap.7.* *Lib.4. cap 4. Lib.7.Parerg. Cap.23.*

In meditating theſe things, there commeth to my remembrance a pleaſant ſtorie written by *Luitprand*, Deacon of Pauia, which it ſhall not bee amiſſe to inſert here by digreſſion not altogether impertinent. *Theobald* duke of Spoleto made war vpon the Grecians that held Beneuento, and looke how many enemies fell into his hands, he cut off their priuie members, and ſo ſent them away. In the end a woman with weeping teares imploring the help of God & of men, comes boldly into his preſence ſaying thus; *Theobald, what haue wee poore women done vnto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt thus warre againſt vs with all extremitie? wee are no warriers, nor euer learned to handle other weapons but the diſtaffe and ſpindle in our owne houſes: wherefore then doſt thou depriue vs of our pleaſures, by taking away our husbands inſtruments of generation? Is there no eyes, nor noſes, nor eares? muſt thou needs extend the power of thy war vpon that which nature hath lent vs the vſe of?* *Theobald* taking pleaſure in this admonition, forbare euer after to vſe ſuch rigor. And he was worthily reproued by this woman, not onely for the reaſons which ſhe alleaged, but rather becauſe he ſhould not haue beene ignorant that they who handled men in that ſort, were the enemies and deſtroiers of nature, hindring the procreation of children. The Imperiall lawes confiſcat the bodies and goods of thoſe that commit ſuch diſorders, and hold them for murderers. The like puniſhment is ordeined for thoſe that circumciſe their children as the Iewes doe: whereby it appeareth, that the members ſeruing for generation ought not to be hurt in any ſort whatſoeuer; and puniſhment by death is ordained for thoſe that ſhall doe ſuch a fault, as there is for thoſe that commit the crime of maieſtie and treaſon. And as it is forbidden that the face of any perſon ſhould bee branded or disfigured for any offence; ſo likewiſe it followeth, that a man ought not to be tortured ſo farre, as to haue his priuie members maimed: for ſuch a puniſhment is not permitted, but ſtraitly forbidden by the ciuile law. *Lib.3.§.qui homin. & lib.Cornel.§. Conſtitut. Ad leg. Cornel. de Sicar. l. Iudei l. de Iudæis. l. 1. & 2. C. de Eunuchis.* *L. in metallum. C. de pœnis.*

Let vs now returne to our purpoſe. As in old time the puniſhment of Like for like was much vſed among the Greeks, and likewiſe among the barbarous nations, ſo is it now alſo among the Turks. *William Poſtel* ſaith, That the Areopagites were wont to proceed in their iudgement as followeth: When a man was committed priſoner (let vs preſuppoſe for murder) the kinsfolks, friends, and domeſticks of the partie ſlaine were called together with ſound of a trumpet, and according as they ſhould agree it was ordained by what puniſhment the murderer ſhould die, the ſentence hauing regard withall to the charge, domage and intereſt of the partie offended: which manner of proceeding (ſaith he) becauſe it is put in vre at this day among the Turks, I will ſet out more at length. The Cadhi or Iudge of the citie hauing ſent the murderer to priſon, cauſeth forthwith the kinsfolks of the murdered to be ſent for. If there bee none, he ſendeth for his friends, or elſe thoſe that reaped any profit by him. The friends failing, the *Cap.4. of the Magiſtrats of Athens.*

Cadhi in the name of the prince and of the lawes(as in France the kings Atturnie taketh his conclusions) giueth sentence (hauing first asked those that appeared, whether of the twaine they had rather haue,either that the malefactor should be punished with Like for like, or condemned to pay some fine) and iudgeth according to their agreement,prouided that the sentence either way be not excessiue. They estimate the whole man (that is,the dead) at threescore thousand aspres, which make twelue hundred crownes, or thereabouts: with payment of such a fine the offender redeemes his life. For halfe a man (that is, for him that is maimed of a leg,of an arme,or an eye)there is halfe a fine,which is thirtie thousand aspres. We will adde hereunto that which *Philip Lonier* reporteth of the Tartarian *Tamberlan:* while he was marching with his armie in Asia the lesse, a poore woman commeth into his presence, exhibiting a complaint against a souldier, who had drunke some boyld milke of hers, and taken away a peece of cheese without paying for it. *Tamberlan* forthwith causeth his armie to make a halt,and after the souldier was found out,commandeth him to be ript aliue; and the milk that had been taken from the woman being not yet digested in his stomacke, the woman was sent away againe with an expresse declaration,that if her accusation had not prooued true,her selfe should haue died by the like punishment. There is such a like storie in *George Vitz*,who affirmeth he was by and present when a certaine Ianizarie,being accused by a woman, and hanged by the feet in the citie of Damascus, did cast vp the milke which hee had stollen from that woman, and drunke but a little before; and was afterwards strangled to death.

360. li.

*Lib.*1. of the state of the Turkes.

In his Historie of the Turkes.

CHAP. XX.

In punishing Offences, wee must follow the gentlest course, when there is reason for it.

IT is both a laudable thing, and an excellent part in a Iudge,not to leaue offences vnpunished, considering that one cannot offer to God a fatter,better,or more pleasing sacrifice than a wicked man,as *Seneca* saith in one of his Tragedies: and it hath bin well said, That who so pardoneth the wicked, doth wrong to the good. The holy historie confirmeth this to be true in the example of *Phinees*,who with a speare thrust the Israelite and the Madianitish woman that committed fornication hard by the Tabernacle,through both their bodies; an act so pleasing to the Lord(as himselfe testified) that his anger was therby appeased and turned away from all the people. And in another place a Prophet said to king *Achab*,*Because thou hast let go out of thy hands a man whom I appointed to die, thy life shall goe for his life, and thy people for his people.* And surely, he that punisheth the wicked,maintaineth the good. We haue a notable example hereof in the life of the king S. *Lewis*,as the Annals of France report it. One day as this prince was saying ouer some Psalmes of *Dauid*,and was praying to God, a Courtier came vnto him, begging pardon for an offender that was found guiltie of death; the king without any more adoe, made a signe with his head, that he graunted his suite: but presently after chancing to read a verse of the 106 Psalme conteining these words according to the common Translation, *Beati qui faciunt iustitiam in omni tempore*, that is to say, *Blessed are they that doe Iustice at all times*; he bad call him againe to whom he had graunted the pardon, and disanulled it, with this memorable Apophthegme, *viz. The prince that can punish a fault,and doth not punish it, is no lesse guiltie before God than the offender himselfe.* So then, to doe Iustice is a worke

*Numb.*25.8.

1.*Reg.*20.42.

worke of pietie, and not of crueltie. We will amplifie this point with the storie of *Herkinbald*, taken out of a certaine Author in his discourse of the voiage that king *Philip* made out of Spaine into the Low countries, in these words: Herkinbald, *a man noble, mightie, and famous, had no respect of persons in Iudgement, but condemned and punished with as great seueritie the rich, and his owne kinne, as the poore, and those that he knew least in the world. Being once verie sicke, and keeping his bed, hee heard a great bustling in a chamber next to that wherein he lay, and withall a woman crying and shriking out: Hee enquired of his seruants what the matter was; but they all concealed the truth from him. At last, one of his Pages being threatned by him, that hee would cause one to pull his eyes out of his head, if he did not tell him plainely what all that sturre was, told him in few words, My Lord (quoth he) your nephew hath rauisht a maid, and that was the noise you heard. The fact being examined and throughly auerred*, Herkinbald *condemned his deere nephew to be hangd till he should bee dead: but the Seneschal who had the charge to execute the sentence, seeming as if he had beene very hoat and forward to doe it, went presently and gaue the young man an inkling of all that had past, wishing him to keepe out of the way for a while: and some few houres after comes againe to the sicke person, assuring him (against all truth) that he had put his sentence in execution. About fiue daies after, the young gentleman, thinking his vnkle had forgotten all, came and peept in at his chamber doore. The vnkle hauing spied him, calleth him by his name, and with faire words tolleth him on towards his beds-head, till he was within his reach; and then suddenly catching him by his lockes with the left hand, and pulling him forcibly to him, with his right hand hee gaue him such a readie blow into the throat with a knife, that he died instantly: so great was the zeale that this noble man bare to the execution of Iustice!* To this, our Imperiall lawes also haue had some respect, when they ordeined thus; If guiltie persons make an escape and goe vnpunished, let all publike plaies and pastimes be laid aside, and were black (as it were) for mourning.

Yet neuertheless, all this ought to bee seasoned with a graine of salt, as the Ciuilians say; that is, in cruell and notorious crimes we must giue no occasion to the wicked to giue themselues the reines to doe wickedly, by hope of impunitie, but terrifie them by the seueritie of punishments: the wise Iudge hauing care how he may be more mercifull than either the law or custome. But when there appeareth some cause of moderation, or when any doubt is made in the matter, then it were not good to follow their opinion that will iudge of causes according to extremitie of law: but it is best to interpret things the gentler way, which tendeth to deliuerance, and not to violence. According whereunto the Ciuilian *Marcellus* said, That in a doubtfull cause it is no lesse iust than safe, to take the milder way: and it is better in such a case to acquit the guiltie, than to condemne the innocent. Which should be carefully considered of by the Iudges and Iustices in criminall causes: for there haue been vniust sentence-giuers, who blinded either with hatred or with flattery, haue bin more forward (so they may gratifie the great men of the world) to condemne the innocent, than to acquite them. The fashion of such men is, to leane that way where they see the affection of the prince to incline. The Canons say, That it is easier to giue a reason of mildnesse than of rigor; which may be illustrated with the example of *Iacobus Carrara*, prince of Padua, according to the report that *Bernardin Scardeon* maketh thereof. We may not forget (saith he) the memorable act by him executed, when hee was readie to giue vp the ghost: for hauing (as it were) yeelded himselfe to let any (that would) say or doe all the reproches they could vnto him, he gaue order that his chamber doore should stand wide open for all commers, to the end, that if he had (by chance) done wrong to any man, hee might freely heare of it,

L. 3. C. de Episc. audient.

L. ea quæ de regul. iuris. L. absentem De pœnis. Gagum in the life of *Charles 7. lib. 10. cap. 2*

C. 36. q. 7.

Lib. 3. class. 13. of the description of Padua.

being readie to doe euerie man right and reason. All men hauing approoued his doings and sayings without any controllment, at last there came one who required of the prince that he would cause a certaine sum of money to be restored vnto him which he had paid for a fine to auoid a punishment, alleaging that by right he should not haue beene condemned to pay such a summe. The prince made him answer with a low voice, being at the point of death, but with a noble spirit, and such as was readie to dislodge; *If* (quoth he) *thou hadst had thy right then, thou coulst not haue complained of me now, albeit thou dost it vniustly. For thou hadst deserued to be hanged; but that punishment was bought out with money for the common benefit, not for any particular profit of mine. Auant therefore (Caytife as thou art) thinke vpon thy leaud pranks, change thy manners, & liue hereafter an honest man: for, if by money should be rendred to thee, thou also (according to the law) shouldst render and loose thy head, which thou hast redeemed with plaine money. I feele not my conscience burdened with any thing, except it be with this, that thou hast not made such amends as thou oughtest.* To this Storie we may annex another, containing the answer which a certaine Ieaster made to a king of France, who found fault with a Courtier that had begged pardon of him, saying, That this was the third murther he had committed: *Nay king (quoth the Ieaster) this suter hath committed but one of the murthers, it is thou that art guiltie of the second and third: For if thou hadst not granted him pardon for the first, he had not liued to haue done any more.*

Lib 2. To come to moderne Stories, *Philip de Commines* reporteth one that is notable, and may serue to giue a lustre to these aforegoing. *Charles* duke of Burgundie hauing made Peace with the Liegians, they gaue him hostages, vpon condition, that if they violated their Treatie, it should be lawfull for him to put the hostages to death. Now it so fell out (as the people are alwaies vnconstant and fleeting) that the Liegians infringed the Peace, and enforced the duke to take armes againe. Thereupon a consultation was had what should be done with the hostages. Many were of opinion to put them to death, of which number was the lord of *Contay*, one of the dukes cheefe Counsellors. This opinion had preuailed but for the lord of Imbercourt, a gentleman of Picardie, who drew *Charles* and the most of his counsell to moderation and mercie. *Contay* hauing deliuered so cruell an opinion against the hostages (who simply trusting vpon the promise of their fellow-citizens, had brought themselues to such an afterdeale for the good of their countrey) one of ours (addeth *Commines*) whispered me in the eare, *Doe ye see* (quoth he) *this Contay, that hath his health so well being old as he is? I durst lay a wager, That for his giuing so cruell aduise, he will die himselfe before a yeare goe about*, and so it fell out. With this Storie of *Commines* agreeth that which *Benzo* reporteth of *Attabalipa*, a mightie king of Peru. The Spaniards hauing taken him prisoner, promised him his libertie if he would furnish so much vessell of gold and siluer as would fill all the roome where he then was, being so high from the ground as a man might reach with his hand, that is, seauen foot high, or thereabouts. Which he satisfied, in so much as that bare ransome (besides many other verie rich booties they had of him) amounted to more than two millions of gold: and yet for all that within a while after the Spaniards strangled him with a roape. *But it so fell out afterwards by the sufferance of God* (saith *Benzo*) *that all they that were consenting to the death of this king made a wretched end.* Many were of opinion that after he had paid his ransom he should haue beene let goe, as it had beene agreed. Others gaue counsell to send him to the Emperour into Spaine; and himselfe desired it after he was condemned.

In his hist. of the New world, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. & 5.

One of the Athenian Law-makers called *Draco*, was so boisterous a Politician, that

that the Orator *Demades* said verie fitly of him, That his lawes were written with blood, and not with inck. Therefore *Herodicus* (as *Aristotle* reporteth) was wont to call them the lawes of a Dragon, and not of a man. Some others surnamed them *Funerall*, or *Murthering*, saith *Pausanias*. This seueritie heaped so much ill will vpon *Draco*, that being one day at the Theatre in the citie of Ægina, all the people mutined so against him, that they threw their cloathes vpon him, and stifeled him: After which, with a silent yeedling of the Athenians, his lawes which seemed vnsupportable did of themselues vanish and come to nothing. A certaine Iudge in France of our time, seemeth to haue beene *Dracos* disciple. *H. Stephen* in the preface of a verie good (though little) treatise, entituled, *Iuris ciuilis fontes & riui*, recounteth of that Iudge this that followeth. He had alwaies one song in his proceeding in criminall causes; If the prisoner were old, hang him, hang him (quoth he) he hath made many other such: and if he were yong, hang him; he will make many other such. But *Draco*, or *Draconist* as thou art, thinkest thou that there must be no place left for the mercie and power of God? if he can bestow his grace vpon a man of yeares, and change his heart, shall he not be able to conuert the thought of a yong child, that is readie for instruction? Let all *Draconists* therefore take heed (if they persеuer in their cruell and rigorous courses, doffing all humanitie, letting loose the reines to their violent passions, and breathing out nothing but blood, fire and fagot) that it be not said to them, and of them,

But God shall cast them deepe in pit, that thirst for blood alwaies:
He will no guilefull man permit to liue out halfe his daies.

Psa. 55. 23.

Paulus Iouius and other Historians witnesse, That *Charles* duke of Burgundie, surnamed the Wicked (of whom we haue spoken a little before) was sick of this disease: for he loued rather to follow his owne violent nature, than the prudent counsels of other men. And it is the marke of a spirit that is extreame hautie, to make no account of the sound aduise of his friends, but contrariwise to flatter himselfe in his owne priuat opinions. This hath ouerthrowne an infinite number of princes.

Marcus Antonius Zimara answering this question after *Aristotle*, Why man lifts himselfe vp in pride, aboue all other liuing creatures? discourseth thus; I say, That the pride of man proceedeth of the not knowing of himselfe: for if he did but remember that he was conceiued betweene the dung and the vrine; if he did but consider of his entring starke-naked into the world; if he did but thinke that his life is battered with miseries and troubles, and that after all he must die; this would pluck downe his pride. To this purpose, *Flauius*, a learned Italian, at the end of his exposition vpon the 82 *Psalme*, alleageth *Theodoret*, who thinketh that God in that place doth threaten the vnrighteous Iudges that they shall fall as the deuill is fallen, being for his pride and iniustice, hurled downe from that high degree of honour whereunto God had aduanced him. Afterwards he addeth, That some by the word Princes vnderstand Tyrants, whom God throweth headlong into hell. *Bodin* aimed at that when he said, That the holiest of all the Imperiall lawes was that which ordeineth, That no regard be had to the ordinances of Princes, if they agree not with equitie and truth. Which he enricheth with an example. *Henrie* the second commanding that a certaine Italian lackey should be laid in prison, without telling why; the Iudges set him at libertie, hauing first deliuered their opinion to the king, who againe commanded that he should be put to death, hauing taken him tardie in a foule and hainous offence, which he would not haue to be divulged. The Iudges for all that would

In his Retorick.

Gellius, lib. 2. *cap.* 18.

Problem. 22.

Cap. 6. of the Method of Hist.

not condemne him, but set open the prison doore to let him foorth. By means whereof the king made him be taken afterwards, and throwne by night into the riuer of Seyne without any ceremonies or forme of law, to auoid tumult. He bringeth in a little after, another example. King *Lewis* the eleauenth minding to giue a bastonado to the Court Parlement of Paris, if it should refuse to publish certaine new ordinances by him made, the masters of that Court vnderstanding the drift, went all to the king in their red gownes. The king asking them what they would? Sir (answers the President *La Vacquerie*) we are come with a full purpose to loose our liues euerie one of vs, rather than we will suffer, that by our conniuencie any vniust ordinance shall take place. The king amased at this answer of *La Vacquerie*, and at the constancie of the Parlement, gaue them gracious entertainment, and commanded that the Edicts which he would haue had published, should be canceld in his presence, swearing, That from thenceforward he would neuer make Edict that should not be iust and equitable.

To returne to the hostages of the Liegians. The Ciuilians aske this question: If a person criminall being committed to men that haue promised to bring him foorth on paine of death, make an escape, so as he cannot possibly be had againe, whether these pledges ought to die in the said Offenders place? Some say, yea; grounding themselues for proofe vpon the example of the Consul *Appius Claudius*, who (by report of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*) caused three hundred hostages to be brought into the Market place, and there in the presence of the people, who consented thereunto, made them be beaten with rods, and afterwards beheaded. As also *Titus Liuius* writeth, That the hostages of the Tarentines being brought before an open assembly of people, by the opinion of all were whipt, and hurled downe from the top of the Rock Tarpeius. But the contrarie opinion, as more mild, hath carried it away: otherwise this absurditie would ensue of it, That the innocent should be condemned. Now, the meaning of the lawes is, That the culpable should be punished for their faults. And as touching that which is alleaged, That the murtherers and deceiuers doe not liue long; it must be expounded vnder the exception of the admirable wisedome and patience of God. For we see oftentimes, that such malicious, cruell, and deceitfull men arriue to great age, a thing easie to be verified by many examples both ancient and moderne, which hath bred much trouble in the mind of many a wise Pagan, as may be seene by *Cicero* in his bookes of the Nature of the Gods, where he wondreth that *Dionysius* the father, Tyrant of Sicilia, stained with sundrie murthers and sacriledges, did raigne eight and thirtie yeares, yea, and after all died quietly in his bed. *Iupiter Olympius* (saith *Cicero*) *did not strike this Tyrant with his thunderbolt*; Æsculapius *did not ouerwhelme him with a long and cruell disease*; *but dying quietly in his bed, he was carried (as in triumph) to the pile of wood, leauing to his sonne, as it were by title of right and lawfull succession, that power and domination which he vniustly had vsurped.* Let vs ioyne hereunto that which *Machiauell* reporteth of *Cæsar Borgia* duke of Valentinois, who (as *Paulus Iouius* writeth) was a man that by reason of his bloodie mind, and brutish crueltie, might be compared with the ancient Tyrants, and who (saith he) was begotten of virulent blood and execrable seed. This duke, backt with the authoritie and power of Pope *Alexander* the sixt his father, proiected to make himselfe master of all Italy, which he possessed alreadie in hope, making hauock (to that end) and killing what with the sword, and what by poison, all the princes, lords, and gentlemen which he thought would oppose themselues against him, with full determination to prosecute his point, and not to leaue one of them standing. But being disappointed of his purposes, and lying in

Lib. 6. of his *Rom. antiquit.*

Lib. 5. *Decad.* 3.

L. Sancimus. C. de pœnis c. 2. 3. q. 5 C. cum homo & gl. 161. §. damna. n 4. de pace Constantiæ & ibi Bald. & Roderic. Suares de fideiussor. in causa criminali.

In his Famous men.

in his deaths-bed, he did not stick to say, That he had of a long time fortified himselfe against all dangers that might befall him, saue onely against death: for he had neuer thought he could haue beene so soone beaten downe, and brought so low. This wretch remembred not the saying of the Philosopher *Democrates*, who was wont to say, *That a foolish and wicked life did not so much deserue the name of an euill life, as of a long death.*

Now to make an end of this chapter, being the hundred of our Historicall Meditations, I will heere annex the exposition of *Flaminus* vpon that place of the 55 Psalme that hath bin twice alleaged, because it is full of comfort and ardent affection. To say truth, I stood too precisely vpon the words of the Prophet; but this exposition hath rid my mind of a great doubt. Thus he saith: *A good man can neuer die out of time and season. For integritie of life in the daies of youth bringeth a time of ripenesse in death: and we may not say, that he hath past a short life, that hath liued purely and holily. When a good man, whether he be old or young, commeth to die, he hath fulfilled his time: for as much as he is alwaies ready to depart, and he holdeth it then the best time, when it pleaseth God to deliuer him from the prison of the bodie. Contrariwise, the wicked man doth euer promise himselfe long life, yea passeth his daies in such sort, as if he should neuer dislodge hence: by meanes whereof, he neuer accomplisheth his time, and the departure from life euer commeth to him against the haire; and though he should reach to the end of a hundred yeares, he thinks himselfe a young man. So then, though the wicked arriue sometimes to extreame old age, yet doth this saying remaine most true, That they liue not halfe their yeares.* *Flaminius* repeateth this opinion of his in the explication of the 68 Psalme, vpon these words, *God keepeth the rebellious short, &c. Let vs suppose* (saith he) *that the wicked men and such as contemne God dwelling in flourishing cities, full gorged with all manner of good and delicat things, liue till they come to ninetie yeares and more, yet is this saying of the Prophet most certaine and vndoubted. For like as the man that feareth God is in heauen, where-soeuer he liue: so the wicked is vnhappie and wretched in euery place, for he languisheth like one that is banished into a vast and sorrowfull wildernesse, which depriueth him of all the sweets of this present life.* *Conrad Heresbach* in his most learned and profitable Scholies (written not long since vpon the Psalmes) hath expounded the words of the 55 Psalme aboue mentioned, in the same sence that *Flaminius* hath done. Wherunto *Salomon* seemeth to haue regarded in the 6 chapter of his *Ecclesiastes*, where he saith, *If a man beget an hundred children, and liue many yeares, and the dayes of his yeares be multiplied: yet if his soule be not satisfied with good things, and he bee not buried, I say that an vntimely fruit is better than he: for he commeth into vanitie, and goeth into darknesse, and his name shalbe couered with obscuritie. Also, in that the vntimely fruit hath not seene the sunne, nor knowne any thing, it hath had more rest than that man. And if he had liued a thousand yeares twice told, and enioyed no good, do not all go into one place?* And after in the 8 chapter he saith, *Though a sinner doe euill an hundred times, and God prolongeth his daies, yet I know it shall be well with them that feare the Lord and reuerence his face; but it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his dayes; he shalbe like a shadow, because he feareth not before God.*

Verse 6, 7, &c.

Verse 12.

The end of the fifth Booke of Historicall Meditations.

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